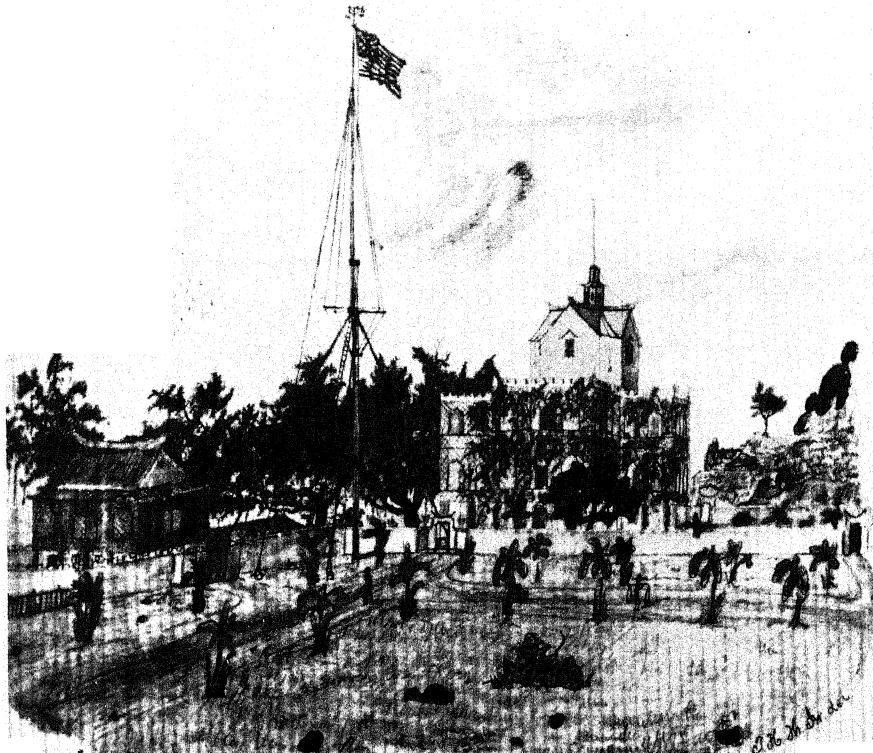


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IN THE BOOK**

CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

American Consular and Commercial Relations
with Eastern Asia, 1845-1860

Mr. Wm. Chapman to President, etc., Jan. 27, 1862.



View of U.S. Consular Buildings, Flagstaff, etc., Amoy, China

(From Amoy Consular Letters, Vol. 2.

For the plan of the consulate see the illustration on page 132.)

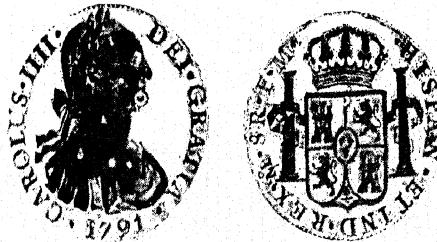
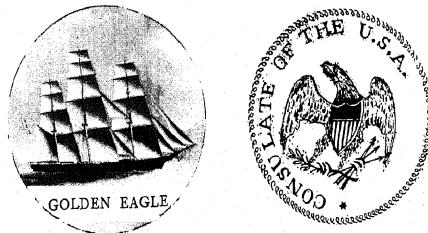
CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

American Consular and Commercial Relations
with Eastern Asia, 1845-1860

By

ELDON GRIFFIN

A. B. (Harvard); Ph.D. (Yale)



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ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

1938

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Ann Arbor, Michigan 1938

To

Helen Ely Griffin

PREFACE

From 1845 to 1860 the trade of the United States with China grew from \$9,561,909 to \$22,472,705 Commerce developed with Japan and Eastern Siberia New treaties increased the range and complexity of relations with the nations of Eastern Asia To take care of problems created by these changes an extension of the American consular establishment became necessary Consular duties embraced a wide variety of American interests, but commercial affairs directly and indirectly consumed most of the time of officers Consular history and commercial history are conveniently treated together

The present study of a phase of American consular and commercial relations bears on Eastern Asia and the Pacific, the United States, and the course of international relations Its combination of regional history and international history erases some lines of distinction between Occident and Orient Certain aspects of the work bring it within the province of the public official and foreign service officer, the student of government and economics, the jurist, and the sociologist Analytical and comparative treatment of evidence gives it the character of an introduction to purely narrative studies of consultates and commercial enterprises

The purpose of this book is to provide for general readers and specialists a manageable, critical treatment of (1) relevant features and tendencies of the years 1845-1860, especially in the more limited consular and commercial scene in the Orient, (2) the basis and evolution of the American consular system in that region, (3) the general and commercial functions of consular officers there, (4) the diverse problems to which the discharge of these duties gave rise, and (5) the growth of American consular and commercial interests in selected ports of Eastern Asia

At most points in the text attention is paid to commercial relations and changes rather than to the details of trade statistics, but in Part IV such details are given with some completeness Abundant and varied sources include numerous bound volumes of consular manuscripts These papers provide a fresh point of view and allow consular officers to speak for themselves In Parts I-III specific occurrences are sometimes employed by way of illustration, but their contributions are found ordinarily in the general statements and conclusions presented in different chapters Further explanation appears in the Introduction

The text of this volume is a condensation of Parts I-III (to about one third their original length), and the complete form of Part IV, of a much longer research, still in typescript The appendices and the bibliography of the basic work are included here A special appendix (Appendix 12) consists of the list of fifty-seven chapters and the detailed Analytical Table of Contents of the longer form, with quotations from the Preface and specimen pages from the text These suggest the original content and form of Parts I-III, which embody a vast amount of information--substantially an interpreted corpus of attractive sources useful to many types of scholars These detailed studies of materials, with more extensive citations, will be made available, possibly in draft and in informal style, only in that number of microfilm copies which the expressed desires of specialists, teachers, and libraries show to be necessary

The adaptation now offered is designed to meet the needs of a wider range of readers and to avoid a prohibitive price Frequent use of small type

may tax the reader's eyesight but it also lessens the tax on his purse. For special and precise purposes, much of the text (and some of the appendices) should be supplemented by the materials described above, these also exhibit fully the various investigative procedures employed. The portions of the preface introducing the manuscript of the longer study which are included in Appendix 12 set forth the evolution, composition, and point of view of the research, and thus suggest the limits of the present volume. An early footnote in the Conclusion includes additional comment.

Asiatic words, especially from Chinese and from Japanese, have in many cases been transliterated in conformity with recent usage, but in a number of instances old and inexact transliterations long and widely recognized have been followed. An attempt has been made to secure uniformity in spelling, although some effect of differences in mid-nineteenth century orthography may be noticed. It should be remembered that the pronunciation of a few words has changed with the passing of years.

Preparation of a book of this sort brings home the debt which a writer owes to other investigators, to libraries and their staffs, to officials, and to individual collectors of sources. Made possible only by the previous labor of many minds and hands, this study is an institutional and not simply an individual product. While assuming full responsibility for all its shortcomings and for those inaccuracies which much handling of data, under great pressure, must have caused, I wish cordially to thank the numerous persons who have cooperated in various ways. Some of them are named here, others are more suitably mentioned on the pages to which their contributions or criticisms relate.

Growing out of a graduate course with Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette, the inquiry has had the benefit of his valuable criticism and kindly counsel, particularly during the stage when parts of it were used as a doctoral dissertation in Asiatic history at Yale University. At the outset, Professor Charles McLean Andrews obligingly made useful general suggestions, and Professor (now President) Charles Seymour took a helpful interest in connection with certain bibliographical ideas employed. Dr. Tyler Dennett, formerly of the State Department, Professor G. Nye Steiger of Simmons College, and Dr. T. F. Tsiang of Peiping have courteously given attention to certain queries. The observations and friendly comments of Professor Robert T. Pollard of the University of Washington have been useful. The cordial interest and the extremely practical suggestions of Professor Harley Farnsworth MacNair of the University of Chicago have been most encouraging.

For help, by translation and criticism of sources in Japanese and in Chinese, I owe a great debt to my friends and former students, Mr. Henry S. Tatsumi, M.A., now ably teaching his American countrymen at the University of Washington the language and literature of his Japanese forebears, Mr. Shigeaki Ninomiya, M.A., now of Tokyo and Tientsin, and Mr. Frederic D. Schultheis, M.A., of Seattle and Peiping, and to Mr. F. F. Tai. In the same connection I wish to thank an expert attached to the Library of Congress, Dr. Shio Sakanishi, her point of view and her scholarly comments have also been stimulating.

The able students in my graduate seminar in Eastern Asia some years ago made more of a contribution, in an intangible form, than they could realize.

It is common to provide a bibliography of a research, directories, except for the mention of authors, are uncommon. In the preparation of this study, the correspondence file has provided an extensive directory which is at once interesting and valuable. Scores of persons, from Maine to Alaska and abroad, in various libraries, historical societies, publishing houses, custom-houses and other public offices have facilitated my work. I regret that their

very number precludes individual mention of all of them here I am not less grateful to those who searched without finding the elusive facts than to those who located them I must not omit particular thanks, however, to certain members of the staffs of a few libraries and museums Miss Anne S Pratt at Yale University, and Miss Loeta Lois Johns, formerly at Yale University and now at Stephens College, Miss L M Taylor, formerly at the Essex Institute in Salem, Mr Williams H Tripp, at the Whaling Museum in New Bedford, and Miss Annie H Calhoun and Miss Ruth C Calkins, at the Seattle Public Library Several members of the reference department of the University of Washington Library, especially Miss Ethel M Christoffers and Miss Iris F Johnston, have cheerfully assisted at different times, and Dr Arthur S Beardsey, in charge of that university's Law Library, has been helpful Through officers of the Harvard College Library and the Baker Library in the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard, particularly Mr Walter B Briggs, Mr Frank C Ayres, and Professor Arthur H Cole, the treasures of those collections have been profitably and conveniently drawn upon Dr James T Gerould, Librarian at Princeton University, has been most obliging in connection with manuscripts in the Moses Taylor Collection Miss Gertrude MacKinney of the State Library at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, has supplied a transcript of an interesting official resolution Several libraries in New York State, particularly in New York City, have given valuable aid I owe a great debt to the Library of Congress, especially to the Manuscripts Division, and to the Historiographical Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo

Dr Esson M Gale has generously provided a copy of a typewritten article, and Captain and Mrs L B Lovejoy of Seattle have lent the Kinney diary, Seaweed Mrs Wendell T Bush has been unfailingly obliging when called upon for facts concerning her father, Captain Potter Thanks are due to Mr T W Cutler of Stonington, Connecticut, for a picture of his father, Captain B F Cutler, and to Mr. R P Bradley of Seattle for a picture of his uncle, Consul C W Bradley, both of which are reproduced here Miss Florence P Spofford and Mr J H Bean of Washington, D C, and Miss Alice J Mays of London have assisted skilfully in the use of manuscripts The staff of the University Bookstore, Seattle, have taken care of many difficult book orders.

The Department of State and the Navy Department have exhibited a democratic cordiality toward the investigation, granting free access to their archives Their growing hospitality to research is a healthy sign which merits the loyal gratitude of citizens To Mrs Natalia Summers, who presides with gracious distinction and marked resourcefulness over the archival rooms in the Department of State, goes an expression of sincerest thanks--inadequate recognition of especially fine cooperation Officers at certain East Asiatic consulates of the United States, such as that at Nagasaki, have been unsparing in their readiness to further the investigation, in response to specific questioning, the supplementary information discriminately selected and sent on by Mr Kennett F Potter, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. at Bangkok, and Mr Lester Maynard, Consul-General at Singapore, has had special value In the Navy Department, Captain D W Knox, in charge of the Office of Naval Records and Library, and his assistants have expertly taken care of several inquiries A number of miscellaneous matters have been precisely attended to by members of other government offices.

The painstaking cooperation of the staff of Edwards Brothers, Inc, publishers, has been distinctly intelligent and helpful

It is a pleasure to acknowledge gratefully the stimulus and indirect aid supplied by several persons not concerned with the details of the work my parents, Mr and Mrs Bert A Griffin, of Enid, Oklahoma, unfailing in gener-

PREFACE

ous interest, my wife's mother, Mrs May L Ely, of Seattle, whose kind interest and substantial aid have been unremitting, and Professor Percy A Martin of Stanford University, valued friend without whose wise counsel the work might never have been undertaken. I wish to add my word of homage to a thoughtful friend, the late Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard, whose college lectures on the Orient were my first systematic contact with what has become my main interest.

To Helen Ely Griffin, my wife, I owe a precious debt for patient and unceasing aid, acute criticism, and loyal encouragement. If there are good pages to be found in these chapters they are apt to show the benefit of her intelligent interest. The detailed lists in Appendix 4 could not have been executed without her prolonged labor and excellent suggestions. My daughter and my three sons have helped cheerfully and efficiently with routine work.

Eldon Griffin

Seattle, 1938

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The recent instability of China and the decisive alertness of Japan constitute a dual problem. Different persons in the West view the one case with bewilderment, cupidity, or generosity, the other with alarmism, suspicion, or hope. The age-old romantic and casual interest of Occidental races in Asia has necessarily become very matter-of-fact and continuous as commercial, diplomatic, and cultural concerns have interlaced with increasing complexity. Information slowly replaces credulous ignorance. Haltingly the two worlds—Occident and Orient—are becoming one, although the process of integration presents numerous problems that have their origin in separate histories.

Circumstances have linked the welfare of Japan and of China. The question arises, Why did Japan—small, poor, and once despised by China—find her way to an effective relation to the new world economy much more rapidly than China—large, rich, and for centuries mistress of surrounding states? The present examination of consular and commercial phases of the tempestuous adjustment of these nations to foreign pressure, during selected years at the middle of the nineteenth century, provides information pertinent to this question. The account gains from an introductory reminder of a few differing elements in the background of the two East Asiatic powers and from a review of the course of foreign activities in the Far East, particularly before 1845.

Nature and geography have favored Japan and have facilitated her transformation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

They have joined with historical forces to make her homogeneous population active and adaptable. The very limitations of this people have become assets. The opening of Japan to foreign intercourse in the nineteenth century was achieved under somewhat more favorable auspices than prevailed in China. Japan had the unfortunate experiences of China before her as an object lesson when she met foreign dip-

lomatic and military representatives. Of equal significance, however, is the fact that Japan has been able to retain a measure of political and institutional continuity with her origins. The imperial family has remained a national rallying point, though at times treated with scant consideration, and for many centuries supplemented and overshadowed by various hereditary lines of shoguns or other secondary rulers. It was to this central institution that all other interests, including those of the declining Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868), were subordinated when the pressure of Western powers became irresistible. In close relation to it the carefully guided transition and expansion of the past eighty years have taken place, aided by popular willingness to learn humble lessons and to exercise self-control.

Turning to modern China, one is confronted with an apparently abrupt break with the past. There no longer exists one of those dynasties which for Disruption and more than two millenniums successively exercised authority in China. Instead there stands the uncertain form of a modified republican government set up in partial response to the influence of European and American political organization and theory. The well-known experiment was inaugurated at a time when the Manchu dynasty had shown itself unfit to rule under modern conditions and had lost favor with the Chinese people. Insurrection and civil war have continued to perplex the diplomatic representatives of foreign nations in China, and in the turmoil a few strong military figures among the Chinese have stood forth.

The spirit of dictatorship has been abroad in the land, a spirit suggestive of the past history of Chinese rebellions and dynasties. Unlike Japan, Lack of Dynastic China has not recognized, Continuity in even in theory, the continuance of a single family. A dynasty has not been felt to retain the mandate of Heaven after the moment when a long-suffering people rose in protest against cruel or slatternly government. That moment was the opportunity of the dictator, the military leader who could compel obedience and establish a new

and vigorous line, which in the course of time would fall into decline. China has experienced several changes of this type and has known long periods of devastating civil war and painful readjustment. Her large area has made unification difficult and slow, linguistic diversity and poor communications have added complications, and in recent centuries, it seems, her continental geography and the many years of comparative inaccessibility of the court at Peking have, in the long run, proved a calamity rather than a blessing.

In isolation, China could afford upheavals. The rest of the world is slowly coming to appreciate the present significance of this historic process of The Widening Significance of Changes and Revolutions in China. Formerly a revolution in the Empire touched none of the vested interests of European nations. When the last great dynasty (the Manchu, 1644-1912), of foreign origin, imposed itself on China, large numbers of people from the West were not annually entering at her ports in the pursuit of political or commercial enterprises or in order to engage in far-flung educational and religious work. No express trains were speeding across the prairies and over the mountains of the American continent to deliver passengers to fast steamers bound for Japan and China. The United States was not then an Asiatic power, nor was Japan a world power. The present status of Manchuria and other possessions or tributaries of China was inconceivable.

The first modern Westerners to reach China by sea arrived only a century and a quarter before the establishment of the Manchu house in Peking (1644). Early Trans-Asian Contacts of European Foreigners with China. Others before them had reached the Middle Kingdom, in the days of the Roman Empire and the Eastern Empire at Constantinople, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for trading or missionary purposes. These strangers, however, had generally found their way across Central Asia.

Europe was undergoing momentous changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the Spanish crossed the Pacific, and the Portuguese, Dutch, and English reached Eastern Asia by way of the Indian Ocean and the straits of Malaysia. Geographical discovery, trade expansion, and missionary zeal were sending adventurous pioneers in all di-

European Approach to China by Sea. The scientific spirit was in Sixteenth and also awakened. Inventive Seventeenth Century genius was destined, before turians, Changing the passing of the eighteenth Europe century, to provide those instruments of manufacture

which created the Industrial Revolution and made complex international commerce a lasting feature of modern life. This system became an article of faith among peoples with surpluses of which they desired to dispose. It was only a question of time until the Far East would be obliged to open its doors to the products of the West, and to export increasingly those precious commodities long sought by the traders of Western Asia and Europe.

From the sixteenth century a new economic structure was slowly erected in ports of the East which were open to foreigners.

China and Japan were able to Background of control this trade effective Present-day For- ly and, when necessary, to sign Trade in exclude Europeans whose re- Eastern Asia ligious intemperance or na- tional enthusiasm threatened political complications. Relations were held to a primarily commercial basis. In China the trade was ultimately confined to Canton (1757). In Japan it was localized at Nagasaki. From the early seventeenth century Japan limited all dealings with Europeans to a small trade with the Dutch at that port. In other parts of the Far East considered here and there in following pages, Western nations made their influence more decisively felt. In South-eastern Asia and the nearby island groups important conquests were made, but these had little effect on the urbane self-possession and steady authority of the two empires to the north.

The English East India Company possessed a monopoly of the national trade with China. In 1715 it placed the business upon a settled basis. Until the Foreign Trade in China in the termination of this monopoly in 1834 (April 22, by an act Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Chi- nese Mastery Chinese disposition to have the leading trader of each national group keep his countrymen in order aided this policy. The same is true of the arrangement whereby, in the eighteenth century, a representative of the Emperor known as the Hoppo resided at Canton in order to control commercial relations. Another element of monopoly appeared later when selected

Chinese merchants were given exclusive trading rights on the Chinese side. They constituted the famous Co-hong Regulation of prices, exaction of special fees, and "squeeze" became common features.

After the Revolutionary War, Great Britain excluded Americans from the profitable West India commerce. Dependent on foreign trade for gain and for

The Relation Between the American citizens of the new Republican Revolutionary public turned to China, from War and American which the English East India Entrance into the Company's rights could no China Trade, the longer debar them. The first

First American Americans at Canton (1784)

Merchant-Consul found there a definite tradition and a unique set of relationships. By 1786 one of their number, Samuel Shaw, appointed by the American government, was serving as merchant-consul. Although unrecognized by the Chinese authorities as a representative of his government, he was expected as taipan, or chief trader, to keep his flock in order. Imperial officials could compel obedience by putting pressure on the Co-hong, the members of which were required in the later eighteenth century to be sponsors for foreign merchants. Official termination of trade constituted another threat. Official regard for increasingly profitable customs duties, however, created an element of practical reasonableness.

The question of jurisdiction over foreign offenders accentuated differences between the criminal law of China and that of England and the United States.

Effectiveness of This circumstance long re- Chinese Judicial mained a vexing problem.

Authority Americans were readier than their stronger competitors to recognize the claim of the Chinese to complete authority within their own domain.

Politically, the relations between Chinese and foreigners were unilateral. Legally and socially foreigners were at a disadvantage. The only shadow of equality was in the give-and-take of commerce. It was the sharp transition from an informal commercial basis of intercourse to a political and diplomatic basis, after the formal treaties of 1842 and later, that rendered

Foreigners at a dealings of the Chinese with foreigners exceedingly tempestuous. To the Chinese mind the earlier arrangement was as logical as it needed to be. Was not a favor being granted foreigners in permitting them to trade at all? Indeed, the adaptable, hard-driving Americans, slowly laying the foundations of great commercial firms, had some misgivings as to the desirability of a change in their political status.¹ Change meant political, economic, and legal readjustment.

Within a few years after its entrance into the East, American commerce spread to many parts of Asia and the adjacent seas. The whaling industry expanded into the Pacific Ocean.

The Character of Early American Discovery of the salability of Trade with the Far East Before the Treaties led to the inclusion of the Northwest Coast of America and the Sandwich Islands in

the itinerary of vessels. The fur and sandalwood trade flourished for well over a score of years and then began to decline about the time of the War of 1812. Profits from indirect commerce remained, however, and American manufactures appeared. Although relatively short-lived, the early American trading experience along the Western coast of America proved useful. By the middle of the nineteenth century that shore line became the farthest boundary of the expanding nation.

After the lapse of the monopoly of the English East India Company in 1834, competing English merchants entered the field and an official representa-

The Passing of the British government was appointed to Canton.² India Company's He was not recognized by China. Monopoly of English Trade with China (1834) as a cause of changes Embodied in Treaties as anything more than a new trading master, but his appointment represented the first effective step toward the introduction of a political and diplomatic feature into Anglo-Chinese relations.

A crisis arose when the Chinese government in 1839 decided to uproot the opium traffic,

¹ Nevertheless, they were anxious to have their government display its naval force in Chinese waters. The first American naval vessel to reach the East Indies arrived in 1800, and the first to reach China came in 1819.

² Earlier British missions sent to Peking in an effort to establish satisfactory diplomatic relations had proved ineffectual. As late as 1860, when the first American representative to reach Peking sought an Imperial audience, it was found impossible to arrange one on account of Chinese insistence upon the ceremony of homage (*kotow*).

long forbidden but illegally nurtured to a point where it seemed essential to the trade. A typical old-school Chinese of unbending imperial opinions and with an uncompromising attitude toward opium was sent to settle the

The Opium Controversy, and the First Anglo-Chinese War

problem. The international balance of trade had no sanctity for him. Arbitrary conduct aroused foreign opposition, for it struck this time at what foreigners had sought at all costs to preserve--the general trading privilege itself. Chinese *hauteux* clashed with the sincere British belief in the universal rights of commerce. In the trial of strength which followed, the Chinese were hopelessly outdone and were forced to subscribe to the Treaty of Nanking (1842).

This document included commercial concessions, ceded Hongkong to England, and definitely instituted a political and diplomatic régime in the foreign relations of China.

The Treaty of Nanking (1842) and Other Treaties

Commodore Kearney of the American navy soon entered into communication with the Chinese officials. A proclamation of the Imperial Commissioner accorded other nations the same commercial privileges as those granted England. Formal treaties were made in 1844 with the United States and with France.

In addition to the cession of Hongkong, the Treaty of Nanking included provision for peace, indemnity (covering opium losses in part, debts to English merchants, and expenses of the war), the opening of Amoy, Canton, Foochow, Ning-

po, and Shanghai for commerce and residence,³ and intercourse on terms of equality. A supplementary treaty in 1843 provided for most-favored-nation treatment, extraterritoriality, and tariff rates. The American Treaty of Wanghia also contained a notable extraterri-

torial arrangement and the most-favored-nation clause. It denied any territorial aims, specifically removed protection from Americans who smuggled opium, and provided for revision after twelve years. The French Treaty of Whampoa differed little, an extra-treaty arrangement provided for the rescinding of non-tolerance edicts, dating from 1724, against Christians.

The penetration of China's defences shattered the illusion of her great power. To some foreign observers, it promised an era of unlimited opportunity in her vast area.

Nevertheless, the facts of the Defeat of China, dom remained much as before, Foreign Optimism even in the presence of the and Long-continued Chinese Resistance; New Treaties

in various years from 1850 to 1865 threatened the power of the Manchu dynasty.

A belligerent state of mind followed frequent quarrels between Chinese and foreigners (especially in the neighborhood of Canton), foreign abuses of extraterritoriality and commercial privileges, continued irritation over the opium traffic, missionary activities, and foreign desire for increased privileges. In 1856 an offending French missionary was put to death by Chinese authorities. After an alleged insult to the British flag on the famous lorcha Arrow, England, followed by France, engaged in a second war with China. Russia and the United States were interested spectators and benefited from the ensuing treaty revisions made at Tientsin in 1858 and, after a resumption of fighting, at Peking in 1860. Although the new set of treaties greatly extended foreign rights and served for over a generation as a basis for expanding commerce, diplomacy, and missions, China long persisted in an attempt to recover losses by playing off rival powers against one another.⁴

Besides providing for new and widely scattered ports, residence of foreign

³No other coastal ports were opened in China until after a second set of treaties (1858-1860) became effective. The first inland American consulate was opened at Hankow in 1861, but even this was on the navigable Yangtze River. Legations became resident at Peking under these treaties, and portions of the interior of China began to see larger numbers of foreigners than at any time since the expulsion of Catholic missionaries and the still earlier visits of medieval Europeans who had reached China overland.

⁴Meanwhile, after a series of treaties dating from 1854, Japan had begun to make herself a member of the family of nations and had gained rapidly in strength and confidence. She too challenged the ancient prestige of China and in 1894-1895 was able to humble her neighbor in an important war. China was shamed, and national collapse became imminent. After the Boxer uprising (1899-1900), the Chinese government tried to get into step with modern tendencies, but it was too late to save the dynasty, which was brought to an inglorious end in 1912. Popular sentiment, influenced largely by Western ideas and aided by improved communications, had left the inept government behind. General experience with self-government on a national scale was lacking, however. Imported republican institutions did not long avert a recurrence of the unrest that had customarily followed the downfall of dynasties in China.

ministers at Peking, and freedom of travel in the interior, the new treaties with Great Britain, France, the United States, and Russia opened the Yangtsze River to trade, gave protection to Christians (whether foreign or Chinese), ceded Kowloon to England, and completed legalization of the opium trade. They arranged a new tariff, compelled China to pay indemnities to Great Britain and France, and specified other terms.

Russia's relation to China was somewhat different from that of exclusively European or non-contiguous nations. This fact occasionally requires qualification.

Russia's Special Relation to China and Europe China's first treaty with a European power had been made with Russia at Nerchinsk in 1689. Among other things, it had provided for trade across the frontier. Treaties concluded in 1727 had also allowed a few Russian priests and language students to reside at Peking. In the early nineteenth century, Russian ships attempted to trade at Canton, but they were sent away with the advice that Russian trade with China was simply an overland trade. The only Chinese embassy sent abroad before 1863 was one despatched in 1783 to St. Petersburg. In 1858 and 1860 Russia gained from China the north bank of the Amur River and the Maritime Province on the Sea of Japan, and secured permission to send traders to Peking.

The Japanese were aware of developments in the foreign relations of China. They successfully resisted Western attempts to

deal with them during the *Treaties with Japan; Domestic Strife* first half of the nineteenth century. Finally the pressure of Commodore Perry's expedition resulted in a treaty of amity in 1854. This document paved the way for elementary relations between the Japanese and American governments, but it was not a commercial treaty in the usual sense of the term. Its most-favored-nation clause brought to the United States the benefits of other treaties soon concluded by European governments. These agreements widened the scope of foreigners' privileges. Careful ne-

gotiations by the American consul-general, Townsend Harris, issued in two other conventions between the United States and Japan, in 1857 and 1858. These ushered in a second round of treaties with the large Western powers, to the ratification of which the Imperial, anti-Shogunate party in Japan offered vigorous and protracted resistance. The contest between this party and the Shogunate was both a development of supreme domestic importance and an extreme inconvenience to foreigners in their dealings with Japan. In 1868 the Shogunate ended and the Emperor was restored to actual administration of the government.

The treaties saddled the nation with an obligation to permit trade at a few open ports, a conventional tariff, and extraterritoriality. The decisive realism displayed by Japanese authorities prevented the degree of humiliation experienced by the Chinese under corresponding conditions.⁵

During this early period of adjustment important foundations were laid. Consuls were in an excellent position to observe all types of relations, including Geographical Scope in those less epic, but of This Research very intimate, experiences which form the substratum of history. Much of the following account is based on their enormous correspondence. In its general and comparative aspects, the investigation includes nearly all of Eastern Asia and the Pacific. In its more detailed handling of the history of consular and trade problems, it focusses mainly on intersecting developments in China (with nearby Hongkong and Macao), Japan, and Eastern Siberia.

This delimitation suggests a practical reason for use of the years 1845 and 1860 as rough boundaries. China held the center

of the stage, and on relations with that country initial emphasis should be placed. Other writers have given full attention to all phases of American contact with China through the treaty of 1844.⁶ Trade and consular relations with Japan and Eastern Siberia postdated 1845. Although there were American consuls and

⁵The years 1899 and 1911, which in China were marked by two significant evidences of retarded adjustment—the appearance of the Boxer uprising and the beginning of the Revolution—, in Japan saw the end of extraterritoriality and of the restricted tariff. In addition to her position as an Asiatic state, Japan took on the character of a quasi-Western power.

⁶In particular, Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The History of Early Relations between the United States and China 1784-1844* (New Haven, 1917), and Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York, 1922). Both pay some attention to ports of Southeastern Asia and the Pacific. The voluminous sources for most of these places, particularly the consular letters, have yet to be exploited, both before and after 1845.

merchants in other parts of the Far East before 1845, their operations had not yet come generally under the control of important commercial treaties. Except in occasional retrospect, relations with these other areas before 1845 have been excluded.

As a terminus the year 1860 is satisfactory. In the working out of Far Eastern treaties, in American history, and in a number of consular and commercial developments, it marked the conclusion of a significant preparatory era and the appearance of several new tendencies. The period 1845-1860 was coterminous with the years of renewed Congressional attention to consular affairs, of especial moment in Eastern Asia, and with the closely connected revival of the American carrying trade.

The Far Eastern scene was increasingly a part of the international drama which unfolded to 1860. For this reason,

consular and commercial matters are introduced in Part I by a general sketch of pertinent aspects of the period 1845-1860.

Tendencies in the United States, Europe, and the Orient are included. Description of the basis of the consular establishment and of official functions in Part II⁷ facilitates an understanding of the consular problems to which Part III is devoted. Part IV attempts to survey with satisfactory finality the narrative of consular and commercial history in the twelve ports of China (with Hongkong and Macao), Japan, and Eastern Siberia.

Thus constituted, the following work presents a basic preparatory treatise on the subject of consular and commercial relations with Eastern Asia and the Pacific during the selected period, and to some extent in later years, on this foundation it traces in organized manner the relevant narratives of chosen ports, in its entirety it paves the way for other, more limited, narrative studies.

- - - - -

What person was in direct personal contact with the maximum number of ports, races, officials, and classes of mercantile and seafaring people? Who

Part I was responsible to the merchant prince for the success of overseas commerce and to consul and court for the property and personal rights involved while precious cargo was in transit? Who supplied the compelling force and energy which inspired a lusty crew or drove a lagging one through the worst of perils? The master of the well-made trading ship mixed hard fact and equally hard drama as interestingly as the shipbuilder fused mathematics and imagination in the fashioning of the captain's vessel--his home, his symbol, and his *alter ego*. Dropping away from this moment to an equally real and vivid present that used to be, the reader may follow as guides the masters of proud sailing vessels as they left quiet harbor waters for the race through stormy seas and the search for a distant port. The Ships and the Men!

⁷The absence of a sufficiently thorough general account of American consular legislation and administration to 1860 necessitates a broad treatment of matters which at times were not of importance to consuls in Asia exclusively.

Part I
THE PERIOD 1845-1860

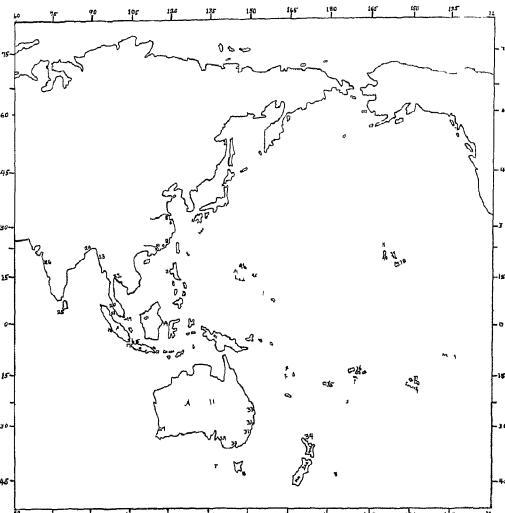
Map of Eastern Asia and the Pacific
(over)

MAP OF EASTERN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
SHOWING CONSULAR OFFICES AND COMMERCIAL POINTS

- 1 • Nikolaijevsk (1857)
- 2 • Hakodate (1857)
- 3 ** Shimoda (1856, Con-Gen)
and Kanagawa-Yokohama
(1859)
- 4 Nagasaki (1859)
- 5 ** Shanghai (1846)
- 6 ** Nangpo (1844, 1857)
- 7 ** Foochow (1854)
- 8 ** Amoy (1849)
- 9 ** Swatow (1860)
- 10 ** Canton (1786 and 1843),
x and Whampoa (agency,
see Appendix 1)
- 11 ** Macao (1849)
- 12 ** Hongkong (1844)

(Dates indicate the
beginning of consular service Cf
Appendix 1)

- 13 • Manila
- 14 o Macassar Str
- 15 • Batavia
- 16 o Anjeer (Anjier, Anger)
- 17 o Sunda Str and Java Head
- 18 • Padang
- 19 • Singapore
- 20 • Penang
- 21 o Malacca Str
- 22 • Bangkok
- 23 • Akyab
- 24 • Calcutta
- 25 • Point de Galle
- 26 • Bombay
- 27 Fremantle
- 28 • Hobart Town
- 29 • Adelaide
- 30 • Melbourne
- 31 • Sydney
- 32 • Newcastle
- 33 • Brisbane
- 34 • Bay of Islands
- 35 • Lenthala
- 36 • Apia
- 37 • Tahiti
- 38 • Hilo
- 39 • Lahaina
- 40 • Honolulu
- 41 • Guam



Symbols

- consular office (without indication of grade or date)
- commercial agency
- x consular agency
- xx consulate
- o other points figuring in the trade

In approximately the same latitude

Nikolaijevsk--Berlin and Edmonton,
Hakodate --Madrid and New York,
Shimoda --Beirut and Los Angeles,
Nagasaki --Cairo and New Orleans,
Canton --Calcutta and Havana

Chapter 1
EXPANSION AND NEW FREEDOM
TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC

As Captain Joseph Steele let the new ship Yumchi slip away from the end of Commercial Wharf, Boston, in December of 1844 and set his course for Hongkong, he could hardly have realized that he was sailing away from an old era to a new one. Commissioner Caleb Cushing and the Manchu Kiying as China's representative had signed the Treaty of Wanghia five months before Exchange of ratifications would take place in China before the Yumchi left Eastern waters. By the operation of the treaty, American commerce with China found itself possessed of new privileges and bound by new restrictions. The feature of the change most obvious to a shipmaster was the provision that he might legally enter four new ports in the Empire, where consulates would in time be established, and derive profit from a somewhat enlarged and varied commerce. In 1844 there had been only one American consul in China, at Canton, with another at the nearby British possession of Hongkong.

Further extensions of the range of legitimate commerce which were to be made during the next decade and a half could not be predicted. They followed in the train of events of a complex order, some of which had no immediate connection with the Far Eastern situation. The same was true of modifications in the mechanism of trade and in the economic and social conditions on which it depended for its life.

All but invisible were many results which flowed from the increasing, though intermittent, attention of the government of the United States to the nation's Oriental commerce, including arrangements in the treaty of 1844 for consular restriction and supervision. Comparison of the Yumchi's trip with voyages of other vessels some fifteen years later suggests changes which that period brought about.

Of 419 tons burden, the Yumchi was not a small vessel for her day. Of those ships which appeared at Hongkong in the first quarter of 1860, nearly half were over a thousand tons, and the three largest (the Minnehaha, the Sweepstakes, and the Black Warrior) boasted 1,695, 1,755, and 1,890 tons.¹ The genius of shipbuilders along the Atlantic seaboard and the achievements of the famous clipper ships had transformed the shipping business.

To Captain Steele the trade with which he was concerned was an Eastern trade. He sailed by way of the Cape of Good Hope, past Java Head, Anjeer, and the coast of Cochin China, well-known landmarks, and on to Hongkong, one hundred and thirty-six days out from Boston. Once arrived at his destination he engaged his ship in a miscellaneous trade back and forth between Hongkong, Whampoa, and Macao at one extremity and Singapore and Penang at the other. When ready to return to the United States, he took the route that had brought him out.²

¹ Hongkong Consular Letters. The titles found on the volumes of consular letters vary, and for convenience a uniform method of referring to them is followed. The present reference would hereafter appear as 4 Hongkong CL, any necessary indication of an individual document following the reference to the volume. The term "despatches" is here reserved for diplomatic communications to the government.

Abbreviations of some titles frequently cited require no key. Others appear in an alphabetical reference list at the end of the Bibliography. The index provides guidance to most of the first citations of titles, which are usually accompanied by the customary full description.

² [Journal of the] Ship Yumchi 1844-46. (Essex Institute.) The present work has drawn heavily on numerous log books and sea journals. Much printed information is available in a large four-volume work entitled Commercial Relations of the United States, published in 1858-1857 as Senate Executive Document 107, of the 34th Congress, 1st Session. This publication is hereafter cited, by volume, as Com. Rels. Subsequent annual volumes are cited, with year, in the same manner. Most of the Congressional documents used, however, are cited by Congress, session, branch, class, and number.

The commerce carried on in familiar ports like Canton had yet to become, for Americans, a trade by a route to the West, supported and nourished by exchanges with growing mercantile communities along the way. What had once been the daring and picturesque projection to the Pacific Ocean of the business enterprise of small groups along the Atlantic Coast was to reappear as an increasingly normal service to the economic needs of a nation expanded in actual geographical area and in mental outlook. At the same time, reaching out from newly opened ports north and east of Canton, the old commerce of the Orient, changed and enlarged, linked itself with the economic life of the American West to form a permanent chain of relations. The nation's commercial frontier in Eastern Asia exerted a profound influence on the new territorial frontier acquired in California. The old path to the Orient by way of the Cape of Good Hope remained, but scores of voyages around the Horn and across the Pacific Ocean from San Francisco, especially in the fifties, testified to the creation of a more complex maritime industry.³

The ship Challenge, 2,006 tons, on July 18, 1858 left New York--by that time the chief Atlantic entrepôt for the Oriental trade of the United States--for San Francisco and on November 12 was at her destination, after a run of 15,784 miles. At sea again on December 7 she anchored at Hongkong January 12, 1859. May found her on the return trip to California and once more, in August, she sailed for Hongkong.⁴ These voyages might well have included other East Asiatic ports, annually visited by numerous American merchantmen,

which ten years before either were sealed to general commerce or were just taking their places as centers for lawful trade--for example, Shimoda, Nagasaki, Shanghai, and Foochow. New ports were soon to be opened. In mid-Pacific stood Honolulu, with a growing commerce.

The circle was again complete when merchantmen utilized one route to the East and the other from it. The ship Golden West left New York on February 25, 1858 bound for Sydney.⁵ Not till May was she at Cape Town, damaged in a heavy gale to an extent requiring the noting of a protest at the consular agency of the United States. In Simon's Bay Captain Curwen saw different ships engaged in the Asiatic trade. On August 9 the Golden West anchored off Walker's Wharf, Sydney, promptly losing all her crew by desertion. Suddenly excitement created by reports of gold discoveries near Port Curtis carried off all unattached men and delayed departure of the vessel nearly two months. Finally, with fifty Chinese passengers aboard, the ship arrived on December 8 in the harbor of Hongkong. Difficulties relating to the crew caused further delay. "Our Consul Mr. Kennan [Keenan] is absent and the office is filled pro tem by a man named Roberts who exerts himself to annoy shipmasters and without regard as to how shipped will allow no sailor to be discharged without paying three months extra pay--." By the end of January, 1859 "Our Consul" had returned and the captain was able to turn from his many social diversions to the discharge of most of the crew, apparently without payment of the extra wages.

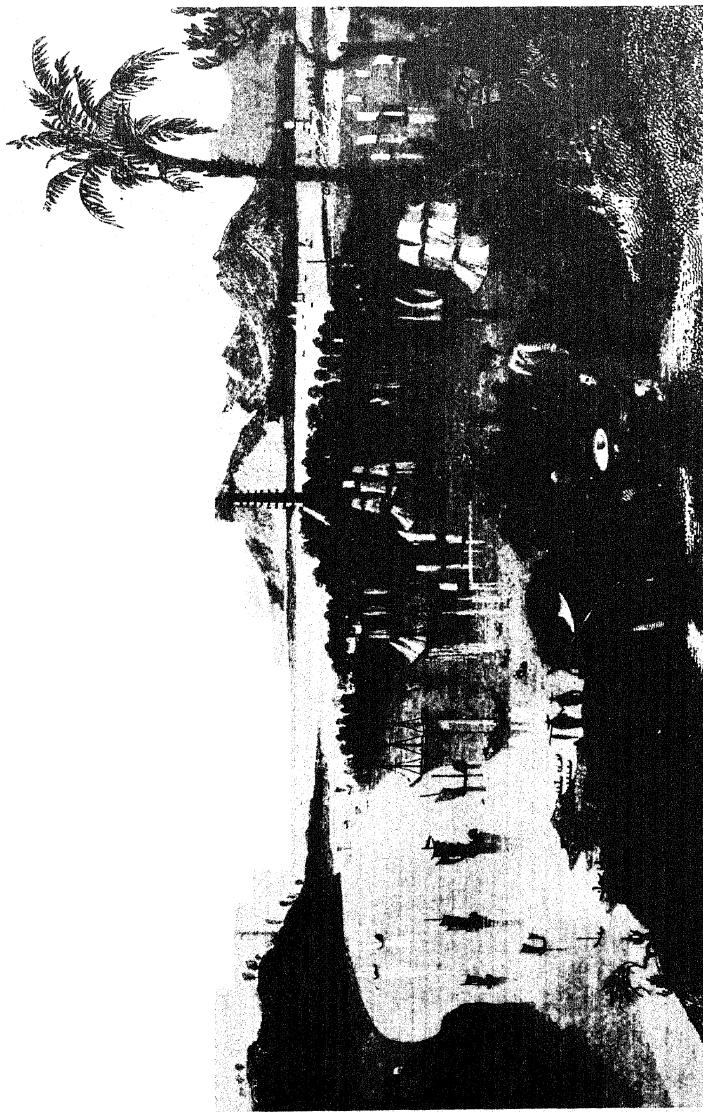
Deciding to lay on for San Francisco, he consigned the ship to Olyphant and

³For earlier routes see Latourette, The History of Early Relations between the United States and China 1784-1844, and the supplementary Voyages of American Ships to China, 1784-1844 (New Haven, 1927). Some of the early vessels going to Canton by way of the Northwest Coast and the Hawaiian Islands continued westward from China, making complete trips around the world. The decline of the trade in sandalwood, ginseng, skins and furs, and the increase of that in manufactures of cotton and iron are indicated in Com Rels, 1860, Pt. I, 442-443, and Com Rels, I, 519, 555.

A recent volume, Harpur Allen Gosnell's Before the Mast in the Clippers (New York, 1937), based on the diaries of Charles A. Abbey, contains maps on which certain routes are traced in great detail. These also show the location of numerous geographical points, supplementing the illustrations and maps included in the present volume.

⁴Ship Challenge Hong Kong 1858-9 (Log in Essex Institute) Hongkong was a rendezvous for vessels desiring to pick up orders or to tranship cargo. It was the center of a web reaching out to many ports of the Far East.

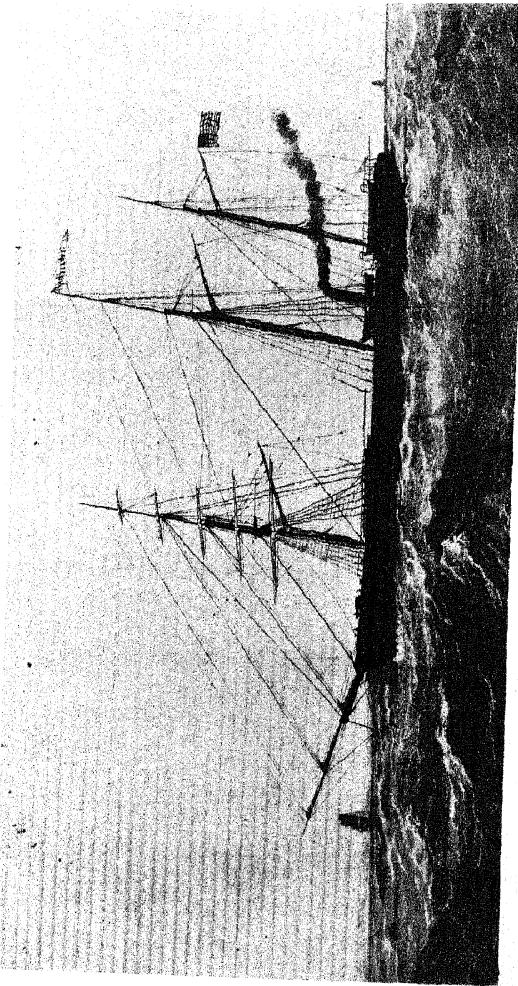
⁵Ship Golden West Sydney, Hongkong 1858-9. (Ms. in Essex Institute) Cf. Carl C. Cutler, Greyhounds of the Sea, the Story of the American Clipper Ship (New York and London, 1930), p. 289.



Whampoa

(From A. van Oosterloo's *China*.)

"The pagoda here is a marked object, and however it may be venerated by the Chinese, on religious grounds, is no less regarded for its usefulness as a land mark by foreign vessels, for they steer and anchor by its bearings." (Perry, *Narrative*, Vol. I, p. 155.)



Built by Samuel Hall, East Boston, for R. E. Forbes and Others,
for the China Trade
reproduction of a lithograph from a painting by F. H. Lane, Boston, 1855, by courtesy of the Clark Col-
lection at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.)

Company One May 4 he put to sea, with two hundred and eighty Chinese passengers, twelve Chinese cooks, three cabin passengers, his own son, and thirty-two crew. He was at San Francisco in time to celebrate the Fourth of July.⁶ Not long afterward a committee of Congress was to report on different routes for a transcontinental railway to bring New York, from which the Golden West had sailed, within a few days of the city where it had docked.

Voyages like those of the Yumchi, the Challenge, and the Golden West indicate the boundaries of a new period, which represented a definite stage in the history of Eastern Asia, of the United States, and of relations between the two regions. In Europe and in England it witnessed changes of consequence. Important aspects of American commercial and consular dealings with Eastern Asia depended for much of their meaning upon these features—territorial expansion, new freedom for commerce, commercial expansion, and enlarged contact of Americans with the ideas and the affairs of the Orient and intermediate points.

An Age of Expansion: Territorial

A political and economic tendency toward territorial expansion produced striking results both in Asia and in the United States. At the very door of China, Governor Amaral's coup in 1849 made Macao Portuguese territory, a change occasioned by loss of trade resulting from the free-port policy in force (1842) at the new British colony of Hongkong. In 1849, the Chinese customhouse at Macao was closed and

collection of duties there was forbidden.⁷ In 1860, Great Britain secured the cession of Kowloon, on the mainland of China, opposite Hongkong. Russia, active at different points along her Asiatic frontier, between 1858 and 1860 came into control and possession of the left bank of the Amur River and the Coastal region of Primorsk. The island of Sakhalin also fell to Russia, which manifested a sharpening of interest in Far Eastern policy from 1850. Like the United States, the Tsar's empire expanded by leaps to the Pacific, leaving a large intermediate area to be consolidated. Russia's new territories, added to her possessions in America, were felt very nearly to give her a dominion of the North Pacific.⁸

American representatives in Asia were interested in the possibility of annexing Formosa and part of the Loo Choo Islands. With a spirit of benevolent acquisition some Americans matched the current talk of appropriation of continental portions of China by European powers. Even the gaining of extraterritorial jurisdiction must be considered as a phase of expansion. The unsuccessful treaty of annexation with the Sandwich Islands—the "Sandal Wood Hills", as the Chinese called them—was an early indication of American interest in Pacific territory.⁹ This interest was obvious enough to arouse strong apprehension and spirit of keen competition among English subjects. There was prospect of a great struggle for "commercial, if not political ascendancy in the Orient".¹⁰ Both the British and the French were strengthening their positions in the South Pacific. Some French sentiment was bitterly anti-American and anti-Russian.¹¹

⁶For an example of the variety of activities and routes of individual vessels note the Gray Feather, considered in Frederick C. Matthews' American Merchant Ships, 1850-1900 (Salem, 1930), 139-140.

⁷Hosea Ballou Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, First volume (The Period of Conflict 1834-1860, London, etc., 1910. Cited as Int. Rels., I), 338.

⁸Russian policy is well described by Frank A. Goldner in "Russo-American Relations during the Crimean War", in The American Historical Review, XXI, No. 3 (Apr., 1926), 462-476, and in his Russian Expansion on the Pacific 1841-1850 (Cleveland, 1914).

⁹Foster Rhea Dulles, America in the Pacific (Boston and New York, 1932) 154-160, R. H. Graves, Forty Years in China or China in Transition (Baltimore, 1895), 156.

¹⁰United States, Treasury Department, Statistics of the Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States 1865 (Washington, 1864—cited hereafter as For. Dom. Com. 1865), 182-192. Cf. Fred Walpole, Four Years in the Pacific, in Her Majesty's Ship "Collingwood" from 1844 to 1848 (Two vols., London, 1850), II, 152; Richard W. Van Alstyne, "Great Britain, the United States, and Hawaiian Independence, 1850-1855", in The Pacific Historical Review, IV, No. 1 (Mar., 1935), 15-24, and W. D. Alexander, "The Uncompleted Treaty of Annexation of 1854", No. 9 of the Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society (Jly 2, 1897).

¹¹Hippolyte Rouaud, Les Régions Nouvelles, Histoire du Commerce et de la Civilisation du Nord de l'Océan Pacifique (Paris, 1868), 55-75.

Important extensions of territory in India and Burma were being made by the English, and the government of India was transferred to the Crown in 1858. In 1847 French warships destroyed the Annamese flotilla in Turon Bay, and in 1856 France and Spain made war on the ruler of Annam. These were the first of the events leading finally to French control of the entire kingdom.

Expansion and consolidation of the United States were continued by large extensions which brought the nation to its maximum continental area. This development was important not only for the Western world but also for Pacific and trans-Pacific regions. There was not an American consul in Eastern Asia whose tasks and problems in later years were not affected by the increasing closeness of the home land to his particular station. A brief review of the well-known story is sufficient to indicate its Asiatic bearings.¹²

To the earliest trade of American vessels with the Orient the national government gave a benevolent, fostering care. Commercial ties with the Pacific islands and the Western coast of the continent were strengthened by whaling voyages. Thomas Jefferson displayed a lively interest in the West. A desire to check British influence there extended to the Far East and to the advancement of trade in Asiatic commodities which could be readily transported across the continent. The story of John Ledyard--turned back in Siberia by Russian officials--, of Lewis and Clark, of Astor, and of other explorers and notable settlers figured in the gaining of the areas which

brought the United States and Asia face to face before 1860.¹³

To 1846 the status of the Oregon country remained in dispute. The entrance of American pioneers gradually created one of those slender threads which strengthened and drew Pacific states into the Union. Petitions emphasizing the importance of the growing trade of the Willamette Valley with the Sandwich Islands were presented to Congress.¹⁴ Another thread led off to California, reached by the first overland trip from the United States before 1830. The year 1845 witnessed a notable migration of settlers. From time to time, deserters from passing "Boston ships" took up residence in California. The advantages of San Francisco harbor emphasized the importance of possessing that gateway to the Pacific. Following the addition of Texas as a state (1845), the war with Mexico and the Gadsden Purchase (1853) secured the territory between Texas and the Pacific Ocean. The country had a long, unbroken coastline on the West, with excellent harbors. The enormous increases in the intervening area from 1848 changed the nation's balance and outlook, intensified problems of communication, and brought out political and sectional rivalries.¹⁵

The rural industries of California were simple. By 1843 a small trade with England and the United States was carried on by vessels interested chiefly in other parts of the Pacific.¹⁶ Then, in 1849, with news of gold drawing them on, nearly seven hundred ships cleared for California from Atlantic ports of the United States. Many goldseekers crossed Central America;

¹² Cf. 32-2, Senate Executive Document 1 (report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1852), 295.

¹³ Latourte, Early Rel., passim, Samuel Eliot Morrison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860 (Boston and New York, 1921), Charles Oscar Paullin, in the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, XXXVI, 429ff., Joseph Schafer, A History of the Pacific Northwest (Rev. ed., New York, 1918), 31, 35, 63, 69n; and Perry M. Collins, Overland Explorations in Siberia, Northern Asia, and the Great Amoor River Country (New York, 1864—a notable book), 379 (features of Russo-Chinese tea trade).

¹⁴ Schafer, Pac Northwest, 130, 133; James Henry Gilbert, Trade and Currency in Early Oregon (New York, 1907), 64ff.—valuable material, William H. Swasey, Newburyport Sea Powers Sixty Years Ago!, a typewritten memoir in the Historical Society of Old Newbury, read first in 1885, Avery Sylvester, "Voyages of the Pallas and Chamaus", in The Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXIV (1933), 259-272, 559-571. Portland was founded in 1845.

¹⁵ Schafer, Pac Northwest, 105, 109, 127, 169n, 198-199. Frederic L. Paxson, History of the American Frontier 1763-1893 (Boston and New York, 1924), 364, 369. Raynor Wickersham Kelsey, The United States Consulate in California (Berkeley, 1910), 47, and Robert Glass Cleland, The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California (Austin, n.d.), and remarks in the Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assn. for 1914, I, 285 and 287-288.

¹⁶ The many excellent "Medford-built" ships of the important firm of William Appleton and Company, however, were constructed and managed for the purposes of both the California coast trade and the commerce with China.

more reached the new Eldorado overland across the United States. In December, 1849 California sought statehood. In 1850 San Francisco stood next to New York in number of vessels entered and cleared. Gold-hungry sailors deserted their ships so extensively that the problem of securing maritime labor affected nearly every port around the Pacific rim. Included in the California migration were persons from the Sandwich Islands and China. Official correspondence is full of references to the commotion created in the Orient by the new windfall.¹⁷

The emergence of California to prominence caused a shifting in the balance of commerce and in international outlook. For example, the growth of a strong spirit of racial exclusiveness in the new state led to severity in dealing with vessels bringing passengers and freight from China. This policy in turn operated to the detriment of American shipowners and diverted much commerce and immigration toward Australia.¹⁸ As the interests of California developed almost to the point of dominating the Pacific situation, the population of San Francisco grew from a few hundred in 1848 to over 56,000 in 1860. The Pacific Northwest lost the limelight. The state of Oregon was not admitted until 1859, Washington following thirty years later. The awakening of California, however, gave considerable indirect stimulus to her northern neighbor and economic satellite. The first vessel sent from Portland to China, the Emma Preston, set out

for Hongkong near the end of January, 1851, and arrived April 1. Other vessels sailed for the Sandwich Islands and Australia.¹⁹

The growth of Pacific communities on American soil increased the need of satisfactory transcontinental transportation. Early plans for expediting communications with the Pacific included steamboat and wagon, as well as railway. As usual, vocal supporters of better facilities emphasized advantages to be gained thereby in the Oriental trade.²⁰ Asa Whitney, who brought the idea to the forefront of the national consciousness, had travelled in China and engaged in trade with that country. At the beginning of 1845 he presented to Congress a memorial asking for a railway charter and a land grant. The railroad soon came to be regarded as a physical possibility, but Whitney's scheme was characterized as that of a robbing promoter. From 1846 on, sectional rivalries complicated the decision regarding a suitable route.²¹ When the Union Pacific was finally completed in 1869, along a middle route, the issues that had long delayed construction were dead. It is questionable whether the driving force that at last pushed the line through was an overwhelming general interest in the Orient, but concern with that region merits emphasis, along with domestic considerations.

While discussion of railway routes proceeded, mail, freight, and passenger requirements called for experimentation with other means of communication. In 1860 about eighteen thousand freight wagons

¹⁷ Monthly Review of the Mercantile Trust Co. of California (varying titles cited as Monthly Rev.), XII, 127, and XIII, 55, 107, 5 China DD (China Diplomatic Despatches), Feb 22, 1849, Bulletin of The Business Historical Society, Incorporated (cited as BBHS), May, 1928, pp 6-7; Emory R. Johnson and others, History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States (Two vols. Washington, 1915. Cited as Johnson, Com U. S.), I, 557-559; Carl Russell Fish, American Diplomacy (Third ed., New York, 1919), 295; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California, IV-VI (San Francisco, from 1886), passim; Paxson, Amer. Front., 374-378.

¹⁸ 3 Hongkong CL (Consular Letters), Apr 14, 1855.

¹⁹ Com. Rel., I, 726, Miscellaneous Letters (incoming manuscripts, Department of State. Cited as Mis Let.), Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, July 26, 1860; Star Marine Journal, Portland, Ore. (later, Oregon Weekly Times), Jan 23 and June 26, 1851, [The John Gosslen,] Journal of a Voyage, from 1853 (Essex Institute); E. W. Wright, Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest (Portland, 1895), 37, 59; Clinton A. Snowden, History of Washington, II (New York, 1809), 453-454; 2 Amoy CL, Aug 1, 1859, Monthly Rev., XII, 274.

²⁰ Schafer, Pac. Northwest, 230-231; Robert Bennett Forbes, Notes on Ships of the Past (Boston, 1888), 25-29; Journals of the legislature of California for 1851 (pp 80, 746-747) and 1855 (p 43).

²¹ Paxson, Amer. Front., 425, 429-430, 434; Allen Johnson, Stephen A. Douglas (New York, 1908), 102; Cardinal Goodwin, The Transmississippi West (New York and London, 1930), 276.

were in operation ²². This activity synchronized with the gradual weakening of the hold of the sea upon young men of the nation. New romance was found in the stage and the pony express. By the end of the period of this study, passengers and the more valuable freight arriving at San Francisco were assured of direct overland conveyance to the Atlantic seaboard. For Americans the Far East had become the Far-West ²³.

New Freedom for Commerce

Among changes occurring during the decade and a half under review, special notice must be given an accelerated loosening of many of the bonds which had previously shackled international commerce, and an increasing sensitiveness of several parts of the world to economic tendencies in other parts ²⁴. Four groups of changes are discernible: in Europe, in European colonies in the Orient, in independent Asiatic states, and in the United States itself. These changes, modified by some contrary tendencies, formed an important part of the pattern and background by which American consuls and merchants in the Orient were governed.

Important relaxations of tariff restrictions by Great Britain, from 1844, worked to the advantage of American commerce. Modifications of differential duties against foreign-grown sugar in that year were of consequence in the trade with China, Java, and Manila. Of special benefit to American shipping was the repeal of disadvantageous navigation laws by Great Britain, in 1849. Eager to secure the largest possible share of the world's carrying trade, American tonnage was quick to take advantage of the new privilege of transporting freely any goods to any port in the United Kingdom (barring the coasting trade), and to English colonies in Asia and elsewhere. In Australia, for example, it was also possible to share in the intercolonial trade ²⁵.

In 1849 the Treasury Department of the United States sent out a circular ²⁶ on the new privileges, and the American Commissioner in China published the pertinent facts for the benefit of his countrymen engaged in commerce in that empire ²⁷. During the summer of 1850 the first American ship to load tea for England under the new laws was chartered ²⁸. Consular reports of the next decade from Eastern Asia, Australasia, and India frequently certified to the beneficial effect of the new freedom on

²² 36-1, Sen. Jol. (Senate Journal, Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session), June 9, p. 599, Paxson, Amer. Front, 462.

²³ Congressional appropriations for aids to navigation on the Pacific Coast began in 1848 (George R. Putnam, Lighthouses and Lightsships of the United States, Boston and New York, 1917, pp. 121-125).

²⁴ Cf. 34-1, H. Ex. Doc. 2 (House Executive Document 2—Letter from the Secretary of State, Transmitting a Report of Changes and Modifications in the Commercial Systems of Other Nations During the Year Ending September 30, 1855, sometimes called Commercial Changes), 159, Arthur L. Bowley, A Short Account of England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century (London and New York, 1895), 51.

²⁵ Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 48, Com. Rels., 1858, 56, Leone Levi, The History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation 1763-1878 (Second ed., London, 1880. Cited as Brit. Com.), 266, 269, 370, H. deB. Gibbons, Industry in England (London, 1886), 459-460; Frederic Austin Ogg, Economic Development of Modern Europe (New York, 1921), 260, 268, 32-2, S. Ex. Doc. 52 (Report of the Secretary of State, Communicating Abstracts of the Diplomatic and Consular Correspondence, in That Department, Respecting the Commercial Regulations of Foreign Nations); David A. Wells, Our Merchant Marine (New York, 1882), 102; Benjamin Rand (comp.), Selections Illustrating Economic History since the Seven Years' War (Fifth ed., New York, 1911. Cited as Econ. Hist.), 241; Great Britain, Accounts and Papers 1859 [2579], Session 2, XXX, Abstracts of Reports on Trade from Ministers and Consuls, Great Britain, F.O., 5/427, America: Domestic, Jan. 8, 1845, Everett to Earl of Aberdeen, and related correspondence of various dates (transcripts of mss.).

²⁶ Cf. Winthrop L. Marvin, The American Merchant Marine (New York, 1902), 58-59; 51-2, H. Report 1210 (American Merchant Marine in the Foreign Trade), pp. XIII-XIV.

²⁷ 5 China DD, Jan. 29, 1850.

²⁸ 1 Hongkong CL, July 22, 1850, Arthur H. Clark, The Clipper Ship Era 1845-1869 (New York and London, 1910), 96-97; Robert Bennett Forbes, Personal Reminiscences (Boston, 1878—especially important), 359; 4 Canton CL, Dec. 31, 1850.

American interests ²⁹

Besides changes in English national laws, certain obstructions to trade were removed by France, Russia, and the North German states in the Zollverein. Commercial legislation and port regulations in some European countries showed a spirit of greater liberality than was found in their treaties with the United States ³⁰.

In European colonies in the Orient useful concessions were made. The Kingdom of the Netherlands relaxed restrictions on foreign trade with its colonies in 1850, and by a liberal commercial treaty with the United States in 1852 granted to American merchantmen the right to engage on equal terms in the direct carrying trade between Dutch ports and Dutch colonies in the East Indies ³¹. As a result, the number of American vessels engaged in the commerce with Java and the nearby island of Madura trebled at once ³². Supplementary edicts followed. A consular convention concluded January 22, 1855 between the United States and the Netherlands made adequate provision for American consuls ³³.

In 1855 an important consular convention had been made by the United States with France. The South Pacific possessions of the latter power were under a different system of commercial legislation from that obtaining in its other colonial settlements. Regulations were sufficiently favorable to permit an increase in

American interests as relations developed between the United States and points on the West coast of South America, in the Sandwich Islands, in Australia, and in China ³⁴.

Of equal interest with colonial changes originating in Europe were many others made in the Orient and the Pacific with an origin that was partly local. Conspicuous among these were further advantages under which foreign commerce was conducted in possessions of Great Britain—in Australasia, Eastern Asia, and India ³⁵. For example, in Labuan and at Singapore no restrictions were imposed on outside commerce. The same was true, in the main, of Hongkong, proclaimed a free port in 1842, at the very door of China. No duties were collected, and foreigners might own and employ any kind of ship ³⁶. According to Consul Keenan, even bills of health were not required. "No new diseases can be imported" ³⁷. British India, administered by the East India Company until 1858, was less hospitable, but some gains were achieved. In 1850 the Governor-General provided for freedom of entry of foreign vessels into the coastwise trade. American commerce prospered, and when the Great Mutiny (1857) occurred a notable increase in the demand for American shipping appeared ³⁸. It has been seen that termination (1834) of the East India Company's monopoly of British trade with China and entry of competing English merchants into

²⁹ Com. Rels., 1858, 35, 38, Com. Rels., III, 648, 666, S Samuels, From the Forecastle to the Cabin (New York, 1887), 258; Clark, op. cit., 275.

³⁰ Rand, Econ. Hist., 292-297; Levi, Brit. Com., 523; Ogg, Econ. Devel., 283-286, 300, 337; Department of State, Regulations Prescribed by the President for Consular Officers of the United States (Washington, 1858). Cited as Com. Regs., 1858. (Indispensible), 268, Flish, Amer. Dp., 286-287.

³¹ 32-2, S Ex. Doc. 52, 148; 28-2, S Doc. 155 (Changes and Modifications in the Commercial Systems of Foreign Nations, 1844-1845)

³² Com. Rels., I, 272ff., and III, 165, Com. Rels., 1859, 135-136.

³³ Com. Rels., IV, 285, Com. Rels., 1860, Pt. I, 252 Cf 1 Ningpo CL, Jan 12, 1857.

³⁴ Com. Rels., I, 125, 154; Guy H. Scholefield, The Pacific, Its Past and Future (New York, 1920), 29, Com. Rels., 1860, Pt. I, 155.

³⁵ Com. Rels., 1858, 43-44, Com. Rels., III, 59, 32-2, S Ex. Doc. 52, 132-139, 28-2, S Doc. 135, 20-21, 169; Charles Oscar Paullin, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States (Washington and New York, 1932—edited by John K. Wright), the final plate.

³⁶ Morse, Int. Rels., I, 292; Com. Rels., I, 76-78, and III, 29-30, 634, 653-654, Charles Oscar Paullin, remarks in Proc. of the U. S. Naval Inst., XXXVI, 455-456.

³⁷ Com. Rels., III, 658.

³⁸ Com. Rels., 1857, 17; 32-2, S Ex. Doc. 52, 3ff., Com. Rels., I, 76-77, and III, 653-654, Com. Rels., 1860, Pt. I, 41-42, Com. Rels., 1859, Pt. I, 57.

the field created a direct connection between the home government and affairs at Canton which in five years eventuated in the first Anglo-Chinese War

The conclusion of the monopoly of the East India Company coincided with the opening of Manila to foreign merchants for trading purposes. The Manila trade was conducted under the laws and regulations of Spain, supplemented by local rulings. Spanish vessels naturally enjoyed special privileges, but duties imposed were reasonable.³⁹ American trade was on a basis of equality with that of other foreign nations, but restrictions as to the shipping of Manila sailors by foreign vessels worked a hardship on shipowners. Nevertheless, sufficient freedom existed to permit a rapid rise in exports of Manila hemp (abaca) and sugar. In 1855 officials decided to open three new ports to commerce.⁴⁰

For the United States, as for European states, the period under review brought numerous direct gains in the form of treaties and subsidiary arrangements with independent Pacific and Asiatic peoples.⁴¹ These broadened the scope of commerce impressively. Five years after the first American treaty with China, the treaty of 1849 with the Sandwich Islands provided extensively for commercial and consular privileges in accommodation of a

trade dating back many years, but accelerated by the emergence of California. Consuls had resided at Honolulu from 1820.⁴² A treaty of peace, amity, and consular jurisdiction was made with the Sultan of Brunei, on the island of Borneo, in 1850.

An American treaty of 1823 with Siam permitted trade in the Kingdom and levied a measurement duty on vessels in lieu of all other charges. Commerce did not flourish. Corrective negotiations in 1850 failed. In 1855 Sir John Bowring arranged a new and favorable Anglo-Siamese treaty, the benefits of which accrued to the United States under the most-favored-nation clause of the treaty of 1833. Among these were arrangements respecting the appointment of consuls. In the following year an American treaty definitely abolished the measurement duties and substituted very light duties on imports and exports. American shipping was guaranteed all privileges allowed to Siamese or Chinese vessels. Other treaties indirectly beneficial to Americans were signed by France, in 1856, and by the Netherlands, in 1860.⁴³

From the standpoint of gains for commerce, the outstanding achievements in treaty-making were agreements with China and with Japan, to which earlier reference has been made. A remarkable extension of

³⁹Johnson, Com U S, II, 107-109, Com Rels, III, 157

⁴⁰Ibid., I, 172-173, 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 129. Cf. James A. LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines (Two vols., Boston and New York, 1914), I, 33-35, and Morse, Int Rels, I, 522 (limited success of the Portuguese in securing foreign treaty status for Macao).

⁴¹On treaties there is subsequent comment in Chapter 5. For the documents see 46-2, S Ex Doc 47 (Haswell's Treaties and Conventions), Com Rels, I-IV, passim, and 32-2, S Ex Doc 52.

⁴²See Com Rels, I, 537-539, U S, Dept of Commerce, Bureau of For and Dom Commerce, The Cane Sugar Industry (Ms Ser No 53, 1917); Com Regs, 1858, 282; Com Rels, 1860, Pt I, p 451, Fish, Amer Dip, 297; J. S. Jenkins, Recent Exploring Expeditions in the Pacific, and the South Seas (London, 1853), passim.

⁴³Com Rels, I, 492-494, W A Graham, Siam (Third ed., two vols., London, 1924), I, 216-217, Com Rels, 1860, Pt I, 408-415, Com Rels, 1858, 177-179.

The approach to Cochin China was unsuccessful. Korea was an object of interest as early as 1845, but no treaty was signed during this period. Commodore Perry's compact with the Kingdom of Loo Choo (1854) was designed to facilitate commercial intercourse. On these regions see Georges Maspero (ed.), Un Empire Colonial Francais L'Indochine (Two vols., Paris and Brussels, 1929-1930), I, 145ff (difficulties in Indo-China at this time); Francis L. Hawks (ed.), Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan under Commodore M. C. Perry. (Three large vols., Washington, 1856. Cited as Perry, Narr), II, 197, and briefer accounts of the trip, such as J. W. Spalding's Japan and Around the World (New York, 1855). Cf. 28-2, H Ex Doc 138 (Proposed Mission to Japan and Korea), p 1.

European and American interests in China was reflected in the terms of the different treaties of 1858 and 1860. Further inroads on Chinese exclusiveness gave additional privileges to commerce.⁴⁴ The American objective was "establishment of the most unrestricted commercial intercourse between that Empire and the United States" and "reciprocal Free Trade" in all articles produced in either country.⁴⁵

In Japan, Commodore Perry negotiated at Kanagawa what was essentially a treaty of amity.⁴⁶ Its commercial features can hardly be regarded as intrinsically important. The document was essentially a first step in reducing the exclusiveness of the Japanese and creating a fairly constant means of communication. Once Townsend Harris was established as Consul-General the next moves were decisively made to secure substantial commercial concessions. Some gains in 1857 were followed in 1858 by the important Treaty of Yedo, which laid a broad foundation for the subsequent foreign relations of Japan and gave foreign commerce a definite standing. The treaties of 1854 and 1858 were followed in each case by others between Japan and European states. The period 1845-1860 began with Japan standing far outside the family of nations and determined to have no equal dealings with foreigners. At its close, Harris resided at Yedo (Tokyo) as Minister of the United States, a Japanese embassy was in Washington to exchange ratifications of the new Treaty of Yedo, and American and European commerce with Japan was pushing forward to a promising future.

Of assistance to foreign commerce were material improvements made in harbors

in China and in Japan, such as the one at Shanghai.⁴⁷ The number of pilot regulations and similar provisions was also increased.

In spite of the generally exclusive policy of Russia in the midst of her territorial and administrative expansion, and the air of secrecy attending negotiations which established Russian sovereignty north of the Amur and in the Primorsk, the commerce of the United States found itself concurrently favored with new privileges in Siberia. Diplomatic considerations and marked good feeling between the two great transcontinental nations were partly responsible. The Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, General Muravieff, cooperated with the American Commercial Agent in "the Amoor", and the Republic's commerce began to assume a tangible form.

From 1856 an enterprising Californian, especially gifted with the capacities of the promoter, acted as Commercial Agent in Eastern Siberia. He travelled extensively, learned much of value to American trade, and was able to see the foundation of commercial intercourse begun. The now forgotten narrative of Major Perry McD Collins' travels and experiences was read by his own generation almost as a modern *Odyssey*. His *Overland Explorations* presents some evidence of increased liberality toward foreign traders on the part of Russia. Collins agitated for a telegraph line from the United States to Europe by way of Alaska and Asiatic Russia.⁴⁸

One feature of certain treaties made by the United States in the Orient gave a large measure of freedom from local legal control. This was the provision for exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction.

⁴⁴Cf Com Rels., 1858, p 2

⁴⁵China DI (Diplomatic Instructions), Nov 9, 1853.

⁴⁶On Perry's Loo Choo compact see further 33-2, S Ex Doc 34 (Report of the Secretary of the Navy . Relative to the Naval Expedition to Japan), Charles Oscar Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1885* (Baltimore, 1912 Cited as Dip Negots.), 280, and remarks in Proc of the U. S. Naval Inst., XXXVII, 1145. Paullin's ably done works are based on important and insufficiently known sources.

⁴⁷Com Rels., I, 529

⁴⁸Cooperation between Muravieff and Collins brought together two men with different backgrounds who shared a common interest in Siberia. The Commercial Agency was located about twenty miles from the mouth of the Amur River, at Nikolaeivsk (founded 1851), seat of government for the province of the east coast of Siberia. Petropavlovsk, with two American houses (one owned by Cushing of Nikolaeivsk), on the peninsula of Kamchatska, suffered a setback during the Crimean War. De Castries Bay ("De Castries"), about a hundred miles south of Nikolaeivsk, offered a better harbor than the main port. Americans had very small interest in the Sakhalin trade.

Conflict between the advantages and disadvantages of this system frequently throws into relief the question whether, short of outright conquest, there was wisdom in making any formal international arrangements to govern relations between Oriental and Occidental peoples, differing widely in customs and in point of view.

The right to settle all disputes between American citizens was granted by the treaties with China (1844), Brunei (1850), Siam (1856), Persia (1856), and Japan (1858). The right to settle all disputes in which an American citizen was a defendant was also recognized by the treaties with China, Japan, and, practically speaking, Siam. The treaty with Brunei (Borneo) gave jurisdiction in any case in which an American was involved, regardless of the nationality of the other party.⁴⁹ The compact made by Perry with Loo Choo in 1854 provided for the return of American offenders to their superiors.

During this formative period, then, inroads on a widespread spirit and policy of exclusiveness were made by American and European treaties in the East, as well as by changes in Europe.

In connection with the general tendency to liberate commerce, attention may be drawn finally to modifications of the tariff of the United States. During the long era of development of home industries and promotion of home markets there were only two island-periods when protection was not the order of the day. The first of these, 1846-1861, coincided almost

exactly with the years covered by the present study. The tariff act of 1846 was succeeded in 1857 by one which still further lowered duties. While the important cotton-manufacturing industry was growing steadily from 1846 to 1860, the production of woollen goods was stimulated by lightening the burden on wool.⁵⁰ Duties imposed by different tariffs upon selected imports from the Orient exhibit the downward movement⁵¹—for example, tea (free, if from the place of production), cassia, ginger, indigo, and tin. Duties on silk were reduced to fifteen per cent ad valorem in 1846, and in 1857 this article went on the free list.⁵² The change was made in spite of petitions to Congress for the protection of domestic silk, which some people erroneously believed might be produced successfully in the United States.⁵³

Although new freedom was gained for commerce in Europe, the Far East, and the United States, contrary forces continued to play their part, particularly in individual countries or localities. As a result of liberalizing tendencies, American consuls in Asia found their own number increased and their duties enlarged and diversified. At the same time, these functions were complicated by numerous and unforeseen problems, frequently arising out of the conservative, restrictive policies which remained in effect. Sometimes the obstructionists were subjects of Asiatic governments, sometimes they were Europeans or European governments, and on other occasions they were small groups of Americans.

American trade in Eastern Siberia operated in the presence of a generally restrictive Russian policy and some uncertainty as to its privileges. In spite of difficulties in navigating coastal waters, the number of vessels participating increased after 1855. The American trade was a frontier business. Demand for imports was limited, and some of the local exports were transshipped at other East Asiatic ports. Among foreigners, Americans predominated. The problems of the Commercial Agency were simple in comparison with those of larger offices. For a more extensive account and for numerous sources see below, Chapter 21.

⁴⁹Art. IX. On consuls and extraterritoriality cf. Chester Lloyd Jones, The Consular Service of the United States, Its History and Activities (Philadelphia, 1906. Cited as Con. Serv.), and Frank E. Hinckley, American Consular Jurisdiction in the Orient (Washington, 1906. Cited as Amer. Con. Jur.), and later portions of the present text.

⁵⁰F. W. Taussig, The Tariff History of the United States (Sixth ed., New York, etc., 1914), 114, 140, 142, 151; Gibbs, Ind. in England, 436, and Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 48-49, 296, 335.

⁵¹A full review of tariff legislation to 1842, with special reference to the Eastern trade, is given in Latourette's Early Relations, 78n.

⁵²Boston Shipping List and Prices Current, Jan. 1, 1851, Con. Regs., 1856, 272; Taussig, op. cit., 149-151; Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States (Washington, 1918), 289-290.

⁵³Norris Galpin Osborn (ed.), History of Connecticut in Monographic Form (Five vols., New York, 1929), IV.

ready to sacrifice the general welfare for the sake of their own special interests.⁵⁴ Within the British Empire some of the evils of monopolies held by particular trading companies remained.⁵⁵ Japan yielded slowly to foreign pressure and long displayed a lingering resistance and animus. Occasionally a situation or a problem in the East pointed a moral for the American government, usually indicating need of improvements in its commercial legislation.⁵⁶ Many cases of qualification of commercial freedom appear in later pages.

An Age of Expansion: Commercial

The commerce of Eastern Asia shared in the general expansion which preceded the American Civil War. A change of significance followed use of steam transportation, general widening of the basis of commerce, industrial transformation in the United States, prosperity of the American carrying trade, and improvements in post and telegraph. The South turned to cotton and the North to agriculture and manufacturing. Western territories were tapped, and the nation's economic life lost much of its maritime orientation, in spite of exceptional activity in its ocean commerce.

Those to whom the sea and its commerce had been paramount for generations did not fully appreciate the westward drain of men and money and the increasing effects of complex industrial change.⁵⁷

Total exports of \$113,000,000 in 1846 rose to \$400,000,000 in 1860. Imports trebled, to reach a total of \$365,000,000 in 1860. From 1850 to 1860 exports of manufactures more than doubled. Domestic and foreign tonnage entering ports of the United States in 1845 amounted, respectively, to 2,035,486 and 910,563 tons; in 1860 the figures stood at 5,921,285 and 2,358,911.⁵⁸

Following remarks sketch larger aspects of American commerce with the Far East and suggest in outline some of its relations to economic affairs in the United States.⁵⁹

Striking advances appeared in the trade with the Dutch East Indies. By 1860 the new commerce with Japan and Siberia presented a promising future. Japanese teas entered the American market in 1857. The Japanese had been quick to learn the manner of preparing this article for the long ocean voyage.⁶⁰ By 1857 there were two American trading houses in Kamchatka, furnishing foreign supplies to the interior. At Nikolaiavsk there were several

⁵⁴ Levi, Brit. Com. 393; Com. Rels., 1859, Pt. I, 371; Com. Rels., 1860, Pt. I, 416, 426; Com. Rels., II, 523, and III, 377; Com. Rels., 1856, 12, 108; 4 China DD, May 28, 1848; Clive Day, The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java (New York, 1904), 277-278; Hunt's March. Mag., Vol. 15, p. 143.

See Com. Rels., 1859, 382, for a desire of local authorities at Hakodate to control all foreign trade, and their fear of the effect of changes on the middle and lower classes.

⁵⁵ Great Britain, Accounts and Papers 1859, as cited above, page 12. Reference is made at the same point to British Foreign Office papers of 1845, relating to Edward Everett's effort to establish the right of American vessels to carry goods between England and Hongkong.

⁵⁶ For examples of this point see Com. Rels., III, 185, 680, and IV, 206 (correspondence of 1854), and Com. Rels., 1856, 85.

⁵⁷ Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 46-48, 52-53; Paxson, Amer. Front., 409; Guy Stevens Callendar, Selections from the Economic History of the United States 1765-1860 (Boston, etc., 1909), passim; Rand, Econ. Hist., esp. ch. X.

⁵⁸ The Cambridge Modern History, VII (New York, 1907), 695-696; Quarterly Journal of Economics, II, 584. Cf. Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 48-49; For. Dom. Com. 1863, 7, 10.

⁵⁹ Cf. Appendix 4 of the present work.

⁶⁰ U. S. Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics, Commerce of Asia and Oceanica (Washington, 1895. Cited as Com. Asia and Oceanica), 1281-1282; Chauncey M. Depew (ed.), One Hundred Years of American Commerce... (Two vols., New York, 1895—a work to be read with critical caution), I; Tribute of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York to the Memory of Abiel Abbot Low [1811-1895], President, 1863-1867 (New York, 1893), 13-14 (promotion of the Japan tea business by Low; note also in this work comments on commercial terminology); Com. Rels., 1860, Pt. I, 403; U. S. Treas. Dep., Bur. of Statistics, Statements of Imports of Tea and Coffee into the United States from 1789 to 1882... (Washington, 1883. Cited as Imports of Tea and Coffee), 423-424.

American establishments In 1856, the first year of foreign intercourse, the two ships entering the Amur River were American Thereafter the number of foreign entries increased sharply Steam vessels for use on the river were sent out from the United States Collins, the Commercial Agent, was one of the first to urge the building of a Siberian railroad⁶¹

An American, Captain Crosby, anticipated treaties and began to trade with Formosa as early as 1854 in a small schooner, the Louisiana⁶² The old China trade expanded and the opening of new ports increased its range For the United States it was chiefly an import business, like most of the nation's commerce with Asia⁶³ Increasingly, however, tonnage found profit in the outgoing trip, or on intermediate runs Imports, chiefly tea, rose from \$7,285,914 in 1845 to \$16,566,587 in 1860⁶⁴ Exports increased from \$2,275,995 to \$8,906,118 American shipping entering home ports from China amounted to 21,204 tons in 1845 and 55,048 tons in 1855, clearances for China in the same years were 17,477 and 101,660 tons Foreign tonnage in this trade gradually increased, especially after the opening of California⁶⁵ Incoming foreign vessels were 1 5% of the total in 1846, 29 1% in 1851, 12 6% in 1856, and 5 1% in 1860⁶⁶

A special increase of American commerce occurred at Shanghai In the three years ending with 1852, the number of arrivals of American vessels nearly trebled, to reach a total of 66 (38,760 tons)⁶⁷ By 1853 the cargoes of thousands of junks in the trade with Wuchang, far up the Yangtsze River from open ports, included all the manufactures sent out from the United States and England, as well as opium brought by vessels of those nations⁶⁸

Far away in Australia the market was opening wider to American trade Articles affected were foodstuffs and mining equipment, after the discovery of gold, American-built merchantmen sold into British registry, and schooners placed in the coasting trade In 1858, seventy-three American ships visited Sydney⁶⁹ American firms appeared at Bangkok in the later fifties, including the American Rice Mill Company, Dunn and Company (largely a ship-building concern), and King and Company⁷⁰

In the Singapore trade with China, American and European vessels were chartered by resident Chinese merchants The large indirect trade carried on by American vessels between China and other parts of the world was not officially reported to the Treasury Department, "a fact that will generally account for the apparent large balance of trade against the United

⁶¹Cf. Collins, Overland Explorers, 318-319 (description of frontier establishments in Siberia, metal roofs, "San Francisco furniture", "assorted cargoes of Japanese, Chinese, German, English, French, and Yankee notions"), 389 (American-Russian children of American traders and whalers, at Petropavlovsk), 385, 395-396, 400, and ch. LXX

⁶²Com Rels., 1859, 13, cf. Perry, Narr., Vol. 1, 482-483

⁶³Johnson, Com U.S., II, 50-51, Com Asia and Oceanica, 1275-1276

⁶⁴Green tea won favor in the United States at the expense of black varieties

During the period, imports from China varied in character less than exports to that country Tea was followed by silk, sugar, spices, and wool Among American domestic exports to China, cotton manufactures held first place, then followed provisions, ginseng, coal, drugs, iron and steel manufactures, and tobacco (1860 report)

⁶⁵Com Rels., I, 523, Com Asia and Oceanica, 1280-1281, Imports of Tea and Coffee, 423-424

⁶⁶For Dom Com 1863, 20-22 This publication provides similar figures for other Eastern regions

For useful and detailed figures on the Chinese trade of the United States see Shu-lun Pan's excellent The Trade of the United States with China (New York, 1924) Cf. Appendix 4 of the present study regarding individual ports in Eastern Asia Index entries for these ports lead to additional information

⁶⁷Com Rels., I, 527 Cf. Robert Bennett Forbes, "Personal Memoranda", in Proc., Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. 7 (1863-1864), 414

⁶⁸(a) () Gallery and (Melchior) Yvan, History of the Insurrection in China, trans. by John Oxenford from the French (New York, 1855), p. 170

⁶⁹Com Rels., 1858, 35-36; Com Rels., 1859, Pt. I, 293, Com Rels., III, 677-678; 29-2, H. Doc. 96 (productions, Trade, and Commerce of the Oriental Nations), p. 37

⁷⁰Bangkok Transcripts (copies of much manuscript material from the United States Legation at Bangkok, sent to the writer in 1932 through the courtesy of Mr. Kennett F. Potter, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.)

States, given in the annual reports from that Department⁷¹ Transportation of colonial coal from Newcastle, Australia, gave impetus to business there and afforded freights from Sydney for American ships in the East.⁷²

Manila hemp and rope enjoyed a lively market in the United States, and the trade in Sandwich Island sugar developed as a result of improvements in processing.⁷³ Visits of whalers to Pacific ports were more and more widely distributed. A large business was created in indigo and rice from the East Indies. Several entire buildings in San Francisco were constructed from granite shipped from Hongkong.⁷⁴

Invention of the sewing machine gave new support to the Oriental silk trade. At this time were created the foundations of the famous Cheney interests, which at first used silk from the Far East almost exclusively. High value in small bulk offset remoteness of origin, legislative interest and individual enterprise were favorable factors. A low sent improved reels to China in an effort to secure more satisfactory silk.⁷⁵

Like territorial extensions, broadening economic range (accompanied by specialization, technological improvements, and new freedom) enhanced the sensitivity of widely separated regions and added new uncertainty to the activities of merchants and consuls.⁷⁶ For example, the difficult currency and exchange problem in China and in Japan was linked both with local peculiarities and with monetary conditions in distant regions. Depression in the American cotton-manufacturing industry about 1850 was attributed partly to the curtailment of sales during political disturbances in China.⁷⁷ Careful work by the American navigator Maury shortened routes and saved large sums. Secret nooks in foreign lands lost their mystery. "The Malay swings in our shrouds, and the cannibal eats roast beef." Climate has ceased to be binding.⁷⁸

American merchants were eager to seize new opportunities and to urge the government to help the commercial community. Parallel agitation for a transcontinental railroad, urgent and long-continued efforts of American consuls and others sought to impress upon the authorities the

⁷¹ Com Rels, I, 515-516 Cf ibid, III, 660, Monthly Rev., XIII, 18, Com Rels, 1859, Pt I, 57

⁷² Com Rels, 1860, 45

⁷³ See Chester S. Lyman, Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California 1845-1850, ed. by Frederick J. Teggart (New Haven, 1924), 81; Johnson, Com U.S., II, 50, Monthly Rev., XII, 108-109, and XIV, 95. Among sources noting prices, see BHHS, Jan., 1832, and Monthly Rev., XII, 174-176. Of the log book of the ship Delhi (Manila, 1844-1845), in the Essex Institute, 56-1, H Doc 15, Pt 5, pp 1371, 1373, and Pt 11, pp 3142, 3149 (summary of commerce and finance, and price movements), LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, I, 33ff.

⁷⁴ Com Rels, 1856, 108, 198, Com Rels, II, 481, Bayard Taylor, A Visit to India, China, and Japan in the Year 1853 (New York and London, 1855 Cited as A Visit), 466

⁷⁵ Osborn, Hist of Comm IV, Clark, Hist of Manufs, 562, 575-576; William Speer, China and California (San Francisco, 1853), 13; The Chinese Repository (an especially valuable periodical published by Americans at Canton, 1832-1851 Cited as Chin Repos.), XIX (1850), p 483, Frank R. Mason, The American Silk Industry and the Tariff, Vol XI, No 4 (Dec., 1910) of the Amer Econ Assn Quarterly, H H Manchester, The Story of Silk and Cheney Silks (New York, 1916, 1924), Lewis Cecil Gray (assisted by Esther Katherine Thompson), History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 (Two vols., Washington, 1955), I, 178, and II, 673, Hunt's Merch Mag, Vol 15, p. 567

From about 1856 the export of manufactured silks to the United States from China declined, while raw silk exports increased. Silk prices in Chinese ports were conditioned largely by domestic demand for silk, but in Japan domestic prices were strongly affected by export demand.

⁷⁶ For a good example of the individual merchant's risks in making decisions see a letter from F. S. Forbes (June, 1845) in the Papers of Wright and Company (Baltimore), in the Library of Congress

⁷⁷ Com Rels, 1856, 168, Clark, Hist of Manufs, 362, E. J. Entel, Europe in China, the History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882 (Hongkong, 1895 Cited as Europe in China), 271-272, Com Rels, 1860, Pt I, 422

⁷⁸ Hunt's Merch Mag, Vol 13, p 140 Of Rutherford Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon a Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan (Two vols., New York, 1877 and 1888 Cited as The Capital of the Tycoon), II, 503, Singapore Transcripts (copies of manuscript material from the consulate-general at

importance of an American line of trans-Pacific steamers. Everywhere in the East Americans hoped to see a line which would match the British services. Legislatures and commercial bodies, naval men, and individuals agitated for it.⁷⁹ This dream, too, failed to become a reality for several years (until 1867).

A reading of statistics and public documents shows the larger ways in which Americans took advantage of new or improved commercial opportunities in the Orient. In addition, there existed numerous small commercial ventures or secondary enterprises and services which might ordinarily be ignored as true expressions of commercial America abroad. They were, in a sense, commerce in disguise.

Mention has been made of the sale of American vessels at Oriental ports and the use of American energy and capital in the local trade of the East.⁸⁰ American citizens almost completely controlled the trade of the Sandwich Islands, which

served as an important distribution point. There and elsewhere in the Pacific, American ship chandlers and shipwrights plied their trades.⁸¹ At Manila a native of Baltimore was captain of the port.⁸² In the same city an American engineer invented an important labor-saving machine for the preparation of hemp. At Asiatic ports pilots from the United States gave invaluable pioneer service. Among these, the most notable was probably Captain Mark L. Potter of Bangor, who reached Shanghai in 1847. The rivers leading to that port lacked buoys and lightships and were without pilots for a distance of fifty miles. The matter had been a subject of discussion for several years, but nobody had dared undertake the hazardous work. Potter was given every inducement by American and English consuls and merchants. He inaugurated a successful but taxing and exciting service. Soon clear of debt and possessing a small surplus, he extended his activities to commercial voyages to

Singapore, supplied through the courtesy of Consul-General Lester Maynard), item of Nov 19, 1861 (relating to the cotton-growing operations carried on in the Straits Settlements by J. B. Hayne of Georgia—"a nephew of the celebrated Colonel Hayne—but not a secessionist")

⁷⁹The extraordinary amount of attention given this project is indicated by a score of sources, of many varied types, which have been used. The list is excessively long, and only those titles which have not been previously mentioned in this work can be entered here. These follow:

Robert Bennett Forbes, On the Establishment of a Line of Mail Steamers to China (Boston, 1855, written 1853), Wen Hwan Ma, American Policy Toward China. (Shanghai, ca 1834), 28, 30-1, H Rep 596 (Steam Communication with China, and the Sandwich Islands); Charles Oscar Paullin and Frederic L Paxson, Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783 (Washington, 1914), 111, 131-132, 3 Hongkong CL, Apr 14, 1855, 5 China DD, Jan 27, 1849, 32-2, S Ex Doc 49 (Report of the Secretary of the Navy respecting Mail and War Steamers [to] China), p 2, 35-2, S Ex Doc 25 (.. Guana Trade), 12-15, 51-1, H Ex Doc 24 (Imprisoned American Seamen), 62, Speeches of Hon Milton S Latham delivered in the Senate on Steamship Line from California to China, also on Telegraphic Communication between San Francisco and the Amoor River (Washington, 1862)

A resolution of a select committee of the Pennsylvania legislature on the steamship line provides a special view of sectional interest in a national undertaking, particularly with reference to the South, and an unexpected angle on the great problem of preserving the Union. See Appendix 5 of the present volume.

⁸⁰Of also Com Rels., III, 651; Esson M. Gale, Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes a New England Ship Captain's Letters, 1850-1858 (typewritten copy supplied by the author—an ably done editorial work of an important type, later printed in part in Proc., Pacific Coast Branch, Amer Hist Assn, 1930), 6n, 4 Canton CL, Jly 2, 1856. The publications of R. B. Forbes are especially useful in this connection. The name Forbes appears often in following pages. The work entitled Personal Reminiscences, by R. B. Forbes, is essential to study of the period. The family had an important relation to Russell and Company, a leading American firm. It supplies a good example of the family and business connections established among different Americans trading with Eastern Asia.

⁸¹Paullin and Paxson, Guide to the Materials in London Archives, 204, Collins, Overland Explor, 440, Harold Whitman Bradley, "The American Frontier in Hawaii", in Proc., Pacific Coast Branch, Amer Hist Assn, 1930, pp. 155-150, Monthly Rev, XII, 109, 127

⁸²For merchant service under foreign flags of Henry Arthur Tilley, Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific (London, 1861), 110.

California Later he created a fortune in the repairing and docking of ships at Shanghai This fortune was used at home in the development of the Middle West ⁸³

At Canton the gifted missionary-publisher and writer, Samuel Wells Williams, conducted a printing enterprise which met an urgent need in business as well as in non-commercial pursuits. The Chinese Commercial Guide, published in several editions, and The Chinese Repository were important fruits of the labors of Williams and his associates. American missionaries like Williams facilitated the negotiation of treaties by which the course of commerce was determined ⁸⁴. American physicians followed their calling at different ports, and in the Imperial Maritime Customs service of China other citizens served usefully ⁸⁵.

In humble occupations Americans had a part, and in certain nefarious ones as well. Some conducted lodging houses and grog shops and ministered to the needs or weaknesses of their countrymen. Others found their places in out-of-the-way trade, sometimes illegitimate. Persons claiming to be Americans sold their services to Chinese desperadoes or pirates. Some American naval officers were involved in disputes relating to selfish monetary speculation during the early years of intercourse with Japan. ⁸⁶

One of the less conspicuous phases of trade extension was the interesting advertisement of American products carried on by those Chinese who returned to their country with tastes modified by a residence in the United States ⁸⁷. During the early years of the immigration of Chinese into the United States, when they were welcomed and their virtues were extolled, and also during the years of persecution and hostile legislation which followed in the fifties, they added directly to the nation's commercial prosperity. They did work which matched some of the incidental activities of Americans in their own land across the Pacific. In California, Governor McDougal recommended land grants to attract Chinese — "one of the most worthy of our newly adopted citizens" ⁸⁸. They entered the country at points as far East as Portland, Maine ⁸⁹.

The changes and activities which have been recorded exerted an influence upon cities of the United States engaging in foreign trade. Development of Pacific coast communities affected the distribution of commerce. In 1860 California had a greater export trade than the state of Pennsylvania. The western coast received a share of the commercial inheritance of the Atlantic seaboard, as it received a portion of its racial inheritance.⁹⁰

⁸³Mark L Potter, Memoir, *passim* (typewritten copy of an excellent source, supplied by Captain Potter's daughter, Mrs Mary L Bush). Cf. Taylor, A Visit, 292-294, 3 Shanghai CL, Mar 31, 1856, Andrew Hull Foote Papers (Library of Congress, Div. of Manuscripts, important for both consular and naval history), Foote to Armstrong, Nov 26, 1856, Bangkok Transcripts, item of Aug 5, 1858, Com Rels, III, 484-485.

⁸⁴Williams' The Middle Kingdom was first published in 1848.

Cf Perry, Narr, Vol 2, 196; Frederick Wells Williams (ed.), The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams (New York and London, 1889). Cited as The Life and Letters, 244n. Albert Smith, To China and Back: Being a Diary Kept, Out and Home (London, 1858). Entertaining, and useful as social history; cited as To China and Back, 20, Com Rels, IV, 495.

⁸⁵Cf Com Rels, 1857, 200, Com Rels, IV, 206-207, 487, 495, Samuels, From the Forecastle to the Cabin, 107, CL from China and Japan, *passim*.

⁸⁶J D'Ewes, China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, in the Years 1855-56 (London, 1857), 44, 46, 89, 3 Shanghai CL, Dec 26, 1855. Cf 221n, below.

⁸⁷For Dom. Com 1863, 190; Monthly Rev., XIII, 56 (and of XIV, 99); BEHS, Jan, 1932, p. 8.

⁸⁸Mary Roberts Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (New York, 1909), 21-22, 62, Bancroft, Hist of Calif, VI, 189 and *passim*, especially the footnotes; Henry K Norton, The Story of California (Second ed., Chicago, 1913); Tu Chen, Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labor Conditions (Washington, 1926); Monthly Rev., XIII, 37; William Maxwell Wood, Fankwei, or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China and Japan (New York, 1859). Acute observations by a naval surgeon. Cited as Fankwei. 265.

⁸⁹25-2, H Ex Doc 92 (Passengers Arriving)

⁹⁰Monthly Rev., XIII, 55, for Dom. Com 1863, 196-199, 191; Benj C Wright, San Francisco's Ocean Trade Past and Future, 42, Papers of Wright and Company (Library of Congress, Div. of Manuscripts), Russell and Co. letter of Sept. 12, 1856.

Other relations changed. The positions of older sections and ports on the Atlantic Coast and the Gulf of Mexico altered with reference to one another.⁹¹ In the trade with Eastern Asia and the Pacific, New York took the lead among the older ports.⁹² The Far Eastern trade of Newburyport had passed early, and Salem, once almost a synonym for Oriental commerce, lost to Boston and still more to New York. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1858, the number of American and foreign vessels entering the district of Boston and Charlestown from the Philippine Islands was fifteen, the number from China was but three. At New York, entries from the Far East (chiefly Canton) in the first half of 1845 were thirty-eight, the corresponding figure for the first half of 1860 was eighty-four.⁹³

Of more immediate consequence was another concomitant and result of territorial and commercial expansion and of the increasing complexity of industry and trade. A notable general revival of the American carrying trade was a distinguish-

ing feature of the period, and almost exactly coterminous with it. Collection of raw materials and distribution of products on a wide scale promoted industry and even bound smaller manufacturing establishments to foreign countries.⁹⁴ This traffic swelled the earnings of shipowners as a class. Vessels often did not return to their home ports for years at a time.

American tonnage increased in amount. In 1846, the total burden of vessels engaged in foreign trade was under a million tons. In the two years before the panic of 1857, production reached its peak, placing American tonnage of all kinds above British tonnage by half a million tons. In 1860, the tonnage in foreign trade was 2,379,000. The figure for 1861 was the highest in American shipping before the World War. For years the total tonnage had been fifty per cent in excess of the needs of American trade. Since a fourth of this trade was carried in foreign vessels, the amount of American tonnage devoted to exclusively foreign carrying can be understood.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Johnson, Com U S, I, 343, and II, 55, BEHS, May, 1928, p 5, Hunt's Merch Mag, Vol 15, 404, J D B De Bow's The Commercial Review of the South and West, XXVIII, 217 Cf Forbes, Personal Reminiscences, 539

⁹² Note the useful Annual Reports of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York

⁹³ Comparisons are based on the writer's detailed examination of customhouse records of the district of Newburyport, in the Historical Society of Old Newbury, and manifests, impost books, entry and clearance books, and similar records in the customhouses at Salem and New York—e.g., (New York Register of Arrivals from Foreign Ports 1859-1861). See also, J [Isaac] Smith Homans and J [Isaac] Smith Homans, Jr (edd.), A Cyclopedia of Commerce and Commercial Navigation (Second ed., two vols., New York, 1859-1860), I, 199, and II, 1440; Gtler, Greyhounds of the Sea, 115; Justin Winsor (ed.), The Memorial History of Boston, IV (Boston, 1881), 222-223; Stephen Noyes Winslow, Biographies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants (Philadelphia, 1864), 27, 29, 130-132, 229-230, Morison, Mar Hist, *passim*, and "The Custom-House Records in Massachusetts as Source of History", in Proc, Mass Hist Soc, LIV (1920-1921), 324-331; Ralph D Paine, The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem (Rev ed., Boston, 1927), 441.

A full account of the competition between ports could be provided only by detailed study of records for other Atlantic commercial cities. Subjects of special interest are: the decline or transformation of local mercantile aristocracies, the course of shipbuilding, and the migration of businesses from one center to another. Other matters are variation in attention given by individual trading groups to different Far Eastern ports and to special commodities, and the influence of commercial changes on the economic and imaginative life of particular sections. One of the most interesting figures was Thomas Whitridge of Baltimore, concerning whom Mr. Morris Whitridge has supplied helpful data. Of such individuals and such changes consular history in the Orient must take account. Cf Appendix 9.

⁹⁴ For criticism of changing mercantile attitudes see Com Rels, III, 667

⁹⁵ David A Wells, Our Merchant Marine, 9-10, 16-18, Com Rels, III, 466, 846-847; Dennett, America in East Asia, 14-15; Johnson, Com U b, II, 51; Clark, Hist of Manufs, 468-472; Royal Meeker, History of Shipping Subsidies (New York, 1905), 150; various volumes of the annual Commerce and Navigation, prepared by the Treasury Department, For Dom Com, 1863, 35, Com Rels, 1859, 374.

Greater efficiency of the individual and use of labor-saving devices reduced expenses and risks of navigation, in spite of higher wages and cost of equipment. Insurance rates were favorable.⁹⁶ Vessels were good paying property.⁹⁷ Preference for American tonnage in the tea-trade between China and London is well known, although insufficient attention has been given to the growing strength of the British clipper fleet.⁹⁸ In the Oriental carrying trade, American ships also encountered the competition of excellent vessels of local construction, such as the large fleets of Chinese junks and fine Siamese ships.⁹⁹ With the increasing use of iron in the construction of ships in the Occident and the rise of steamer tonnage, American shipping began to lose ground, although the economic causes were not easily recognized at the time.¹⁰⁰

The success of the carrying trade before the Civil War was accompanied by a new maritime specialization. Freight, mail, and passengers had formerly crossed the seas on merchant-carriers. Expansion and stabilization of foreign commerce and the desire of non-shipowning producers to sell abroad caused a gradual change. The public-carrier appeared as a profitable and increasingly safe investment.¹⁰¹ Its business was to make freight and to go

wherever cargo could be got advantageously. The ship-broking occupation arose to increase its efficiency with sensitive worldwide connections.¹⁰² The years of this study are those in which rivalry between sail and steam was most acute. English steamer services to Eastern Asia and the steamers engaged in the coasting trade there made a definite impression upon commerce.¹⁰³ Americans were naturally eager for a competitive line from the West Coast of the United States under their own flag. They sometimes regarded their government as derelict in its duty in this respect.

Not only in the carrying trade but in all forms of transportation and communication as well, the period witnessed improvements. Distances were shortened and a premium was placed on speed. Railways extended and stabilized markets and sources of supply. Important telegraphic and postal developments occurred. Far Eastern needs and the admission of California hastened these changes. Even camels from Asia were used in the American Southwest. While experiments were being made with a trans-Atlantic cable, Russian efforts were spanning the five thousand miles between St Petersburg and Irkutsk with telegraph wires, and there were plans for an extension to the Pacific Coast.¹⁰⁴ An example of American interest in telegraphs and

⁹⁶ Wells, *op. cit.*, 11-12.

⁹⁷ Swasey, "Newburyport Sea Powers Sixty Years Ago", p. 2.

⁹⁸ Cf. Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea*, *passim*. American shipping in China was far behind that of the British, in amount.

On the term "clipper" see Albert Bushnell Hart (ed.), *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, IV (New York, 1930), ch. XV (Morison), and Howard Irving Chapelle, *The Baltimore Clipper; its Origin and Development* (Salem, 1930), 4-5, 8-9.

⁹⁹ See, for example, *Com. Rels.*, 1859, 371, *Com. Rels.*, III, 644.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Samuels, *From the Forecastle to the Cabin*, 258; Johnson, *Com. U. S.*, II, 121, Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 255; Dennett, *America in East Asia*, 583ff.; Joanna C. Colcord (comp.), *Roll and Go, Songs of American Sailormen* (Indianapolis, 1924), "Foreword".

¹⁰¹ Public-carriers fell into two classes, "tramp" on chartered vessels, which appeared first, and "line" or "packet" vessels. Development of regular ocean lines naturally narrowed the field of usefulness of the tramps, driving them into the interstices and outlying ranges of commerce.

Facts supplied here and there in Cutler's *Greyhounds of the Sea* (particularly with reference to misfortunes of the years 1854 and 1855) show the close relation between Atlantic and Far Eastern shipping and developing threats to American sailing vessels.

¹⁰² Operation of the shipping business developed in New York more rapidly than the shift of ownership to that city. Only six vessels arrived at Boston from China in 1857, but Boston men owned about half of the forty-one ships reaching New York from China in that year (Winsor, *The Memorial Hist. of Boston*, IV, 222-223). Cf. Letter to the writer from J. B. Grinnell, October 22, 1925, regarding Mystic, Conn., *Com. Rels.*, III, 636; Edward E. Atwater, ed., *History of the City of New Haven to the Present Time*, New York, 1887, 508; Cutler, *op. cit.*, 115; Homans, *Cyclopedia of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, II, 1440.

¹⁰³ *Com. Rels.*, III, 639.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *Com. Rels.*, 1858, 27, *For Dom. Com.* 1863, 196.

cables is supplied by the effort of Consul O'Sullivan (Singapore) in 1858 to impress upon the Department of State the strength of European concern with communication between the Old World and China. He pointed to the lessening time required for communication across Siberia and the anxiety created among Russia's rivals by this gain.¹⁰⁵ The American government was slow to act on plans for a Pacific telegraph and cable. Its delay recalls the slow progress of steps toward establishment of a transcontinental railroad and a line of steamers across the Pacific. The three plans may be bracketed together.

Various improvements in communications quickened the efforts of sailing men, who had previously monopolized the transportation of passengers, freight, and news. One sailing vessel had competed with another. Now the types of competitors increased. Functions became diversified. Widening of the field of trade and the appearance of new kinds of merchants disturbed the somewhat simple pattern of commercial operations formerly obtaining in Asiatic ports. Sailing vessels and merchants of 1845 dealt with two separate worlds. In 1860 these worlds, while still very different, were no longer separate. Transcontinental communication short-circuited the old lines around the two capes and eliminated part of the area of activity which sailing ships had dominated. Cables gradually stripped them of their indispensability as messengers. Beset on every side, they fell back on their main reliance and characteristic strength--abundant

use of sail by skilful masters and improvement of lines and materials by equally resourceful designers and builders. Their attainment of speed in the Oriental trade has a marked interest. In the Far East, rival forms of communication displaced them more slowly than in the Atlantic. For several years their accelerated transmission of news and instructions to and from the Orient was of special moment to American merchants and to the nation's representatives on the diplomatic and consular frontier, chafing under the necessity of waiting for months for instructions on delicate and pressing problems.¹⁰⁶

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American newspapers and the American public derived educational advantage from the facilitation and acceleration of the movement of commodities, from the generally expansive and broadening character of the period, as determined by geographical or territorial acquisitions, and from the widening basis and added complexity of trade. Better communication stimulated the flow of news. With reference to the Orient, certain classes had long possessed keen interest and valuable knowledge. What hold that region had on the popular mind can be learned only by specific investigation of the general dissemination of commercial and geographical information, the entrance annually of hundreds of ordinary citizens into the merchant marine, and the growing need of attention to public policy with reference to Far Eastern relations.

¹⁰⁵ Com. Rels., 1858, 26-28. On a Singapore-Batavia cable see Com. Rels., 1860, Pt. 1, 44-45. There were schemes to adapt the telegraph to Chinese and Japanese needs; cf. Collins, Overland Explorations, 467. ¹⁰⁶ Cutler's Greyhounds of the Sea (appendices and maps) deals with sailing time and records. Cf. John W. Wayland, The Pathfinder of the Seas, the Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury (Richmond, 1830), a study of an important American, Ralph Minthorne Brown, Bibliography of Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury, Including a Biographical Sketch, in the Bulletin (XIV, No. 2) of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va., Ship Golden Eagle China 1859-1863 (Journal in the Essex Institute, concerns a vessel which is the possible holder of the speed record for sailing craft); New England Quarterly, IV, 162 (remarks by S. E. Morison).

Chapter 2
EXPANSION AND NEW FREEDOM:
INFORMATION AND POLICY

Dissemination of Information

The Orient was brought to the attention of millions of Americans and Europeans by international expositions and world's fairs which began in 1845. The decade and a half before 1860 constituted one of those periods in East Asiatic history which stimulated publication of great numbers of travels, descriptions, and reminiscences "Survey" books appeared in several Western languages. Books by general travellers, accounts by those connected with wars and diplomatic missions, observations of missionaries and merchants, and miscellaneous writings testify to the prominence of Oriental affairs. Numerous persons in the United States could discuss Asiatic localities and personages intelligently.¹

In the hands of various committees of Congress were placed memorials concerning Asiatic commerce, and the Department of State issued important publications containing much information. Magazines and newspapers devoted largely to different phases of commerce were held in high esteem. In several American cities, as well as in the Orient, papers were published which provided shipping lists and prices current. Individuals like Perry, McD. Collins and Aaron Haight Palmer drew

attention sharply to opportunities in the Orient. Palmer wrote at length, assisted the government, and attempted to get in touch with native officials and merchants in Asia. He aided the inauguration of vigorous efforts to open Japan to commerce.²

Exploring expeditions and naval activity, the prospect of new territorial acquisitions or commercial gains in little known regions, and diplomatic or naval missions kept the Far East in the public eye. Caleb Cushing, first commissioner to China, carried home one of the most complete libraries of Chinese books ever owned by an American. The Chinese Museum, opened in Boston during September, 1845, exhibited some of his Chinese possessions.³

It is a long step from the founding of this museum to the Oriental museums, libraries, and exhibits of recent years. In the interval, the nation became preoccupied with other matters. At a few points only there lingered an overseas tradition, long kept alive through marine organizations, museums, and scientific and historical societies. Salem is classic, in this respect. There, at New Bedford, and at similar points is the maritime memory of the nation. On the Pacific Coast, where large numbers of Americans came in contact with Chinese immigrants, a

¹ Levi, Brit Com, 321-322, 325, Depew, One Hundred Years of American Commerce, I, Wood, Fankwei, 144-146, 231; Smith, To China and Back, 20-21, Forbes, Personal Reminiscences, 199ff.

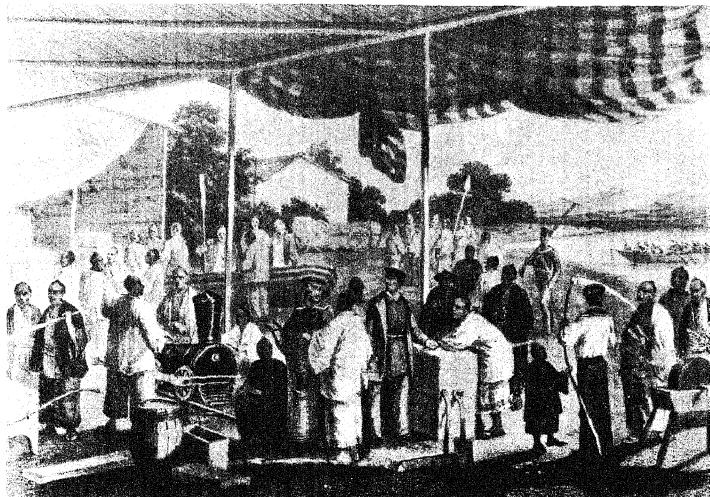
² Boston Shipping List and Prices Current, IX, No 35, and XVI, Nos 65-66, (Philadelphia Commercial List, and Trade and Statistical Register, numbers in 1850, Irving Garwood, American Periodicals from 1850 to 1860 (Macomb, Ill 1831), p 8; 32-1, S Rep 21 (Seward, regarding A H Palmer)

³ Spalding, Japan and Around the World, 322, 345, Soc of Amer Military Engineers, The Washington Monument, Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, 476, 498-497, Howard K Beale (ed.), Diary of Edward Bates 1859-1866 (Washington, 1933), 92-93; Claude M Fuess, The Life of Caleb Cushing (Two vols., New York, 1923), I, 450, Chin. Repos., XV (1846), 547-552, Alexandre Bonacossi, La Chine et les Chinois (Paris, 1847), J J L Duyvendak, "The First American at a Chinese Court", in The Chinese Christian Student, XXIV, Nos 2-3 (Nov -Dec., 1932), A Catalogue of the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1850), and an addition thereto (1856); A Classified Catalogue of the Mercantile Library of San Francisco (1861).



Shimoda from the American Graveyard
at Karizaki.

(From Perry's Narrative, Vol. 1, facing page 425.)



Compare the illustration on page 355.
(From the Chadbourne Collection, Naval Historical Foundation,
Washington, D. C.)

practical and sentimental interest in the other shore of the Pacific Ocean existed. In California, American missionaries returning from the Far East worked among Chinese residents of the new state.⁴

Growth of urban populations in the United States and increase in consumption of distinctly Oriental products within the period made China and Japan fixtures in American household economy. Factory operatives began to think in terms of foreign markets and conditions. Popular interest in the clipper ships and their competitive records meant a sharp and almost

continuous focus of attention on trips made to Far Eastern waters—one of the great sporting fields of the day.⁵

A readier dissemination of information also appeared in the Orient as communications improved and contacts increased.⁶ Thousands of persons in China and Japan gained at least some elementary information concerning the United States and Europe. The masses of the population continued undisturbed in their ignorance of foreigners for many years, but a few barriers and prejudices were reduced. As in the West, visual reminders of the ideas

⁴ Graves, *Forty Years in China*, 169; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London, 1929); also New York—a comprehensive and detailed narrative, with discussions of policy), 249.

⁵ Ernest Ludlow Bogart, *An Economic History of the United States* (Fourth ed., New York, etc., 1924), 244; Ogg. Econ. Devel. 350-351; (U.S.) Imports of Tea and Coffee, 427-428, and Com. Asia and Oceanica, 1280-1281; J.D.B. De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States...* (Washington, 1854), 118; Joseph G. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census 1860* (37-2, H. Ex. Doc. 116); Bancroft, *Hist. of California*, VI, 185n.

⁶ Com. Rels., 1859, 371. Cf. Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, I, 126.

of the period remain, such as the color scrolls at the Imperial University of Tokyo, depicting the situations and events of Perry's historic mission

Seamen

As purveyors of much information and misinformation about foreign races, and as objects of special consular and commercial concern, seamen formed a class whose ideas and habits of life require notice. They were the fingertips of the American population, reaching into remote quarters. First knowledge of Occidental peoples was often gained by Asiatic communities from experience with wandering or miscreant sailors, largely Americans. Pacific islanders secured from whalers and from some resident merchants an unfortunate and one-sided idea of Americans. Christian missionaries found in hundreds of their countrymen active apostles of evil. It would be unwarranted, however, to assume that all the peaceable unconventionalities of seamen were vicious or were objectionable to native peoples. To a few sailors like the famous Ranald MacDonald we are indebted for information of permanent worth.⁷

Adventurous mariners often returned to their own scattered communities in the United States to tell of what they had seen and to add a little to the geographical information of their acquaintances. Some fell victims of accident, disease, or their own foolish deeds, either at sea or in distant countries, dropping out of sight entirely or swelling the number of human derelicts found in Asiatic ports. Others rose by force of will and merit to positions of authority in the merchant service. All shared in one of the most appealing adventures that the day afforded.

Oh, it's Sindbad the sailor and Robinson Crusoe,
I left my native counterie a-roaming
for to go
I went to be a sailor, returning as
you see,
A mixture of an Indian, a Turk, and
a Japanese⁸

The sailor's life was more than a mere part of the trade, an export of American brawn and skill. It constituted a distinct type of community, with its own regulations, customs, and problems. It was charged by characteristic aspirations, friendships, disappointments, and hatreds. No drama was more tense. It created a small literature of its own and had its share of art in the beauty of the vessels which collectively were its pride, and individually were the subjects of peculiar sentimental associations among the men belonging to them. Official provisions concerning sailors, consular obligations to them and consular problems created by them, logs of vessels, and various accounts of life aboard ship point to the unique character of their lot. From the moment a vessel sailed until she reached port no person on board was free from the special police and judicial authority prevailing. Social customs and reactions, good and bad, as well as economic organization, were no less marked. The sailor's situation becomes apparent in comments on wages, conditions of work, elements of danger, natural and human, which required an armed existence, and diversions.

Wages of American seamen were higher than those paid on foreign ships. There were variations, nevertheless, within the American merchant service. Special circumstances, such as those produced by the rush to California, also had an effect on earnings. Many masters and owners were quick to avoid charges that could be saved.

⁷Lyman, Around the Horn, 151, 179, GL, passim, William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami (edd.), Ranald MacDonald 1824-1894 (Spokane, 1923), Eva Emery Dye, McDonald of Oregon, a Tale of Two Shores (Chicago, 1907), presenting a good synthesis of ordinarily unrelated events, Chin. Repos., XVIII (1849), 530-531.

⁸Colcord, Roll and Go, 97 (Copyright, 1924, used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company). Alexander Laing's The Sea Witch (New York, 1933) is an excellent fictional treatment of personal and psychological aspects of the life of seamen, faithful in its historical setting. Cf. Paine, The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem, 422-426, Clark, The Clipper Ship Era; Lyman, Around the Horn, passim. The scarcity of materials concerning seamen and ships is hardly as great as has sometimes been supposed.

at the expense of their crews. Masters had always in mind the interests of "their owners." Some of the most sordid problems confronting consuls were wage disputes.⁹ These controversies presented a clear-cut class antagonism. The gap between employer and employee widened as native Americans forsook seafaring and foreigners took their places. A casual borrowing of names and official "protections" created new complications.

The great number of seamen shipped on American vessels at foreign ports indicates the existence of much uncertainty for both employer and employee. Harsh treatment aggravated the problem of desertion and made it a constant anxiety. "Inter-vessel runaways" sought better conditions or refuge on other ships than their own. Any scarcity of Americans and Europeans at Eastern ports meant an increase in the number of East India seamen (lascars), Filipinos, and others employed. Of these there were many. The number of native and naturalized American seamen registered in the United States in 1855 was 9,686.¹⁰

These men developed occupational habits, traditions, and grievances. Life on shore during periods of leave offered variety, but complaints about working conditions were unremitting. Numerous unnecessary hardships were imposed in the attempt of masters to wring out of their ships and men every possible penny of gain for the owners. By attaining maximum sailing speed they hoped to make record runs and to increase their own earnings. Loading beyond the limits of reason and of proper regard for the rights of underwriters and the safety of crews was also practised.¹¹

The economic problem was intensified by an abnormal and trying state of mind, resulting from the monotony of long voyages, personal antipathies between officers and men, and hostility between different members of the crew. Restrictions were many; illness, sudden dangers and vicissitudes were frequent, and supplies of food and water were often limited or inferior. Drunkenness and its concomitant excesses spared the morale of but few vessels, and the misunderstandings and

⁹ Large offers were frequently required in the Orient.

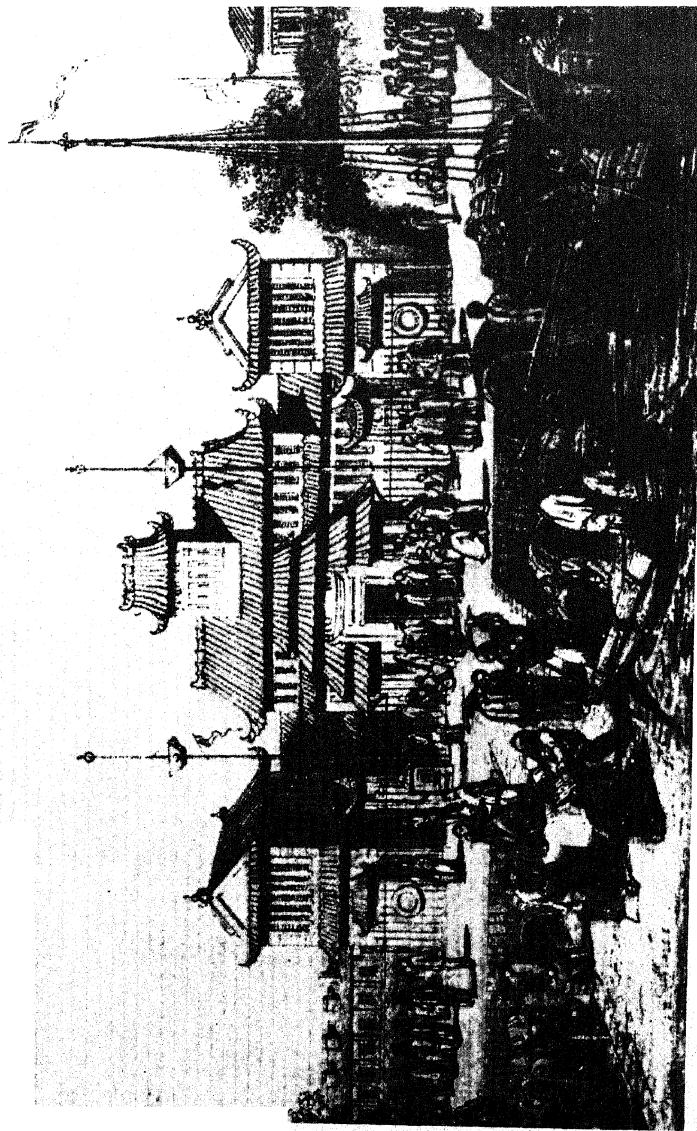
The following example of a wage statement is taken from the log of the ship Shirley.

Master	\$125 a month
First Mate	45 " " --age 25
Second Mate	30 " " --" 38
Third Mate	20 " " --" 50
Steward	25 " " --" 35
Cook	20 " " --" 28
11 Seamen, each	12 " " --ages 20, 25(2), 24(2), 25(2), 29, 30, 49(2)
Carpenter	\$20 a month
1 Seaman	12 " "
2 Ordinary	6 " "
1 " "	7 " "
11 other men	5 " "[probably Filipinos]
10 Port Phillip men	45, by the run

See Com Rels, III, 645, Morison, Mar Hist, 552; Gale, Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes, 4-5, 31-1, S Ex Doc 1 (containing report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1849), 428; Log Book of the Red Rover, Oct 8-9, 1859, 3 Canton CL, Jan 13, 1846, a journal kept on the ship Hamilton (Boston to the Orient, 1847-1848); BEMS, May, 1928, pp 6-7, and Dec, 1931, pp 9-14, 37-2, H Ex Doc 16 (Asiatic Coolie Trade), 10, Benj F Cutler, Memorandum of the Sea Life of Capt B F Cutler, a valuable narrative, privately printed, and courteously supplied by Captain Cutler's son, Mr T W Cutler, of Stonington, Conn., (Chas F Saunders, Journal of a Voyage in the Ship Hindostan (Ms., Essex Inst)); (Log of the Shirley (Ship), Com Rels, IV, 476-477).

¹⁰ 34-1, H Ex Doc 3 (American Seamen), 8; 35-1, H Ex Doc 5 (American Seamen), 35-1, S Ex Doc 5 (Abstract of Returns of American Seamen). Cf Eliz T Sheppard, American Consular Service, in The University Chronicle, Univ of Calif, IV, No 6 (Dec, 1901, Berkeley), 417.

¹¹ See, for example, Samuels, From the Forecastle to the Cabin, 197-198.



The Customhouse at Shanghai
(From Moses' Recollections . . . , 1860)

tragedies arising out of abrupt social contacts and conflicts of customs in foreign ports make sorry reading. Add to this a variety of legal jurisdictions—American, Chinese, Japanese, English, Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch—and the situation in Eastern Asia presents its full quota of complications.¹²

Food and drink provided by the ship and the "doctor" (seacook) were usually an acute concern.

Now the captain is aft and he's reading a book; He'll come for'ard bimeby and he'll growl at the cook;

He will life up his eyes to the blessings of God
Over a plate of boiled rice and some rusty salt cod.¹³

The joy afforded by passing other vessels at sea was heightened whenever the exchange



Captain Benj. F. Cutler
(May 28, 1830--September 16, 1903)

of greetings ended with an additional exchange of water or edible commodities needed by each ship.

Inconveniences and discomforts were many, but the positive dangers of voyages and life ashore were as numerous, and much more serious. No phase of the sailor's life can be considered without taking into account an element of adventure, chance, and violence that colored his whole existence. He ran a considerable risk of being beaten into insensibility, stabbed to death, or drowned. Accidents always lurked near. Even a man's few possessions might be stolen from him. Many unwilling members of crews

were procured by the growing practice of shanghai-ing, or crimping. Sailors stood at a disadvantage in court, where their testimony was regarded with suspicion.¹⁴

Oppressive idleness alternated with periods of excessive exertion. Headstrong captains took out of their crews, toiling

¹²(State Street Trust Co.,) Some Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston (Boston, 1918); Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York for the Year 1858, 25-28; Sea Journal Ship John Bertram Manilla 1853-5 (Essex Inst.); Cutler; Greyhounds of the Sea, *passim*; Forbes, Notes on Ships of the Past, 43-44; Gale, Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes, 6.

¹³From Colcord's Roll and Co. (Copyright, 1924; used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Co.) These lines are part of the sea shanty "The Dom Pedro", one of the few songs arising in the trade with China. Its full text epitomizes and animates the contents of a shelf of log books and sea journals.

See Falcon (bark) Journal of a Voyage...1858-1859 (Essex Inst.); Ship St. Paul Manilla 1844-5 (Ms., Essex Inst.); BHHS, May, 1928, p. 5; and Seaweed (typewritten copy of a manuscript diary, 1856-1857, by Marie Antoinette Kinney), 83-84, poem "Before the Mast" (dwelling on the sailor's loneliness, risks, emotions, and courage).

¹⁴CL, *passim*; cf. Morison, Mar. Hist., 352-353.

at the pumps, the price of their determination to put to sea in leaky vessels rather than tolerate delay and incur expense for repairs. Illness took a heavy toll. Log books serve as a kind of hospital record and abbreviated obituary.¹⁵ Few types of sources compress a larger or more varied assortment of human interests and problems.

Protective resources of consular and naval officers were often inadequate for the needs of commerce, and self-protection was the established practice among traders and seamen. Not only the ships, but the sailors as well, were armed appropriately to ward off the dangers likely to overtake them. On the sheath-knives of seamen oaths were taken, the object of a covenant might be the pitching overboard of a disagreeable officer.¹⁶ Larger armament was useful as a defense against Malay or Chinese pirates infesting straits and seas in the Far East. For American seamen, dangers and difficulties were often compounded in a single case, as the following illustration indicates:

Captain Cutler relates that at an anchorage some ninety miles from Shanghai (1856) it became necessary to take some of the men from his damaged ship, the Ariel, and attempt to proceed in a boat to the city for help. At night the falling tide left them in the mud--

"We remained in this position all night, could hear the native fishermen all around us, as they had the reputation of stripping everyone driven ashore there. And only a few months previous had murdered the crew of an opium brig which got ashore there."

"At break of day we discovered that we were nearly a quarter of a mile from the water and immediately started to haul our heavy boat toward the water, and a very slow process."

"As soon as it was light the fishermen began to gather around us, and soon there was quite a crowd of them. They would come up, look into the

boat and handle the things in her. It suddenly occurred to me that they were after the meat and bread, so making a motion to take it, they all went for it and in a moment all were busy eating it. In the meantime we kept at work on the boat, they standing by watching us and eating our provisions. After a little while and some jabbering they all made a rush for the boat, picked her up and started for the water with her, we following with our oars. As soon as she was afloat we all got into her and they gave us a shove off and we were soon out of their reach, glad enough to be off their hands."¹⁷

Finally reaching the opium hulks at Woo-sung and then going on to Shanghai, Cutler secured assistance and returned to his vessel. "Having been without sleep for almost three days I was about worn out." Repairs being too expensive, the cargo was transhipped and the vessel was sold to the Chinese for an opium hulk at Shanghai.

The loss of men overboard was so frequent that the form prescribed for use by consuls contained a regular entry space under this head. Within four months one vessel was thus deprived of three men. The dangers created by intensified human passions were no less than those of wind and water. Log books and journals abound in accounts of quarrels and fights.¹⁸ The consolations of religion seem to have played small part in the lives of crews. On one ship but a single person "professed" religion--the mate, Parsons by name.

Visits to home ports brought a degree of social relief to native American sailors. Their pride showed in their dress, and it is not strange that men active in the generation before the Civil War later looked back to it with sentiment.¹⁹ In foreign ports the available diversions tended toward debauchery. In China, various disturbances offered excitement for the more belligerent. The

¹⁵ Cf. Percy Chase (comp.), Records of Voyages of Clipper Ships (cir 1845-1855), mss. in Harvard College Library.

¹⁶ Samuels, From the Forecastle to the Cabin, 75.

¹⁷ Memorandum, 4-5, cf., 2-3.

¹⁸ For example, those of the Game Cock (1854-1856), the Red Rover (1859), and the Yumchi. Cf. Seaman's Friend Society, The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal, XXVII (1855), preface.

¹⁹ See the descriptions in Swasey's Newburyport Sea Powers, 10-11, and Morison's Maritime History, 257.

mere strange and exotic sights afforded passing interest. Mariners bought many cheap and grotesque curios,²⁰ but good taste sometimes asserted itself in the purchase of artistic chinaware, bronzes, and enamels which came to adorn American homes, especially in New England.

Since the ship was a community, and life on board was a microcosm, however mis-shapen, there was a place for the spirit of mirth. At sea the slightest variation from routine produced intense interest. It might be nothing more than the furtive visit of a rat to the deck and the ensuing chase given by all hands. Crossing the equator gave opportunity for initiatory horseplay. Passing vessels supplied news, such as the report of a great fire at home or the failure of the Atlantic cable. Several shipmasters sailing to the Orient were accompanied by their wives and children, who doubtless added a softening element to ship life and made it resemble in greater degree normal life in communities ashore.²¹

Policy, and the Financial Background

The attention of the government of the United States, like that of the general population and sea-going citizens, was directed to opportunities and difficulties created by territorial and commercial extensions of the time. After several decades of comparative neglect the consular system was given the most careful attention that it had yet received. Use of fresh treaty rights in the Far East increased the range and complexity of interests to which the collective mind of the nation necessarily addressed itself, through official attitudes and policies. An important feature of the financial background of these expressions was the marked prosperity and activity of the pe-

riod, checked only temporarily by several vicissitudes.

In the Orient, the origins of American diplomacy were definitely commercial.²² It was only with an increase in the demands of those engaged in commerce for more official attention to their interests that official policy took on positive and tangible form. Unfamiliarity of the Chinese and the Japanese with even the elementary processes and the spirit of Western diplomacy complicated the task of the American government, in common with European governments. For China, in particular, previous experience in dealing in imperial manner with neighboring states, and with small groups of Europeans, made mastery of the lessons in international comity a difficult matter.²³ With the appearance of a diplomatic as well as a commercial aspect of foreign relations in the Orient, interracial contacts became international. Forms and procedure became almost equal in importance with the substance of problems discussed. Naval matters and the possibility of securing territorial outposts in Asia or in the Pacific claimed American attention, but the central importance of commerce as the leading excuse for diplomatic, consular, and naval activity was never long forgotten.

Different branches of the government maintained unlike attitudes—the houses of Congress, the Presidents, and the executive departments. The lagging and preoccupied mind of Congress was not disposed aggressively to promote commerce and to seek territorial gains overseas as a means of aiding it. Nevertheless, public outlook and policy were influenced by current changes. Individual members of government, like unofficial leaders of opinion in the nation, often spoke out with a vigor which did not characterize official action.

²⁰ Robert Fortune, A Residence Among the Chinese [1852-1856] Inland, on the Coast and at Sea (London, 1857). One of a number of useful books by this competent traveller and scientific observer. Cited as A Residence, 78.

²¹ For a striking summary of the early life of one daughter of a ship see the "Introduction" of Colcord's Roll and Go, cf. Ship Yumchi 1844-46 (Journal, Essex Institute).

²² Sheppard, Amer Con Serv, 407; Fish, Amer Dip, 284; Perry, Narr, Vol. 2, 363-370; Dennett, America in East Asia, 99ff; Latourette, Eaily Rels, 126ff; Dennett, "How Old is American Policy in the Far East?", in The Pacific Review, II, No. 3 (Dec., 1921), 465-474, CL, passim.

²³ Cf. James Morton Callahan, American Relations in the Pacific and the Far East 1784-1901 (Baltimore, 1901. Cited as Amer Rels), 103.

Feeling itself less dependent on Europe than formerly, the expanding nation was touched by a benevolent sense of mission. Belief in its destiny and faith in its expansion amounted to a national conviction.²⁴ An enthusiastic and superficial belief in the universal applicability of the national institutions joined with similar sentiments concerning the beneficence of foreign commerce.

"Let our government then by a liberal policy, diffuse abroad the products and the blessings of its free institutions and reap a golden harvest, in the returns of a lucrative trade, and in the consciousness of having done something for the advancement of the race."²⁵

When attention was directed to a specific issue like the trans-Pacific steamship line, delay and inconstancy of Congressional interest tried the spirits of enthusiasts.²⁶ There were no precious overseas possessions to provide a sense of responsibility and a test of consistency. Even a portion of the foreign trading community sometimes failed to cultivate the imperial mind. The limited hospitality of Congress to mercantile ideas is seen in the history of memorials and resolutions, which served a persuasive purpose similar to that of the communications preserved as Miscellaneous Letters in the files of the Department of State. Opposition ran all

the way from the quick extinction of a petition to annex China, to the interesting hostility of Benton, the Orient-conscious frontier statesman, toward the Cushing mission.²⁷ A typical attitude among uninformed politicians was a desire to defer commercial arrangements with Oriental powers until "new exigencies" should arise.²⁸

Stronger interest was evinced in measures designed to end discriminatory or oppressive treatment of American citizens, whether the case was one of damaging trade monopoly in Siam, mistreatment of Americans in Japan, or some other of the numerous complaints. In response to memorials of commercial bodies for better protection of trade in China,²⁹ the Senate committee on naval affairs reported in a bill providing the special type of steamer required, but stipulated that it must follow the lowest of the Navy Department's estimates. Even the guarding of commerce allowed of no generosity, and Congress doled out money sparingly for it. A similar preference for piecemeal financing appeared in the matter of consular salaries and expenses, greatly complicating the protective function of the overseas service.

It was natural that the Department of State should be more responsive than Congress to the extension and support of commercial interests. It was directed by men possessing some acquaintance with foreign affairs and interest in expansion.

²⁴ Fish, Amer. Dip., 280.

²⁵ From comment on the propagandist work of A. H. Palmer, in Hunt's Merch. Mag., Vol. 15 (1848), 145-146. (Cf 36-1, H Rep. 428—Pacific Railroad, p. 18.) Not less lucid was the rising belief in the future of American missions in the Orient. The periodical literature of the time is very rich in articles on the Eastern situation, notably Hunt's Merch. Mag., De Bow's Rev., the Living Age, the Banker's Mag. (N.Y.), and Harper's. On commercial policy and theory note the Wagner Collection at Yale University. Merchants in the Orient, their representatives and friends at home, chambers of commerce, and special interests sought the official ear for a variety of purposes, e.g., intervention to end inconvenient hostilities between China and Great Britain. See the note on the Views of Commodore Perry and Townsend Harris, appended to this chapter.

²⁶ Cf. Katharine Coman, The Industrial History of the United States (Rev. ed., New York, 1922), 265-266.

²⁷ 29-1, H Jol., 494, 636; Paxson, Amer. Front., 412-413; Fuess, The Life of Caleb Cushing, I, 442; A Biographical Congressional Dictionary (61-1, S Doc. 654, Washington, 1913), providing the background of members of Congress, 31-1, S Jol., 86, 171, 29-1, S Jol., 519; Cong. Globe (32-1), XXIV, Pt. II, 942ff.; Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate (Washington, 1887), VIII, 380, 383.

²⁸ 32-1, S Rep. 21.

²⁹ 34-3, S Rep. 370, and S Jol., 182.

Secretary Buchanan (1845-1849), whose Presidency closed the period, exemplified the spirit of expansion, although it must be admitted that he felt that destiny "would furnish her own instruments"³⁰ Various papers of Secretary Marcy (1853-1857) reveal a curious and almost naive combination of eagerness to win commercial concessions, with faith in the possibility of avoiding use of force at any time. Easy success and much good fortune seemed to create a false optimism, and a non-military spirit, even among practical men.

In transmitting to the Senate the Commercial Relations for 1856, Marcy outlined the recent reorganization of the commercial intelligence service of the Department and emphasized the importance of commercial interests. His instructions to Commissioner McLane stressed the need of the most unrestricted commercial intercourse and reciprocity with China and the right of fishing in Chinese waters (with a hasty qualification of the reciprocal plan), they suggested a thoroughgoing system of treaties with all independent Asiatic states.³¹ To Parker, in China, Marcy wrote cheerfully of an "unlimited extension of our trade, wherever, within the dominions of China commerce may be found", to be secured by "affording the moral support and aid of the United States, so far as the circumstances of the case, and the established policy and constitution of the United States" permitted.³²

The course of American expansion across the continent and the example of advantageous territorial acquisitions in Asia by European states provided a favorable setting for the interest shown by the Department and some of its representatives in new territorial gains across the Pacific-

³⁰ Fish, Amer Dip, 281
Many responsible persons felt that the Pacific basin was to be the center of great commercial expansion and international conflict. Cf. For Dom Com 1863, 190, A J Sargent, Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy (Mainly in the Nineteenth Century) (Oxford, 1907), 133-135

³¹ China DL, Nov 9, 1855
³² China DL, Sept 27, 1855
³³ De Bow's Rev, I, 11

³⁴ China DL, June 25, 1858, cf. George Wingrove Cooke, China Being "The Times" Special Correspondence from China 1857-58 (London, 1858). An able work. Cited as China, 145-146

³⁵ Perry, Narr, Vol 2, 178-179, of Con Regs, 1856, 195

³⁶ Perry, op cit, Vol 1, 220, of Dennett, America in East Asia, 274-275

³⁷ Great Britain, F O 5/550 American Consuls, Aug 30 and Sept 7, 1852 (William Peter)

³⁸ Davis Rich Dewey, Financial History of the United States (Fifth ed., New York, etc., 1915), 255, 260, Ugo Rabbino, The American Commercial Policy (Second ed., London and New York, 1895), 189-190

³⁹ T W Van Metre, An Outline of the Development of the Internal Commerce of the United States 1789-1900

In the midst of an accelerated ferment of ideas and new problems of policy requiring the attention of Congress, that body held the purse-strings tight by preference, and not by necessity. A panic occurred in 1857, and there were many dark spots in the economic and financial situation, but a frequent surplus of government funds was one of the concerns of the time. Per capita wealth doubled between 1840 and 1860. The age was distinguished by exceptional general prosperity and a commercial activity that was optimistic in the extreme.³³ Accompanying new freedom and unusual expansion--territorial, commercial, and intellectual--this final characteristic of the period took an important place. Financial setbacks accentuated the successes with which they were mingled. If some lost, others won. Nature was generous. Man was eager to appropriate. A confident individualism was inevitable.

These years were literally and figuratively a golden age. Increases in English capital and commerce and the bold trade policy of the British had marked effects.³⁴ Many merchants in China thought that with each treaty gain an unlimited

market would open. An optimistic tendency to overstock the market appeared there.⁴⁰ In the United States, advances occurred in the merchant marine, railroads, manufacturing, agriculture, and cotton-growing. The pre-war commercial prosperity of Boston reached its peak in 1857.⁴¹ Gold activity in California and Australia brought a boom to the American boot and shoe trade.⁴² The influence of this precious metal runs like a golden thread throughout the economic history of the fifties—usually beneficial, but sometimes carrying a sinister gleam. Marine insurance in the United States had its best days between 1840 and 1860. Voyages were long, and high rates offered insurers desirable returns.⁴³

No small part of the prosperity of the time in lands about the Pacific was directly or indirectly due to large migrations of Chinese, in California, for exam-

ple, and in Malaysia. Commercial activity at Singapore was attributed not merely to liberal British policy, the location of the place, and gold discoveries in California and Australia, but also to the development of nearby resources by Chinese.⁴⁴ Malaysia was the scene of feverish exploitation of gutta percha, which gave this region its counterpart of the oil fever and the gold rushes of other countries.⁴⁵

Advances were not limited to the cultivation and utilization of the products of nature and the diffusion of material comforts. There were improvements in commercial and financial machinery as well. The tariff relaxations previously described smoothed the course of prosperity. In the United States the situation was notably satisfactory when a cargo which had been valued at \$5,174,803 in China reached an estimated value of \$9,364,462 after importation.⁴⁶

(Baltimore, 1913), 18, Gibbons, Ind. in Eng., 465, Sargent, Anglo-Chinese Com. and Dip., 129, 139; Samuel Couling, The Encyclopaedia Sinica (London, etc., 1917). Valuable and convenient. Cited as Enc. Sin., 564.

⁴⁰ Levi (Brit. Com., 407, 413) describes speculation, railway financing, joint-stock companies, and commodity gains in England.

⁴¹ Morison, Mar. Hist., 366; Taussig, Tariff Hist., 141.

⁴² Blanche E. Hazard, "The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875", in Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXVII (1913), 256-262.

⁴³ Depew, One Hundred Years of Amer. Com., I, 88, Third Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York (New York, 1861, covering 1860-1861), 298-318; Winsor, Memorial Hist. of Boston, IV, 192, "Abstract of the Returns of Insurance Companies", in Documents Submitted to the General Court of 1855, by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, of Massachusetts (Boston, 1855), and Third Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioners of Massachusetts, January 1, 1858 (Boston, 1858—Public Doc No 45), First Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department (State of New York, Assembly No 90—1860), Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the Year 1858, 70-71; Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 156; BEHS, Nov., 1929, p. 17, Com. Rel., III, 659.

⁴⁴ Com. Rel., III, 666; see also Monthly Rev., XII, 126.

⁴⁵ "Previous to 1844, the very name of gutta percha was unknown to European commerce. In that year 2 cwt of it was shipped experimentally from Singapore. The exportation of gutta percha from that port rose in 1845 to 169 piculs, (the picul is 135 1/3 pounds), in 1846, to 5,364, in 1847, to 9,296, and in the first seven months of 1848, to 6,768 piculs."

"In the first four-and-a-half years of the trade, 21,598 piculs of gutta percha valued at \$274,190, were shipped at Singapore, the whole of which was sent to England, with the exception of 15 piculs to Mauritius, 470 to the continent of Europe, and 922 to the United States. But this rapid growth of the new trade conveys only a faint idea of the commotion it created among the native inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago. The jungles of the Johore were the scenes of the earliest gatherings, and they were soon ransacked in every direction by parties of Malays and Chinese, while the indigenous population gave themselves up to the search with a unanimity and zeal only to be equalled by that which made railway jobbers of every man, woman, and child in England about the same time. The knowledge of the article stirring the avidity of the gatherers, gradually spread from Singapore northward as far as Penang, southwest along the east coast of Sumatra to Java, eastward to Borneo, where it was found at Brunei, Sarawak, and Pontianak on the west coast, at Koti and Passer on the east!" (Com. Rel., I, 487n.)

⁴⁶ Ibid., III, 378, cf. Taussig, Tariff Hist., 157, and Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 49.

Individuals engaged in Asiatic and Pacific commerce, however, were exposed to great dangers. The trade itself was still subject to major perils affecting the entire economic life of the age. In the carrying trade, the very fluctuations which for a time meant quick profits now and then produced reverses. Exploitation of petroleum from 1845 began to weaken the whaling industry. Notable defections of gold-hungry seamen from whalers caused many vessels to be sold out of the service. Storms and mishaps at sea took heavy toll of life and property. In Chinese waters, hordes of pirates added to the natural dangers of navigation and preyed upon any unprotected commerce, native or foreign. On land also, nature, with all her bounty, furnished many trials.⁴⁷

Financial difficulties in 1854 witnessed the passing of a five-year boom in seaborne freight on the Pacific. Rising home production of staples reduced California's imports from the Pacific. Competition sharpened. Freight receipts suffered.⁴⁸ In Australia, where merchants had recklessly sent out excessive shipments, prices declined, commerce languished, and bankruptcies multiplied.⁴⁹ Overconfident financial and commercial dealing brought its own drastic correction in the widespread disasters of 1857. War and insurrection increased confusion. Among foreign trading groups of Eastern Asia and the Pacific, the effects of the crisis of 1857 were felt almost as severely as in the United States and Europe, and demonstrated the increasing interdependence of commerce in widely separated places.⁵⁰ Whale products accumulated in the Sandwich Islands as American demand dropped.⁵¹ Examples of similar economic dislocations could be multiplied.

In China and in Japan the period witnessed frequent local fluctuations which added to the uncertainty produced by more widespread variations. With a reduction of trade at Canton, following the panic of 1857 in America, were joined the effects of the foreign assault on the city in December of the same year. Not long after this, two economic evils—civil war, in the Western tea-districts, and partial failure of a rice crop, in the neighborhood of Foochow—united to cause a shift in trade. The low price of outside rice, imported to avoid famine, led to a decision to turn over large tracts of land to tea culture.⁵² The effect of local uprisings in China was often shown by instability in exchange rates, responsive to political as well as commercial influences.⁵³

Domestic discord in China and in Japan added to the nervous unsteadiness of the period. In Japan, it was occasioned partly by opening the country to foreign commerce. In China, different minor rebellions and piracies were overtopped by the prolonged Taiping Rebellion, one of the major calamities of human history. European hostilities in different parts of Eastern Asia disturbed trade. Numerous misdeeds of individuals, typical of rapidly changing communities, appeared as further complications.

It may be repeated, nevertheless, that in spite of reverses much optimism and strength persisted. The essentially prosperous condition of the age prevented a general breakdown. The undesirable effects of misfortunes were often relieved by their contributions to prosperity. For instance, the stimulating influence of the Crimean War was discernible in the Far East as well as in the United States and England.

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⁴⁷ The year 1847 brought economic difficulties in Europe, including bad harvests. In Java (1849-1850) over a third of a million people died. Losses in English commerce with China required Parliamentary attention. See Day, The Trade and Admin of the Dutch in Java, 315, and Sargent, Anglo-Chinese Com and Dip, 151-152.

⁴⁸ Monthly Rev, XII, 250, 253; REHS, Dec., 1851, p 4

⁴⁹ Cf. D'Ewes, China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, 109ff., 218-219

⁵⁰ Cf. Harper's Weekly, I, 642; Thomas Tooke and William Newmarch, A History of Prices and of the State of Circulation 1848-1856, Vol. 1 (London, 1857), 715; Benj. C. Wright, Banking in California 1849-1910 (San Francisco, 1910), 27

⁵¹ Com Rels, 1859, Pt. I, 366

⁵² Foochow CL, June 30, 1859

⁵³ For the situation at Shanghai in 1853, when rebels took the native city, see Com Rels, III, 376-377; page 378 supplies a table of six months' bills on London (1851-1855)

Freedom, expansion, and optimistic activity marked the prosperous period beginning about 1845 and closing in 1860. These dominant characteristics manifested themselves in connection with changes in Far Eastern voyages of ships, in a notable series of territorial extensions in the Orient and in the western portions of the United States, in numerous relaxations of restrictions on commerce in Occident and Orient, and in a remarkable and widespread expansion and readjustment in trade, industry, transportation, and communication. They were observed in improvements in the dissemination of information, with special reference to the East, and in the vigorous, vexing, and dangerous life of seamen. There was an increase in the urgency of sustained attention to its broadening Asiatic interests on the part of an unprepared, hesitant, and even resistant government. Financial disturbances, wars and rebellions, and other vicissitudes, however, were not able to destroy the essentially prosperous condition of commerce. These facts were of general interest and application at the time, although some of them were not as clearly discerned as at present.

The points of view of several types of persons have been utilized. A history of the nation's Asiatic commerce could be written from any one of a number of angles—that, for example, of the Secretaries of State, of the Navy Department, or of an individual firm. The affairs and the activities of each kind of organization and each section of the mercantile personnel were of importance to all the others.

At this point, however, the account concludes presentation of a balanced general picture, and devotes itself in following chapters to information and influences of a particular kind. While aiming at a fair presentation of conflicting interests in specific cases, it emphasizes one point of view, namely, the outlook of American consuls in Eastern Asia on the many activities of their countrymen in that region, especially those engaged in commerce. The emphasis shifts increasingly from the United States and the Occident to the local scene in the Orient. Various international currents met there, and the inevitable confu-

sion of interests and customs led either to clashes or to reconciliation. In following pages Americans and Europeans are usually thought of as "foreigners", among Asiatic peoples, in whose midst they were but tiny fragments of alien humanity.

Consuls were brought into peculiarly intimate relations with unadjusted or opposing groups. Although their work was purely official and routine, or even trivial, in many of its phases, an examination of consular functions and problems affords an excellent approach to the realities of the commerce conducted under their eyes. These officers were conditioned by that body of fact and those general characteristics of the time which have been presented "Old hands" in Asia or uninitiated newcomers, they all shared American ideas and information. Locally they were influenced by their immediate Oriental surroundings and experiences, by their contacts with other Americans, official and private, by the ideas and example of consuls of European nations, and by their own personal reactions, sometimes appropriate and sometimes not. They were governed by the technical information contained in consular regulations and by the counsel of official despatches. The basic character of their relation to the American government was created by the legislation passed and the practices followed in Washington.

Such was the dependence of consuls on the authorities at home that first attention must be given in succeeding pages to the consular structure. This necessarily includes general features, which applied as much to American consuls in the Orient as to those in all other parts of the world, and more specific arrangements of particular concern to officers in the Far East. Reading of consular affairs is simplified by an acquaintance with the general basis of the system, the organization and control of consular and commercial matters, appointments, factors in Eastern Asia leading to an increase in the number of consular offices, and the specific functions constituting the actual work of men in the service. Part II provides an exposition and a partial analysis of such matters.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Part II employs narrative material and uses chronological order only in secondary fashion. These assume increasing importance in Part III, devoted to consular problems.

NOTE

ON THE VIEWS OF COMMODORE PERRY AND TOWNSEND HARRIS
(See above, Note 25)

The classic exposition of the general philosophy of territorial expansion in the Far East, in relation to service to commerce generally and to political and naval considerations, would seem to be contained in a paper entitled "Remarks of Commodore Perry upon the Expediency of Extending Further Encouragement to American Commerce in the East." This is given in the second volume of the Narrative of the Perry expedition (pp 173-182). Excerpts from this essay follow:

"With the flourishing kingdoms of Japan, Lew Chew, and Siam, we have recently negotiated treaties, from which important benefits will undoubtedly be obtained. Though up to this time but little interest has been manifested by our government in availing itself of the means thus placed at its disposal, the day will however arrive, and at no distant period, when political events, and the unanimous and urgent appeals of our commercial men, will make it obligatory on the United States to look with greater solicitude to our eastern commerce, and to extend the advantages of our national friendship and protection, as well to Japan and Lew Chew as to other powers but little better known to Western nations."

"I may refer to Siam, Cambodia, Cochinchina, parts of Borneo and Sumatra, and many of the islands of the eastern archipelago, and more especially, to the island of Formosa."

"Now, the evident causes of the failures to bring these prejudiced and conceited people [of Indo-China] into any terms promising useful results, may be chiefly ascribed to the course of mistaken policy pursued by the western powers, whose agents invariably approach them as superiors, demanding concessions in the way of trade, the free exercise of religion, &c., &c., of the advantages or disadvantages, or ultimate bearing and consequences of which the native princes must necessarily be ignorant, and in the fear of granting too much, or even admitting amongst them strangers, of whose grasping propensities and love of encroachment they have full knowledge, they doggedly refuse all communication whatever."

"It is true that, in all negotiations with China and other eastern nations, the display of a respectable armed force is necessary to satisfy

those people of the power of the foreign contracting party to protect its rights."

"China proper, once disenthralled, Japan, Lew Chew, and the other countries would enter of necessity into this new family of commercial, or, at least, trading nations, and the commerce of the East would be improved ten-fold by the impulse thus given to the advance of civilization and the industrial arts, and the benefits resulting from such change—religious, moral, and political—could not be correctly estimated. The end would therefore unquestionably justify the means."

"It is idle to suppose, that because the policy of the United States has hitherto been to avoid, by all possible means, any coalition, or even connexion with the political acts of other nations, we can always escape from the responsibilities which our growing wealth and power must inevitably fasten upon us. The duty of protecting our vast and rapidly growing commerce will make it not only a measure of wisdom, but of positive necessity, to provide by timely preparation for events which must, in the ordinary course of things, transpire in the east."

"But, after all, these events in the history and fate of nations are doubtless directed by an overruling Providence, and probably we could not, if we would, change their course, or avert our ultimate destiny."

"In truth, it would be the wiser policy if the European powers were to leave their least important colonies undefended, as in such condition they would not in time of war be otherwise molested than by occasional visits of the enemy for refreshments and supplies.

"The constantly ameliorating changes which have transpired in latter times in the laws and customs of war, will no longer justify those measures of coercion and cruelty which were practised in former days. The world will never again countenance rapine and murder, the wanton destruction of edifices of religion and learning, of works of art, and defenceless private property, wars will hereafter be conducted in a manner more honorable and magnanimous, and that nation will deservedly receive the execrations of all good men, who shall

henceforth allow of the perpetration of those acts of barbarity which have been of common occurrence even in recent times "

"The objections hitherto advanced by our wisest men against the admission of detached and distant colonies into our federative organization cannot apply to small and distinct settlements established merely for purposes of trade or some religious or moral object. If once a few Americans determine to congregate and sit down together, whether in the western wilds or upon some remote island in the Pacific, there must be some insurmountable obstacle, indeed, which will ever prevent the accomplishment of their designs." (Here speaks the spirit of Texas, of the Bear Flag Revolt, of Oregon.)

"It may, therefore, be assumed that a few small settlements, scattered through the Pacific ocean, and subject to their own local laws, will sooner or later be established as measures of necessary expediency and convenience of our growing commerce."

"The people will emigrate and settle in remote places, and the notice and sympathies of the country will be drawn toward them, and in this way we shall have foreign settlements, even if they are not established by positive enactment."

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Townsend Harris, a more moderate person, shared in the enthusiasm for territorial extension. Like Perry and Peter Parker, he urged the acquisition of Formosa. In a letter of March 24, 1854, from Macao (1 Macao CL), he wrote so frankly that the Department of State felt it improper to publish certain portions of the letter. Struck by the importance of the island as a naval depot and as a political and commercial factor, Harris outlined its history, resources, and trade. He noted its temperate climate, the enormous exports of rice and sugar, the grip on Western markets held by its camphor, its sulphur, coal, and fine woods,

its suitability for the growing of coffee and live stock, proximity of China and Japan to the island, its convenience as a transhipment depot for merchandise, and its value as a point of radiation for the moral influence of Christianity. The rapidly increasing population of the Pacific Coast of America, the prospect of a western railroad, the smallness of Formosan revenue to China, the presence of piracy on its west coast, the blessing of American rule--these pointed to the wisdom of purchasing Formosa from China, the cost was not likely to be great. The acquisition of Hongkong and Macao by foreign states was cited as offering precedent, payment might establish a favorable contrast to the outright seizure of Hongkong by England. If the Chinese held back the United States might hint that it would purchase from the aborigines the title to the west coast. (This suggestion has interesting implications with reference to sovereignty, in view of the political ideas, if any, which lay back of it, and in relation to the subsequent history of Formosa and other outlying possessions of China.) Harris is hardly convincing in his idea of a relation of cause and effect between the evacuation of Formosa by the Dutch (1662) and the decline of Dutch influence in Japan.

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In the present inquiry no copy of C. Morenzo's optimistic forty-page pamphlet, American Interests in Asia (New York, 1869), has been read, but an interesting description by a competent investigator has been secured. The work sets forth "the desirability of America's conquest of the Far East—not by force, but by means of treaties and territorial concessions for the use of comptoirs of commerce and naval stations established at various and convenient points. From his observations during 'fifteen consecutive years in the various parts of Asia' he points out how the country, products, needs and characteristics would be advantageous for such an attempt. He concludes by indicating how Russia might usurp the [advantages of the] English and with the United States divide the inheritance of the Anglo-Indian Empire."

Part II
CONSULAR POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

Chapter 3
THE BASIS OF THE SYSTEM

Setting aside theoretical and general outlines such as might apply to a variety of consular services in different periods, the following treatment of consular powers, obligations, and functions presents the organized results of an inductive and primarily historical examination of consular affairs in Eastern Asia, 1845-1860¹

Persons connected with the consular staff were expected to be useful to their government at home, to American citizens in their districts, to subjects or officials of the country in which they were stationed, and, at times, to others. The basis of their activities was the product of many formal and informal provisions and relationships ranging all the way from treaties and constitutional clauses to the local law of their places of residence or the opinion of their fellow countrymen at those places.

A general inquiry into the historic foundations of consular systems in the Occident would lead back to the Hanseatic communities and the Italian republics. Consular origins antedated permanent diplomatic representation. In Eastern Asia the situation was for centuries such as to produce little or no genuine consular activity. The nature of relations between

states in that area hardly fitted into the pattern indicated by a strict use of the word "international", although it is not correct to assume that in the Orient there was no diplomacy, foreign trade, foreign missionary activity, or travel worthy of the name before the appearance of modern Europeans. In that region, early counterparts existed of problems faced by American consuls, such as control of a resident foreign group, punishments, fixed and limited trading centers, status of missionaries, differences in customs and law, and control of pirates.²

In the United States, the existence of consuls was conceived to rest on the broad basis of constitutional provisions and "the law of nations", rather than on legislative acts. The diplomatic officer spoke for the interests of the nation, and the consul cared for separate and individual concerns. This rather loose distinction had only a limited usefulness in Eastern Asia, where the line of demarcation between the two types of public servants frequently shifted and sometimes almost disappeared. The terms "consul" and "consular" must be used in a very elastic manner. Indeed, S. Wells Williams held that consulates in China were not so much consulates in the European sense as governments.³

¹ Ellery C. Stowell's Le Consul, Fonctions, Immunités, Organisation, Exequatur (Paris, 1909) and Consular Cases and Opinions (Washington, 1909) are useful. H. B. Morse's The Trade and Administration of China (Third ed., rev., London, etc., 1921) presents a different point of view. Still another scheme is found in the very convenient work of J. Sydney Henshaw, A Manual for United States Consuls (New York, 1849), cited as Henshaw, Manual. Note also cooperative comments on legal aspects of consular work in Amer. Journal of International Law, Vol. 28, pp. 189-449, and the headings employed in Hasse's Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs 1828-1861, pp. 1890ff., in the third volume. A practical exposition of current consular work appears in Julian Arnold's Commercial Handbook of China, II, 42-60.

² Cf. George Grafton Wilson and George Fox Tucker, International Law (Seventh ed., Boston, etc., 1917), 189-190; Sheppard, Amer. Con. Serv., 690, 404; S. G. Hishida, The International Position of Japan as a Great Power (New York, 1905), esp. chs. II, III, and X; James Murdoch, A History of Japan during the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542-1651) (Kobe, Japan, 1903), 147; Frank Brinkley, A History of the Japanese People (New York and London, 1918), 443-445, and various works by other well-known writers like Hirth and Maspero.

³ See Sheppard, Amer. Con. Serv., 427, 430; Hinckley, Amer. Con. Jur., 50-51; Con. Regs., 1863, 388; Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 245, 45-5; H. Rep. 154 (Investigation of George F. Seward), 7, and Harley Farnsworth MacNair's excellent The Chinese Abroad (Shanghai, 1925), 10-11.

The peculiar circumstance has to be borne in mind that American consular arrangements in Asia were largely unilateral. At the time in question, the United States received no consuls from the independent Oriental countries dealt with here. Even more, agreements in treaties with Siam and Japan placed some obligation, within the limits of neutrality, on American consular officers to aid the vessels of those countries which might put into various ports.⁴

Basis Constitutional Provisions

The Constitution provides for Presidential appointment of "ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls", by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Congress is given power to vest the appointment of inferior officers in the President, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments, a provision covering some consular officers. A long list of special powers of Congress, and implemental action by that body indirectly bring it into an important relationship to consular officers. The conspicuousness of references to consuls in treaties made in Eastern Asia gives special point to the constitutional inclusion of treaties in the supreme law of the land.⁵

The status of consular activities, particularly judicial work in extraterritorial countries, received searching examination in the Senate, in federal and state courts, and in consular courts. Although the Secretary of State was an executive officer, his instructions to diplomatic and consular officers sometimes contained explanations and legal opinions on their exercise of judicial authority.

The Department of State was in closer touch with consuls than were other

executive branches, and much of their correspondence cleared through the Secretary of State.⁶ The same was true of most consular dealings with Congress. In addition to the instructions, rulings, and circulars of the Department of State, consuls took account of decisions of the Treasury Department (to which they were obliged to send financial reports) and opinions of the Attorney-General.⁷ Diplomatic officers possessed the right to pass upon certain acts of consuls under their jurisdiction,⁸ a point which in China and in Japan led to much acrimonious dispute. At best, the authority of diplomatic officials over consuls was precarious.⁹ Both held directly from the President, and consuls were not slow to take advantage of that convenient fact. Temporary or subordinate consular officers might hold from diplomatic authorities, including the chargé d'affaires.¹⁰ Consular duties occasionally bore a diplomatic aspect, especially in the shifting Oriental scene. Nice precision in treatment of administrative arrangements is further disturbed by the fact that naval officers stationed in the East sometimes shared the functions of ministers and of consuls. In such cases they must ordinarily be regarded as coming within the scope of this inquiry.

The groundwork of the functions of minor or special officers was supplied by the Constitution, and by legislation, orders of the Secretary of State, rulings of diplomatic representatives, and action of regularly appointed consuls. In addition to such consuls there appear in the narrative a considerable number of persons variously designated as acting consuls, vice consuls and acting vice consuls, consular agents, commercial agents, acting commercial agents, interpreters, marshals, consular clerks and consular pupils. Others assisted in the despatch of business without

⁴Cp the implied obligation to Chinese subjects converted to Christianity (Tr. of Tientsin, Art. XXIX). Note Hinckley, 68-69, and Quincy Wright, The Control of American Foreign Relations (New York, 1922), 150, 312-313, 322ff.

⁵The President might fill vacancies occurring during recesses by granting temporary commissions.

⁶Cf. John Bassett Moore, A Digest of International Law (Eight vols. Washington, 1906. Cited as Moore, Digest), V, 95.

⁷Com. Regs., 1856, 75-76, 18 China DD, Oct 20, 1859

⁸Cf. 1 China DI, May 30, 1857

⁹Cf. a point in 35-2, S. Ex. Doc. 22 (Message. Communicating. the Correspondence of Messrs. McLane and Parker, Late Commissioners to China, in two volumes—an especially important document), II, 1114

¹⁰4 Shanghai OL, Mar 31, 1858

bearing any formal title. Numerous interstitial difficulties arose. Should "vice consuls", for example, sometimes appointed because of availability rather than fitness, possess the right to exercise judicial functions, with their determinative influence over life and property? The question of whether to engage American or native subordinates on the spot again and again grew serious when the volume of consular work became excessive. A lack of organization existed at the fringes of the service, especially during the earlier years of the period. In brief, appointment of subordinate officers and management of their work were troublesome and irritating.¹¹

Of importance in the direction of consular matters was the pressure of interested opinion upon the government in Washington and upon its diplomatic representatives in the East. Special groups secured measure of responsiveness to need at a time when voters generally did scanty thinking about what seemed a detached, unimportant agency.¹²

Basis: Local Law and Custom

Consuls were guided partially by the local law and custom of the place in which they were stationed, and occasionally by the action or the ideas of influential natives with whom they dealt.¹³ At some points, for example, local law made it imperative that consuls support their destitute countrymen.¹⁴ Local law and custom were at best difficult for consuls to deal with satisfactorily. Uncertainties and conflicts in frontier situations placed a premium upon their exercise of common sense and adaptability, qualities belonging in any catalogue of elements of the system. Local habits and attitudes affected the success of consuls particularly in connection with the carrying out of treaty provisions.¹⁵

The bilateral treaty with the Hawaiian Islands (1849, Art. X) denied special privileges to American consular officers engaging in commerce. The consular convention of 1855 with the Netherlands, applicable to the Dutch East Indies, made non-Dutch

¹¹ CL, *passim*; cf. Moore, *Digest*, II, 622.

Commercial agents were not appointed by the President and the Senate; they were simply executive agents of the Department of State. (Cf. Amoy CL, Mar. 18, 1852, index vol. 41.) Consular agents, receiving no exequatur, were appointed by individual consuls and, after 1856, were supposed to be approved by the Secretary of State. (Cf. Jones, Con. Serv., 23; 5 Canton CL, Sept. 9, 1858; Moore, II, 623; and Con. Regs., 1856, 21-22, and ch. VI.) A deputy consul, subordinate to a consul, exercised such powers as his principal assigned him at the place of the consul's residence. (For an example of Departmental approval see Hongkong CL, Oct. 19, 1855.) Regarding vice consuls and vice commercial agents see 16 China DD, Feb. 26, 1858, encls. 2a and 2b; Ningpo CL, Aug. 12, 1854; Con. Regs., 1858, 217-219; A. J. Bentley, ed., *Digest of the Official Opinions of the Attorneys-General...1789-1861* (Washington, 1865. Cited as Bentley, *Digest*), p. 135; Moore, *Digest*, V, 148-149. Note also Sheppard, 415-420; Con. Regs., 1858, 25-30; Wright, *The Control of American For. Rel.*, 525ff.; and Henry M. Wriston's *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations* (Baltimore, 1929), 168, 177-180, 247, 674n., and 792n. On questions relating to minor officers of. 35-2, H. Ex. Doc. 68 (*Compensation to Consular Officers and Appointment of Consular Clerks*), 9; 6 China DD, Aug. 21, 1851; Shanghai CL, Ap. 29, 1854, and Ap. 8, 1856; 14 China DD, May 22, 1857, exhibit 4c, etc.; Jones, op. cit., 17n.; 3 Shanghai CL, Oct. 19, 1855.

¹² On related points note 6 China DD, Aug. 21, 1851; Dennett, Americ. in East. Asia, 99-100, 103; The American Secretaries of State... (ed. by Samuel Flagg Bemis), VI (New York, 1928), 598; 14 China DD, May 22, 1857, exh. 4c.

¹³ 2 Hongkong CL, Mar. 29, 1852; Con. Regs., 1856, 155, 195; 42-2, H. Ex. Doc. 317 (*Examination of Accounts of Consular Officers...*, Keim's investigations), 23-24, 27. Cf. provisions in the Treaty of Wanghia, 1844--Arts. XXI, XXII, XXVI, and in the Treaty of Tientsin, Art. IX; 1 China DI, Jan. 28, 1847; 5 Shanghai CL, Nov. 3, 1860.

¹⁴ Hongkong CL, Dec. 22, 1854.

¹⁵ At Portuguese Macao, consular authorities of the United States were placed in a dilemma on account of the disputed sovereignty of the place, which the Chinese still claimed, and the inadvertent inclusion of Macao with the five ports of China in an act creating consular courts. The relevant legislation is considered at a later place. Before the matter was adjusted the appointee was directed to apply to the Chinese authorities and to see what happened. (5 China DD, June 19, 1849; Macao CL, May 28, 1849.)

consular officers of the United States personally subject to the civil and criminal law of the region, with some qualification only in case they did not trade. The Treaty of Tientsin with China made the consul responsible if he permitted a ship to leave port before duties were paid.

Besides a commission provided by the American government, a consul was expected to secure acknowledgement from the receiving state in the form of an exequatur, which made him an officer of that state. This procedure was taken for granted in the West, but in Asiatic countries, where the practices of Occidental international law were little established, difficulties arose which involved local factors and officials.¹⁶

Basis Treaties

In Eastern Asia the leading treaties and various special conventions or provisions for trade (with pursuant diplomatic and commercial regulations) in the aggregate devoted much attention to consuls and to affairs with which they were intimately associated. A review of these documents serves as a preliminary to study of Congressional legislation on consular matters.

The word "consul" appears with great frequency in the basic commercial treaties made by the United States and by other Western powers. The most-favored-nation clauses indirectly brought rights and duties originally specified in European treaties with Asiatic states. A correct picture of the American consular structure requires frequent reference to British treaties, in particular Members of government in Washington were besieged

year after year by arguments of American consuls asking that consular laws should contain features suggested by the ever-present superiority of British consular arrangements. The frequency of close cooperation with British consuls had an effect on the acts of their American colleagues. British sovereignty over Hongkong must be taken into account, for the supreme court of that colony was intimately connected with the administration of justice in British consular courts in China and in Japan.

Consular provisions were included in American treaties with China, Japan, Siam, Borneo, and the Sandwich Islands. Portions of treaties with European states having colonial possession in the Far East also were applicable.

By the Treaty of Wanghia the United States was given the right to appoint consuls at the five open ports, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. Consuls were entitled to communicate orally or in writing with Chinese officials on terms of equality and reciprocal respect. While the treaty obligated consuls to deal courteously with the Chinese people and officers, it gave them the right to carry a complaint concerning offences to themselves over the heads of local Chinese authorities to superior officers. Consuls and local officers were expected to use the style of "mutual communication" known as chau-hwui. The Treaty of Tientsin and provisions in British and French treaties further stabilized relations by placing a consul (or a vice consul in charge) on an equality with an intendant of circuit (tao-tai, or tactai, as spelled here) or a prefect (chih-fu). The minister of the United States was obliged (1858) to notify the Go snoror-General of the arrival of an American consul at a

¹⁶E.g., F.O. 5/427, Ap 14, 1845 Cf. Henshaw, Manual (1849), 43; Con. Regs., 1856, 14, 40; Sheppard, Amer. Con. Serv., 423, 451, Amoy CI, Feb 13, 1849, 6 China DD, encl. D, with No. 20, Parker to Webster.

Communications on Asiatic consular and commercial matters between the government of the United States and European governments with colonies are brought into this study only occasionally. It is sufficient to make general reference to the legation Notes (To and From) concerning those European governments, and Instructions to and Despatches from American diplomatic representatives to the same powers—all in the Department of State. These series are complementary, for example, to British Foreign Office papers, cited here in a few instances.

port in his province. The Governor-General would "forthwith recognize the said Consul and grant him authority to act." The American treaty of 1858 added Taiwan, in Formosa, as an open port, and the British and French treaties named Newchwang, Hankow, Swatow, Nanking, Tientsin, and five other cities.¹⁷ Not all of these were opened at once.¹⁸

The earliest American treaty with Japan permitted the appointment of American consuls or agents to reside at Shimoda, at any time after eighteen months from the signing of the treaty, in case either government desired. Before the first consular representative, Townsend Harris, arranged his initial agreement with Japan (June 17, 1857) at Shimoda, representatives of three other powers had entered into treaties with the Japanese—Great Britain (October, 1854), Russia (January, 1855), and the Netherlands (a preliminary convention in 1855 and a commercial treaty in 1856). The general rights accruing from these to Americans included extraterritoriality and the privilege of consular residence at Hakodate as well as Shimoda. Harris' treaty of 1857 permitted an American vice consul to reside at Hakodate from July 4, 1858 and extended the limit of travel allowed in emergencies to the consul-general at Shimoda. This officer might make purchases without Japanese intervention and receive native silver and copper coin for that purpose. Extraterritorial rights were specified.

The Treaty of Yedo (July 29, 1858, effective July 4, 1859) provided for residence of a diplomatic agent at Yedo and allowed this officer and the consul-general freedom of travel in any part of Japan. The right of residence was extended to consuls or consular agents, at all open ports. All American consuls at ports visited by Japanese vessels were expected to render such friendly aid as local laws permitted.¹⁹

In Siam, Harris had arranged a treaty (1856) to replace an arrangement made in 1833 by Edmund Roberts, which had contained a conditional consular provision. This had not become operative, and efforts of Joseph Balestier in 1849 to arrange for residence of a consul at Bangkok had failed. Arriving shortly after the conclusion of Bowring's Anglo-Siamese treaty, Harris signed document placing Americans in Siam under the regulation of a consul resident at Bangkok. Some of this officer's duties were explicitly set forth: enforcement of treaty observance by Americans in Siam and prevention of their leaving illegally, cooperation with Siamese officials in settling disputes between Siamese and Americans, and exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction in criminal cases involving citizens of the United States. Other duties were the handling of applications of Americans for rental of houses or land, registration of Americans, and securing of Siamese inland passports for them. Harris appointed a resident missionary to act as consul. There was delay in securing a suitable lay consul and Congress made no provision for salary at this post, where fees were insufficient to support the office. Harris agreed that American warships and consuls at ports visited by Siamese vessels should render friendly aid.²⁰

The consular convention of January 22, 1855 between the United States and the Netherlands permitted the reception of American consuls in the principal colonial ports and explained their status and obligations. Consular requests were to be addressed to the Netherlands government by way of the American diplomatic officer at The Hague, although in urgent cases direct application might be made to the governor of the colony. Commissions were to be presented to the home government and countersigned by the governor. Vice consuls,

¹⁷Chin Reps., June, 1837, and Latourette, Early Rel., 126-132 (earlier consular arrangements in China). Cf James Murdoch, A History of Japan, Vol. III, The Tokugawa Epoch 1652-1868, rev. by Joseph E. Longford (London, 1928), pp. 580-581. See also L. Richard, Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies, trans. by M. Kennelly (Shanghai, 1908), excellent explanation in sect. V of ch. I; and Williams, Chin Com. Guide, ch. I.

¹⁸On Japan see Dennett, Amer. in East Asia, 352, and Perry, Narr., Vol. I, 383-387.

¹⁹See also Dennett, op. cit., 352, and remarks in Amer. Jour. of Int. Law, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan., 1922), 1-24.

whether Dutchmen or Americans, appointed by consuls for ports in their consular districts were required to receive approval from the head of the colony. In this notable document, various functions of consuls were sketched--in relation to passports, wrecks, deserters, and arbitrations.²⁰

Officials in the Hawaiian Islands, better informed than Asiatic authorities, made a show of independence in their treaty of 1849 with the United States, containing consular arrangements applying to officers of both nations. Consuls were entitled to the assistance of local authorities in arresting deserters from ships.²¹

Treaty provisions affecting American consular officers in the Far East reveal a considerable extension of their responsibilities in that region. The basis of their position exhibits much variety according to the international status of the locality in question and the degree of development of its relations with the West. Consular arrangements made concurrently by other Occidental nations account for some of the diversities and perplexities appearing in the present narrative. The time was one of consular pioneering among a number of "strange peoples" and the acceptance for consuls of grave responsibilities. The general international system of consular dealings in the West was still developing, and it is not surprising that an offshoot and adaptation of that system in the Orient revealed shortcomings.

Basis. Congressional Legislation

The basis of the system in constitutional provisions and the law of nations, in local law and custom, and in

treaties was vitally affected by Congressional decisions, supplemented by executive or administrative action in Washington. Radical changes beginning about the middle of the nineteenth century amply attest the unsatisfactoriness of American consular arrangements. Their inadequacy was not unique, however, as complaints regarding the British service show. Inadequacy, moreover, is a relative term. Satisfaction of those realistic groups of citizens who risked the uncertainties and irregularities of life abroad was one criterion. A different one was the existing state of public opinion and interest, in relation to foreign affairs, in the home country. Congressional majorities could not advance too far beyond the general body of such opinion and interest. The year which marked the peak of American merchant shipping (1855) also witnessed Congressional action resulting in the important consular laws of 1855 and 1856. Functionally inadequate at the time, without question, the consular service nevertheless was one index to American thinking and dominant interest.

The earliest beginnings of the service antedate the Constitution. Some officers appointed by Washington were supported by fees and by the profits of their own private business, an arrangement which impaired the efficiency of consular work for over half a century. A law of April 14, 1792 incompletely specified the powers and duties of existing offices, without creating a definite consular organization. It dealt with duties to American seamen in distress and authorized consuls to receive protests. Amendments of general application to this law concerned seamen. As late as 1853 there were but ten salaried consuls, a situation relieved only by the fact that Presidents placed the consular

²⁰ Com. Rels., 1860, 232. Cf. Archives. Outside of Washington (62-3, H. Doc. 1443), 64.

²¹ This provision appears in some form in nearly all the treaties. It sometimes aided consuls by permitting limited use of local prisons. In China, where no such formal arrangement was made, the question of detention and imprisonment of offending American seamen created a serious difficulty for consuls. With the exception of an arrangement in the Treaty of Yedo for use of Japanese jails, the treaty right of consuls to use local prisons went hand in hand with the absence of extraterritoriality.

In addition to treaty provisions mentioned in the text, see the Treaty of Brunei (or Bruni, in Borneo), concluded on June 25, 1850, the treaty of 1840 with Portugal, the convention of commerce and navigation of 1815 with Great Britain, and the treaty of friendship and navigation of 1795 with Spain. Perry's Loo Choo compact made no reference to consuls.

For reviews of treaty provisions other than those applying specifically to consuls, see previous discussion (in Chapter 1) of new freedom for commerce, and subsequent remarks (in Chapter 5) on the general rights of Americans which consuls were obligated to safeguard.

system almost exclusively in the hands of the Department of State. Those who dealt most intimately with it, assistant or under secretaries, changed infrequently. During the period of this study there was a consular bureau.²²

The close relation of consular duties to commerce and shipping is brought out by the act of August 16, 1842, requiring the Secretary of State "to lay before Congress annually . . . in a compendious form" a report on commercial changes during the year preceding.²³ Only three such reports were made before 1855. In transmitting the report of that year, Secretary Marcy called attention to questions about condensation of material, form, amount of preparatory labor, and appointment of a single officer to execute the task, which required much correspondence with agents of the government abroad. Neglect of such questions had contributed to previous non-observance of the law.²⁴

With the inauguration of the Pierce administration in 1853, attention was directed to the nation's foreign commerce. The Department of State circularized consuls and commercial agents to submit data on that subject and related matters, according to nearly a hundred questions carefully prepared by the Treasury Depart-

ment.²⁵ Much valuable information reported on shipbuilding, shipping, navigation, tonnage, and sailors was made available to Congress in 1856. This provided the second volume of the report entitled Commercial Relations, four volumes in all. The comprehensive facts given in this large work tardily served the purpose of the intermittent reports on commercial changes. Marcy regarded the volume on commercial changes for 1855 as the first of a new series, from 1856 the annual publication was known as Commercial Relations, however, following the title of the four-volume recapitulation.²⁶

As a part of this informational activity, the General Instructions to the Consuls and Commercial Agents of the United States (1855) required officers to send quarterly reports of commercial developments in the places where they resided. The effect on consular communications was signal. Much of the information supplied was published, but a great quantity of it—both interesting and useful—remained generally inaccessible in manuscript form in the archives. The quality of returns was affected by conditions prevailing in the consular system and by the personal calibre of individual officers. Mechanical problems abounded—the

²² Cf. Johnson, Com U S, II, 271-272, Con Regs, 1856, ch XXXVII; Jones, Con Serv, 14, Henshaw, Manual, Appendix I; 28-1, H Rep 166, Sheppard, Amer Con Serv, 412-414, 417; Gaillard Hunt, "History of the Department of State", an important series appearing in Vols I-VI of Amer Jour of Int Law, Hunt's Merch Mag, XVIII, 60-62.

²³ 34-3, S Ex Doc 35 (Com Rels, 1856), p IV, Treasury Department, Commerce and Navigation (annual); Johnson, Com U S, II, 258.

²⁴ 34-1, H Ex Doc 2 (Commercial Changes), 32-?, S Ex Doc 52 (Secretary Everett's report, in 1855, Commercial Regulations of Foreign Nations), especially useful for duties levied in different parts of the East.

²⁵ See also Vol 1 of Circulars (Dep of State) under dates of Mar. 15, 1854, and Jly 11, 1855.

²⁶ Com Rels, 1856 provided, in Part I, Abstracts of Consular Returns and Official Publications, and, in Part II, Navigation and Commerce of the United States with Foreign Countries.

A brief description of the contents of the first of the four volumes of the Report on the Commercial Relations indicates the importance of the undertaking, occupying nearly a year and a half and resulting in a striking prospectus of American consular and commercial activity throughout the Orient and other parts of the world. Part I, of Volume One, supplied commercial digests and recapitulations by countries, with treaty stipulations, Part II, comparative tariffs and restrictions, imports and exports, and duties paid; and Part III, consular returns, which fortunately were not digested, being printed almost exactly as received. Even diplomatic documents were published at the time with considerable freedom. Most of the numerous errors in returns were corrected. Each house provided for a large printing of Congressional Globe (34 Cong., 1 Sess.), 629-630, Com Rels, I, p IX; Chinese Repository, XIV, Manual, Hist Sketch (The United States Consular System: a Manual for Consuls, and also for Merchants, Shipowners and Masters, Washington, 1856), 21, 22.

compositor's difficulty in following manuscripts and corrections, omissions of figures and other entries, and miscarriage of reports An act of Congress in 1856 placed the recently organized Statistical Office of the Department of State on a permanent basis²⁷

During about two-thirds of the period, members of Congress lacked a sufficient body of organized information concerning the commercial activities of consuls Legislation had lagged behind much of the treaty-making in Asia The years 1854-1856 brought a roughly coincident acceleration in treaty-making, in publication of essential data, and in fundamental legislation Recent consular conventions with France and the Netherlands were the most complete yet concluded The account now returns to the specific acts which revealed a slow growth of Congressional interest through 1860

Prior to 1855 and 1856, three laws of the period related directly to the consular service in general²⁸ In addition, the law of 1848 dealing with extraterritorial jurisdiction in the Orient is especially apposite to this subject The three laws first mentioned had to do respectively with a grant of powers of consuls to naval officers, in certain cases, a requirement that consuls pay due postage, and complaints to consuls regarding seaworthiness of vessels (amending an act of 1840) The law of 1855 proposed a reorganization of the service like that which was more satisfactorily provided in a fundamental act of the following year Subjects treated were salaries, fees, business, consular pupils, absences, bonds,

secondary officers, amount of charges, accounts, contingent expenses, records, estates, and related matters Besides periodic acts including appropriations for the diplomatic and consular establishment, two other relevant laws were passed by 1860 That of February 7, 1857 repealed an authorization of the appointment of consular pupils The act of June 22, 1860 relating to powers of extraterritorial courts extended the act of 1848²⁹

In order to carry out the Treaty of Wanghia with China, President Tyler promptly asked for legislation covering the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction and replacing merchant consuls with officers independent of trade The "board of commerce" of New York memorialized Congress for the appointment of salaried, non-trading consuls A bill to remodel the service was introduced into Congress in 1844 In 1845 and 1846 other measures were introduced to regulate and define the powers, duties, and compensation of consuls Secretary Buchanan was interested also in a specification of fees He felt that the time had not yet arrived to throw the support of the whole system upon the public treasury and that fees should indemnify the government for consular salaries He proposed the elimination of unnecessary consulates³⁰

Delays followed One of two bills under consideration at the beginning of 1847 covered Buchanan's urgent recommendation that certain judicial powers be given American ministers and consuls in China (and Turkey) over citizens committing crimes³¹ The other bill was designed to revise the consular system itself, but it

²⁷ 34-5, S Ex Doc 35, p III

²⁸ Feb 20, 1845, March 5, 1845, and Jly 29, 1850

For certain references and laws of general application cf Jones, Con Serv 31-32, Stowell, Con Cases and Opinions, and Con Regs, 1856, ch XXXVII

²⁹ Most of about a hundred citations of the Congressional Globe, the Senate and House Journals, and the Executive Journals of the Senate are omitted in the following review of legislation, as impossibly cumbersome The circumstances described at different points in the text, with use of the indexes in these publications, supply sufficient guidance to the supporting evidence in which they abound Matters of particular importance are provided with special references in footnotes The substance of the text is found in these government publications, consular manuscripts and regulations, and numerous passages in standard publications of varying date which have already been cited

³⁰ Manual, Hist Sketch, 9-10, 29-2, H Doc 12 (Consular System)

³¹ The commission to China was temporarily instructed to send accused Americans home for trial, it being left to domestic courts to determine whether they had jurisdiction under the treaty—an executive effort to fill in a legislative deficiency (1 China Dl, Apr 15, 1845)

was dropped. No legislation of the kind was passed until 1855. In 1847 general reorganization was but a dream.

The judicial bill met with much hesitation in the Senate and finally lapsed, because of "want of time and the pressure of other important business". The retarded character of legislative responses to actual need becomes increasingly conspicuous as the narrative offers one example after another of the way in which consuls importuned the home government for prompt relief. After much consideration and the presentation of many obstacles, Congress passed the necessary act in the summer of 1848. The President signed the bill on August 11.³² It was to rank in importance for most consuls in continental Eastern Asia and Japan with the general legislation of 1856.³³

Inadvertent inclusion of the de facto Portuguese possession of Macao in this act on judicial powers was used by Portugal as a reason for refusing to receive an American consul. The Department of State was embarrassed. After annoying delays and emphatic argument by Commissioner Davis, home from China, Congress passed the corrective bill of September 20, 1850 disallowing consular jurisdiction over Americans at Macao.³⁴

Administration of the act of 1848 suffered from uncertainty, at first, as to whether the Secretary of State was given superintendence. The President then referred the subject to the Attorney-General as belonging to his department.³⁵

In 1852 attention was further directed in the House of Representatives to the need of redefining and establishing the powers and duties of consuls and commercial agents in relation to American seamen and officers of merchant vessels, in foreign ports. A large claim then before Congress

had arisen out of the exercise of doubtful powers by a consul.³⁶ During June, 1854, Representative Perkins of Louisiana introduced a bill to remodel the diplomatic and consular establishment. It received consideration in committee until the beginning of 1855. The Secretary of State supplied comprehensive information. Perkins' detailed explanation of the measure presented a useful history of the American service. He asserted that the first great evils had resulted from the original adoption of English practice, described as the product of institutions directly opposed to those of the United States. Nevertheless, American consuls in China were at the very time citing chapter and verse of current English arrangements in support of their demands for change.

The bill provided, among other things, that salaries of consular officers were not to begin until after entrance upon official duties and were to cease upon relief by a successor. Absence from the given consular district for more than ten days without leave from the President was prohibited, salary stopping in any case during such excess over ten days. Only American citizens might become consular officers or clerks. At principal ports consuls might not trade in any manner.³⁷ Salaries were fixed for certain consular officers and commercial agents, fees for issuance of passports were abolished, as well as all commissions upon money advanced as wages or for relief of seamen. Provision was made for modifications and reductions of fees and commissions for other consular acts. Duties of consuls in the settlement of estates were more precisely defined. All fees and commissions were to be accounted for to the government and to be placed in a general fund for payment of consular salaries.³⁸

³² Cf. 36-1, S Ex Doc 43, 2, and 5 China DD, Nov 24, 1848.

³³ The writer has made several detailed inquiries into distribution of votes on different consular measures, in connection with regional, occupational, and political ties. One vote, for example, on the judicial bill, shows that states possessing notably strong interest in Oriental commerce accounted for only four adverse responses, cast by Democrats, all lawyers. Reports in the Journals are preferable to those in the Globe.

³⁴ See Macao CI, Jan 2, 1854, Cong. Globe (31-1), Pt II, 1205-1206, 1828, 31-1, H Jol., 1008, 19. China DD, Oct 28, 1860, 31-1, S Jol., 600, 30-2, H Jol., 125. Cf. Morse, Int. Rels., I, 321-322.

³⁵ 1 China DI, Sept 1, 1848.

³⁶ Cong. Globe (32-1), 446; see also Manual, Hist. Sketch, 13.

³⁷ For W. B. Reed's criticism of this prohibition see 16 China DD, Apr 28, 1858.

³⁸ On inequalities in shipping fees see 33-1, H Rep 348 (Diplomatic and Consular System), p. 4.

Consideration of the bill was delayed in the House, impatient with its interruption of other business. On February 9, 1855 it was finally passed, 143 to 33, and the concurrence of the Senate was soon given, without amendment. On March 1 the President signed the measure.³⁹

Difficulties shortly developed, and numerous constitutional questions were referred to Attorney-General Cushing. His reports of May 25 and June 2, 1855 contained various suggestions,⁴⁰ including an arrangement for consular pupils. To desirable alterations in the diplomatic portions of the act were added corrections of errors in the consular sections. In July, 1855, the Senate made amendments to the act of 1855, but in August the House passed a substitute bill on which features of the Senate bill were engrafted. Satisfactory to the Department of State, this measure saved most of the consular reforms of 1855. With rare speed it became a law, receiving the President's signature on August 18, 1855.

The liberal views of Lewis Cass, senator from Michigan and later Secretary of State, are of special interest in connection with a change which permitted the President to allow longer periods of absence from consular posts, with pay, in cases of illness. This matter was a grave concern of officers in the Orient, and the modification was in line with an inclination to grant the executive considerable freedom in managing the service.

The most important consular posts were divided into two classes or schedules, B and C (A being composed of diplomatic positions). The former were allowed salary

only, without the right to trade, the latter were salaried, with the right to engage in business, unless a special prohibition was made. Other officers, free to trade, were to be paid by fees, as before.

The act of 1856 was itself a corrective measure and remained the foundation of the consular structure for half a century. Nevertheless, its unsatisfactory arrangements regarding salaries, tenure, and other matters later required supplementary legislation. One of its best features was soon stricken out. An outstanding problem in the discharge of consular duties in the Orient was that of translation and clerical work. The act of 1856 abolished clerk hire, in view of the arrangement for consular pupils to perform clerical duties and to constitute a nucleus for a trained service. Then, in the following year, Congress repealed the provision for pupils, in spite of Marcy's objections. This retrogressive step inconvenienced many consuls, who had to live on salary and bear the expense of clerk hire as well. Their complaints produced recommendations of reenacting legislation, regarding consular pupils, in different years to 1864, when Congress made a partial concession. No appropriations for clerk hire were made until 1874. One form of relief, however, appeared in an allowance by the act of 1856 of an amount not exceeding ten per cent of salary to non-trading consuls for office rent. From 1856 frequent changes were made in specific salaries, either in regular appropriations for the service or in special acts.⁴¹

³⁹The change to a system of non-merchant consuls in China so nearly coincided with the passage of the act of 1855 that it is natural to assume that the actual change was the result of this legislation. Close examination of appointment dates, however, shows the priority of most of them to the introduction of the bill into Congress. A number of these were recess appointments in 1853, after the return of the Democrats to power. It is as fair to describe the appointments of 1855-1856 as results produced by the party situation at home (and, possibly, by growing needs at certain ports in China) as to call them changes brought about by a revision of the system.

⁴⁰Com. Regs., 1855, Appendix B; cf. 3d-1, S. Rep. 209

⁴¹Regarding the ubiquitous question of compensating consuls for loss of exchange on their drafts, special concern was felt lest they abuse the Treasury, an attitude which may well be contrasted with subsequent descriptions of actual needs of consuls. For a long discussion of the exchange difficulty see the Cong. Globe, 35-2, 1145ff. A Rhode Island senator argued uniquely that the government should not lose money on exchange when American tea merchants in China could invest the money in tea to gain one hundred per cent profit. "We have had some of these tea merchants in Newport, and they have built palaces."

Ignorant and captious comments were made in Congress on the question of funds for consular pupils. Conscientious guardians of the public treasury raised their heads in suspicion of anything resembling a novelty. One wag offered the sarcastic suggestion that a professor of diplomacy be appointed to train young men to whom should be assigned "consuls" having only one hundred dollars in fees. It was remarked that the President himself might need apprentices. The diplomacy best suited to the nation was that of the backwoods, "the honest diplomacy of republican freemen, and not that which is taught in the diplomatic schools of Europe." Proponents of the plan pointed to financial hardships of consuls and need of protecting the country's honor abroad, but the debates generally displayed an extraordinary lack of information on the situation overseas. Before the question of an appropriation arose some members, it appeared, had hardly known what the measure was.⁴²

Congress was obliged to take up appeals from consuls in China who believed that the acts of 1848 and 1855 permitted them to draw both the sum of one thousand dollars for judicial services provided in the earlier act and the regular salary for strictly consular duties specified in the other. This was made definitely impossible under the act of 1855 (effective January 1, 1857). During the year and a half of the life of the act of 1855 (effective July 1, 1855) uncertainty prevailed as to the law. There was no appropriation for actual payment of the former sum during this brief time and special claims were presented.⁴³ The matter dragged along uncertainly until the end of the period. In-

sistence won its reward in 1860, when the State Department's yearly recommendation finally secured passage of an act of May 26, allowing nine thousand dollars for the diplomatic representative to China and the consuls at five ports.

Before passing on to the final act which applied to several consuls in Eastern Asia, the act of 1860 dealing with judicial functions, this record of Congressional action notices certain incidental legislation. Some of it was concerned with money matters, as in cases already mentioned. Some was connected with armed protection to commerce, appointments, ranks, and violations of law by consuls. The rest was devoted to consideration of acts of executive departments and of diplomatic and consular officials performed in compliance with laws described previously.

In one of these cases the consul at Hongkong presented a claim of \$581.58 to cover the expense of relieving distressed American passengers. In another, the consul at Honolulu was reported to have spent in one year the sum of \$74,000 in sending home sick and disabled seamen. Congress showed an inclination to skimp the Department of State. Still other serious financial difficulties related to loss on exchange of consular drafts and to construction of an armed steamer for protection of American commerce in Chinese waters. Some of the nation's representatives, especially in the Orient, found themselves at a disadvantage in obtaining interviews with officials and in securing concessions, in comparison with consular officers of other nations holding the title "consul-general." Following recommendations beginning in 1846, the President was authorized in 1855 to bestow that title.

⁴²A similar conflict developed over the related question of increasing the salary of the interpreter of the legation, the famous Samuel Wells Williams. Humphrey Marshall, formerly Commissioner to China, gave excellent support to the proposal in the House, employing his customarily picturesque language. (Cf. Cong. Globe, 34-1, 130, 932-933, 1466, 1475, 1834.)

⁴³For the cases of T. Hart Hyatt (Amoy) and Robert C. Murphy (Shanghai), the reasoning involved, and exchange losses see, in order, 35-1, S. Jol., 310, 552, and S. Rep. 192; Cong. Globe, 35-1, 1626, Amoy CJ, Appleton to Hyatt, Mar. 15; 36-1, H. Mis. Doc. 22, 35-1, H. Rep. 106, Shanghai CJ, Apr. 8, 1856, 36-1, H. Jol., I 246, Cong. Globe, 36-1, 2162-2164, 5 Shanghai CJ, Jly 12, 1860, Stat. at Large, XII, 21

upon any consul in Asia (or Africa) when the public interest required. In the same year the consulate-general at Shimoda, in Japan, was created.⁴⁴

According to the act of 1856, an annual accounting to Congress of consular fees, based on quarterly reports, was obligatory. The legislation of 1855-1856 gave pointed attention to fees. As the law of 1856 applied only to official fees, unofficial fees were still allowed to all consuls. In some cases the latter exceeded the salary of office, although few if any consuls in Eastern Asia received such windfalls.⁴⁵

The rules and regulations made by the diplomatic representatives in China in accordance with the act of 1848, relating to judicial matters, were reported to Congress for review, but they possessed the force of law as soon as proclaimed. A printed volume of regulations for consular courts in China was issued at Canton in 1849. In the next decade special regulations followed on many occasions, including such matters as oaths, officers, procedure, records, trials, evidence, debts, fees, neutrality, assignments, and control of seamen. Original advisory assent or dissent by full consuls in China was necessary. At different times committees in Congress dealt with the rules submitted. Cognizance was also taken of statements of judicial fees received. The authority of Congress was extended or modified by ministerial interpretations of its enactments, as in the setting aside of a legislative restriction upon issuance of

passports by consuls in China, on account of a subsequent British treaty with that nation.⁴⁶

Conclusion of the account of Congressional attention to consular arrangements, as seen chiefly in debates and tardy legislation on reorganization and judicial powers, is provided by discussion of an important act of June 22, 1860, supplementary to the judicial act of 1848. The test of experience and the signing of new extraterritorial treaties in the Orient required alterations and additions. In Japan and Siam, consuls had no clear-cut right to try, convict, and punish offending Americans. There were delays and miscarriages of justice, in lands used to summary punishment. Again, treaties led legislation.⁴⁷ After extensive study of relevant diplomatic and consular correspondence, practical recommendations of the Treasury Department based on contact with court cases, and advice from the Attorney-General, a bill was introduced into Congress on May 18, 1860. In June it was passed by both houses, on the twenty-second it received the President's signature. On July 1 it became effective. The United States was gradually laying the foundation of a practical system of judicial control over its citizens in the Orient. This act, with one of July 1, 1870, remained until 1906 the basic law relating to judicial powers.⁴⁸

Appointments

A product of several main elements

⁴⁴When in 1859 the suggestion of the Department of State that a minister-resident be appointed for Japan was considered, Senator Gwin (California) unsuccessfully opposed the change on the ground that a minister's attention would be drawn to other things than the paramount matter of commerce. He supported his argument by insistence upon the large future of trade between the Pacific Coast and Japan. (*Cong. Globe*, 35-2, 1052.)

Occasionally members of Congress inquired into consular obedience to law and scrutinized the acts of foreign governments (cf. 50-2, H. J. Res., 125, 31-1, S. J. Res., 86, 171, 35-1, H. J. Res., 1145, and 35-2, H. Ex. Doc. 90.)

⁴⁵For rules regarding payment and for forms used see 36-1, S. Ex. Doc. 9 (Fees Received by the Consular Officers for the Year 1858), 57-62, and Con. Regs., 1858, *passim*.

⁴⁶5 Shanghai Cl., Jan. 16, 1861.

⁴⁷ Cf. 1 Japan DI, Oct. 1, 1859, 34-2, S. J. Res., 68, and 33-1, H. Ex. Doc. 123 (China correspondence with Commissioners), 324-328, 331-333 (Marshall, who showed a continuing interest in consular arrangements).

⁴⁸Of the many items in the act of 1860, the following afford a sufficient idea. The laws of the United States and the common law were to be supplemented by equity and admiralty law, misdemeanors as well as offences were included, and the four assessors in trials were to be selected by lot from a list approved by the minister, in order to secure greater disinterestedness. Definite repeal of sections of earlier

--international law and treaties, local law and custom, constitutional provisions, Congressional legislation, executive rulings and interpretations, and diplomatic regulations--the American consular establishment in Eastern Asia during the years under consideration was extended by the force of changing circumstances and the compulsion of treaties. The question of choosing men for the different offices attracted attention. The plans of the organization have been examined. What of the human materials? It is sufficient here to indicate some influences calling for a larger staff and additional offices and ways in which appointments to posts were brought about.

One outside influence stimulating extension and improvement was provided by English and European consular activity in the Orient. Increasing volume of trade and enlarging experience with other forms of international contact gave point to the insistence of Secretaries of State and alert members of Congress, some of whom represented mercantile constituencies.⁴⁹ In 1843 President Tyler wrote to the Senate concerning the large British foreign service establishment in China and drew attention

to the expediency of protecting citizens in China and utilizing the new extraterritorial privileges.⁵⁰ To the same body was conveyed Caleb Cushing's learned dissertation on the origin and history of consular functions, with special application to China. A widening area for official activity and oversight was created by frequent attempts to learn of new economic resources or trading opportunities in the Orient, and need of securing better knowledge concerning remote places and tribes in order to protect shipwrecked Americans effectively.⁵¹

Consular officers themselves were not slow to emphasize their own needs and those of the service. Especially after 1854 they were expected to send to the government much commercial information. In this way the value of officers, and at the same time their duties, increased so greatly that the framework of the structure was again and again overtaxed. In so far as Eastern Asia is concerned, it is necessary to qualify the accepted belief that openings for American trade were seldom pointed out and that suggestions regarding the peculiar requirements of local markets were

legislation disposed adversely of the mooted question of compensation for judicial services. Difficulty between minister and consul concerning the original or appellate nature of the former's jurisdiction was taken care of in accordance with the Attorney-General's opinion that a proper construction of the law gave the minister appellate jurisdiction only, apart from certain specified cases named in a new section (24)—murder, insurrection, piracy, and offenses against public peace amounting to felony.

Ministers in other Eastern countries than China were also empowered to issue regulations for consular courts, to be transmitted to the Secretary of State for submission to Congress. Exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction by consuls-general, vice consuls-general, consuls, and vice consuls was permitted, and authorization was given to appoint a limited number of marshals and to pay expenses incurred on account of prisoners and rent due for places of confinement. Provision was made for arbitration. Doubt as to the power which consuls had exercised to solemnize marriages, a doubt confirmed by the Attorney-General, was disposed of by expressly legalizing marriages performed "in the presence of a consular officer."

The act was made applicable also to Japan and Siam, and to other places not hitherto included or inadequately taken care of, in uncivilized places officers might try, hear, and determine all civil cases affecting persons and property (cf. 36-1, S. Ex. Doc. 45, and Com. Regs., 1863, 25n, 85).

See above, 33ff, for Congressional attitudes in relation to external affairs and foreign trade.

⁴⁹Conspicuous in pointing out lessons was A. H. Palmer, head of the American and Foreign Agency in New York, a notable pioneering instrument for sales promotion. Palmer early proposed a detailed consular plan for Asiatic and Pacific regions (Note 29-2, H. Doc. 96, and 30-1, S. Mis. Doc. 80.)

⁵⁰28-2, S. Doc. 58, p. 1.

⁵¹Note, for example, the search for Americans lost on the bark *Kelpie*, in Formosa, with its combination of humanitarianism and commercial prospecting (6 Chana DD, July 22, 1851.)

During this period the movement westward in the United States and across the Pacific intersected a northward extension of American and other foreign interests in Eastern Asia, which carried them from the old base in South China and Malaysia to the Gulf of Tartary. From Hakodate north, the traditions of the old East India and China trade had little of the influence which they exerted at Nagasaki and Kanagawa.

Consular officers, following merchants, became preoccupied with the problems created by private enterprise, which they tended to regulate increasingly.

infrequently made. The consular correspondence contains numerous examples of such comments. Moreover, the increasing importance of the task of certifying invoices was evidenced by the provision (1856) that no consul might render this service unless he was sure that the sworn statements were true. Subsequent legislation enlarged the volume of work attaching to this obligation.⁵²

Commerce was with difficulty restricted to Eastern ports which were officially open. Though freedom from consular oversight was welcome to many adventurous traders, it encouraged abuses, which called for the creation of new offices. Within two years after Americans at Swatow were found to be involved illegally in the profitable coolie traffic, that place appeared on the list of new ports officially open, and a consulate was set up there in 1860.⁵³

In applications for consular positions, self-interest of an individual was sometimes joined with regard for the nation's commerce. Shortly after Perry concluded his treaty with Japan, Joseph Fry, of the Navy, wrote to urge on the government the need of official representation in the Loo Choo Islands. His cocksure remarks on the low state of the people, probable commercial advantages, and the importance of a consular office supply a good example of the economic missionary-mindedness of many Western traders when dealing with peoples possessing different mercantile and cultural standards. Professing a desire to advance the interests

of his country as well as those of his family and himself, Fry came to the point by noting his qualifications and filing his name for a consular position in the islands.⁵⁴

Such applications for consular positions, and attempts of the Department and diplomatic officers in the Orient to secure persons able and willing to serve, even temporarily, indicate that the problem of appointments was one of considerable importance and difficulty. Factors leading to expansion of the service were closely related to the status of officers of different grades, already mentioned.⁵⁵ Of conspicuous interest is the application of a man who seems to have been an optimistic and confirmed seeker after consular office. The applications and appointments of Townsend Harris associate his name with the offices at Ningpo, Canton, Hongkong, Shanghai, Singapore, and, fortunately, Shimoda. It has been known that after his return to New York from the Orient Harris "secured the interest of his New York friends" on behalf of his appointment to the new consulate-general in Japan. No reference, however, seems to have been made hitherto to his earlier expression of desire for the appointment. The present inquiry has encountered in a bound volume (1) of the Macao Consular Letters a communication written by Harris to Marcy on May 4, 1854 in which he says⁵⁶

"The opening of Japan to American Commerce will create a new Consulate, and I respectfully solicit the appointment, promising, not only a faithful

⁵²Jones, Con Serv., 24

The Department was generally attentive to consular suggestions. Cf. Hakodate CL, Oct 29, 1858

⁵³11 China DD, Feb 12, 1856, and CL, passim. See also the case of Ningpo

⁵⁴Mis Let., letter of Mar 30, 1855. In this instance no office was established during the period. Note also naval settlement of an unpaid bill in these islands in the case of the clipper What Cheer (1854), in 11 China DD, Feb 12, 1855, encl E

For a direct application for a post in Japan see the remarks of Lemuel Fillmore in Mis Let., Aug 15, 1855, linking with the case which follows in the text

⁵⁵On the philosophy of the spoils system, considered as being at its apogee 1845-1865, see ch. VII of The Civil Service and the Patronage (New York, etc 1905), by Carl Russell Fish

⁵⁶On Harris' appointments see also Mario Emilio Cosenza (ed.), The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris, First American Consul General and Minister to Japan (New York, 1930), 1 Ningpo CL, June 22, 1853, Ningpo CL, Aug 11, 1854, Demmett, America in East Asia, 349, 2 Japan Des., July 31, 1858, 4 Canton CL, Oct 10, 1853, Marcy Papers (Library of Congress), Marcy to Wetmore, Jan 1, 1854, Wetmore, Jan 11, 1854, Marcy, Aug 4, 1854 and Mar 20 and 26, 1855, Wetmore, Mar 31, 1855, March, April 18, 1855, Wetmore, Apr 17 and 25 and May 23, 1855. Important references appear in the bibliographical comments with H. B. Learned's study of Marcy in Samuel Flagg Bemis' series of volumes, The American Secretaries of State . , VI, 420-431

performance of the duties of the office, but also my best endeavors to procure and transmit to you all obtainable information concerning Japan."

The influence of P. M. Wetmore was the leading factor in causing Marcy to appoint Harris. It overcame numerous doubts and obstacles and constituted a striking testimonial for the candidate. With this fact established, the idea that Seward and Perry caused Harris' appointment collapsed.

Harris seems earlier to have been burdened by a "sort of pride" not to return to the United States until he had "retrieved his fortunes", in the language of Wetmore. He labored unceasingly to win a place in China, not omitting to prefer charges of opium-smuggling against consuls at Canton and Shanghai and to suggest the removal of Commissioner Marshall. He felt that "twenty years was quite long enough for one family [Forbes] of Whigs to hold the Canton Consulate".⁵⁷ At the China ports Harris made a fine impression in public and commercial circles, despite the reverses which he had sustained.

Harris' application originated "in the field", but the appointment was made from Washington. In the cases of some similar applications tentative appointments were made in the Orient, subject to review by the government. Such was the important selection of Henry G. Wolcott as acting consul at Shanghai (March 30, 1846). His letter of application to the Legation gives a clear picture of the situation at Shanghai, where he had been the only resident American merchant, consignee of many

American vessels and possessor of a growing trade. For his own immediate convenience and the protection of American interests he was impelled to seek appointment as consul. The Chinese authorities insisted that he conduct his business "after the mode as established by them in connection with the British Consulate". Customhouse detail occupied much of his time. Rising American commerce at the port required "an authorized representative . . . who from his independent [sic] position would be enabled to so establish precedents, Customs, and regulations which should be in perfect accordance with our treaty and as simplified as possible".⁵⁸

Before the law restricting appointment of merchant consuls to certain classes in the service, a combination of commercial and political motives caused leading men to gain or retain posts as consuls. Wrote Consul P. S. Forbes from Canton (February 23, 1845):

"I see by the Papers & my letters generally that the result of the Election is quite uncertain, and should it be in favor of Polk the probability is that my Commercial rivals here, who have a longing for the Consulate will do all they can to get it, particularly the concern of Wetmore & Co.—should this be so, the influence of some of your loco-foco friends may prevent it & I am sure both Mr. Conkling and Com^r Parker will lend a hand, and any influence they may possess, the amount of fees can make it an object to no one, but the importance it gives among the Chinese would be the main inducement to get it from me, and obtain it for their own purposes."⁵⁹

⁵⁷Private letter of Mar. 24, 1854, enclosed with an official communication to Marcy, cf. 200-202, below

⁵⁸5 China DD, Apr. 9, 1846, with encls

⁵⁹Papers of Wright and Company, Div. of Manuscripts, Library of Congress Cf. The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, 235-236

All the full consuls appointed 1845-1860 (Appendix 1, below) were placed in office by Democratic administrations. One consul was continued from the Tyler administration.

See 6 China DD, Dec. 19, 1851, for the assertive Peter Parker's anticipation of a possible vacancy in the Hongkong consulate. The position of consuls at that port, a British possession, was somewhat anomalous. Proximity and commercial ties linked the office with consulates in China, whereas the law of the place brought it into relation to British authority. Featured by a stormy history, the consulate was at one time in conflict with local officials and at another with the American Legation in China, a few miles off. The latter exercised some influence over the office, occasionally in overweening fashion. For appointment of a consul by the naval commander on the East India station, Commodore F. A. Parker, see 2 China DD, Sept. 16, 1844

The distance separating Washington from the Orient and the exigencies of consular history produced some confusion there regarding appointments.⁶⁰ Indeed one may almost say that at times consular positions were juggled.⁶¹ It is remarkable that the diversity of ways of staffing offices did not render American consular relations with Eastern Asia more tempestuous than the record shows them to have been. The total personnel manifested a varied occupational origin. The

consular legislation of 1855-1856 reduced the number of merchant consuls, but it automatically opened wider the door of appointment to Americans unacquainted with the East. Excellent service was secured from no one class alone, much of it in fact being rendered by minor officials appointed locally in the Orient as well as by full consuls. A final estimate of the quality of appointees is reserved for the conclusion of Part III.

⁶⁰ For example, a double appointment to Swatow—Bradley in China and Breck in New Hampshire (1 China DL, Feb 20, 1860)

⁶¹ As in the series of temporary appointments at Shanghai in 1858 (1b China DD, encls. with No. 10, Feb 26, 1858)

There was some outside competition with the government for the services of trained officers. See, for example, 2 Amoy CL, Sept 30, 1859

Chapter 4

SPECIFIC CONSULAR FUNCTIONS

Classification¹

Some explanation of the way in which functions are grouped is desirable. The topical arrangement in early editions of the consular regulations is disconnected. Another division of duties into commercial, judicial, quasi-diplomatic, and miscellaneous or routine is too general for more than incidental use. One arrangement suggested by the date here employed would provide two classes—functions primarily local in application and those bearing chiefly on the interests of the home government in Washington and citizens resident in the United States. Such a geographical division fails to accommodate sufficiently some functions of a complex kind, but it occasionally forms an element of the principle actually employed.

Based on practical consular experience and on developing relationships, the following empirical classification suits our historical purpose by proceeding according to the particular object or beneficiary of the service rendered by the consul. Even this arrangement has its inconsistencies, which are inevitable in view of the changing nature of consular tasks and frequent criss-crossing of factors. The special conditions existing in China and Japan further disturb the logic of the scheme. The colonial status of regions dominated by European governments introduces another element of inconvenience. Nevertheless, the plan is manageable and useful.

In Part III (Consular Problems) the matter of classification is again taken up. Functions and problems might ordinarily seem to fall into exactly corresponding parts of the two classifications. This is largely the case as to the main points in the outline. The chief divisions of the two schemes are the same, but

a comparison shows instances of divergence in subdivisions. Moreover, it is preferable ordinarily to separate the descriptive and explanatory material relating to functions from the narrative information revealing the history of consular problems. The complexities of single problems are less troublesome when approached with a complete understanding of the different consular tasks. Apart from matters in which problems were so few as to permit inclusion of them in Part II, this procedure is abandoned only in minor and incidental ways.

Outline of Functions

First Group: Maintenance of Self and Consulate

Compensation and Living Arrangements, Care of Establishment, Appointment and Control of Agents and Subordinates

Second Group Functions Serving the Government of the United States (including its representatives or agents, and, indirectly, its citizens at home)

Sect a—Documentation and Fees (records, reports, manifests, invoices, accounts, fees, and protection of the revenue)

Sect b—Information and Advice (to the Department of State and other departments or superiors, e.g., the Commissioner, in China, news concerning commercial opportunities and the advancement of trade)

Sect c—Supervision of the Use of the Flag

Third Group. Duties to Americans in Eastern Asia

Sect a—General Services and Protection of Interests (of American citizens—merchants, missionaries, and others—in common, and of American trade, variations at Hongkong and Macao, interpretation and enforcement of treaties, linking with the Fourth Group, below)

¹See the note at the beginning of Chapter 3, above

Sect b--Passports, Marriages, Care of the Mails, Land Arrangements
 Sect c--"Trouble-mending" Care of Destitute Americans and the Deceased, Settlement of Estates, Affairs of Seamen, Wrecks

Fourth Group Relations with the Receiving Governments (or their subjects, and with third governments or their subjects, incidentally)

Sect a--Quasi-diplomatic Functions
 Sect b--Dealing with Local Authorities (British, Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, and others) and with Consuls of Other Nations
 Sect c--Duties to Subjects of the Receiving Country and Protection of Their Interests

Fifth Group Special Functions (bearing a fractional or common relation to foregoing duties, new tasks created by insolent problems)

Sect a--Judicial Matters and Care of Prisons (including arbitrations and local differences)
 Sect b--The Passenger Act and the Coolie Question

First Group Maintenance of Self and Consulate

Compensation and Living Arrangements, Care of Establishment, Appointment and Control of Agents and Subordinates

In spite of much Congressional inattentiveness, consuls in the Orient, like other men, had to live. Their first business was to secure a foothold and to retain or improve it. The strange surroundings in which many of these officers found themselves created for them an obligation which would ordinarily be passed by without explanation in the case of government officials at home. In the measure that the home government, as the natural agency for the discharge of this obligation, slighted it, the consuls themselves were forced to shoulder it on their own behalf. Even the legislation of 1855-1856 placing certain consuls on regular salary did not entirely

relieve those officers who were specified therein

Before serving, a consul must give bond.² Upon arriving at his post and obtaining his exequatur, he was expected to secure the archives, return an inventory, and take over public funds. Once entered on his duties, he was required to notify the Department of State, the minister of the United States, American consuls in the country, and consuls of other countries in neighboring ports.³ He was supposed to make arrangements about a consular office and a place of residence,⁴ to provide for whatever clerical or other assistance was necessary, and, after the act of 1848, to provide accommodations for trials of offending Americans and places of detention. He was further expected to keep his office open at definite hours, to see that flags were available and were properly flown, to have ready the proper forms and blanks for office use, and to attend to all matters of this type. Certain movable articles of equipment were supplied by provision of the President, at public cost. Expenses were allowed for one flagstaff, one plain movable bookcase, binding all official communications received, stationery used in official correspondence, and various other supplies.⁵

Before 1855 the consular officer's ordinary income, apart from trade, was derived from official and unofficial fees and, in the cases of the first five consulates in China, from the annual salary for judicial services (one thousand dollars at each port). As no appropriation was made for this purpose after 1856, the consuls affected resorted to appeals for relief legislation, already noted. Officers allowed to trade of course retained receipts from private business. To those included in Class C the legislation of 1855-1856 assigned small specific salaries also. The compensation allowed officers in Classes B and C (1856) went only to American citizens.

Regular pay began only at the time

² Index to Hongkong CL, May 20, 1857, Henshaw, Manual, 82n, Con. Regs., 1855, 74
³ Con. Regs., 1856, 41-42

⁴ Cf. Ibid., 69

⁵ Ibid., passim. Circulars and volumes of consular regulations issued in 1855, 1856, and 1863 constitute the main sources for following remarks. The later editions are conveniently indexed. Henshaw's Manual is helpful for earlier years of the period.

of reaching the consular post and entering upon official duties.⁶ An allowance was made, however, for the time necessarily occupied in receiving instruction, not to exceed thirty days, and, ordinarily, for transit from the place of residence in the United States to Washington, following appointment, and to the consular station Provision was made for return costs at the close of service.⁷

If a consul left a substitute in charge, during his own temporary absence, this person was compensated out of the statutory emoluments of the office, subject to regulations of the Department.⁸

Official fees went toward extinguishment of salaries. A surplus of fees was held subject to draft or order of the Treasury. A deficiency was covered by a draft drawn on the government.⁹

Officers were also subject to call by their countrymen for the investigation of legal matters, the taking of depositions, administration of oaths, and preparation of notarial papers, in addition to their official work. For such unofficial services they might collect and retain unofficial fees, like a notary public. The rate was determined by agreement in each case or in accordance with local custom.¹⁰

Consuls were ordinarily supposed not to absent themselves from their districts without Department approval. When compelled to be away for a long time, a consul found a substitute to carry on his work. Such appointments were frequent in the Far East. Occasionally, failure to make suitable provision resulted in problems requiring the attention of other officials and the resident American community directly concerned.¹¹

Second Group: Functions Serving the Government of the United States¹²

Sect a—Documentation and Fees

Clerical obligations increased in

⁶Cf. Shanghai CI, Sept 27 and Oct 21, 1855 (Index vol. 41).

⁷Con. Regs., 1856, 55

⁸Bentley, Digest of the Official Opinions of the Attorneys-General, 106, Con. Regs., 1863, 389-390

⁹Con. Regs., 1856, 102-103 Cf. 4 Canton CL, Feb 14, 1856, and 4 Shanghai CL, May 23, 1857 and Sept 50, 1859 1st Circulars, the Department to consuls, June 1, 1855

¹⁰Examples of problems arising in connection with consular duties are usually reserved for Part III.

¹¹For parenthetical descriptions or explanations of headings see the Outline of Functions near the beginning of this chapter ¹³Cf. Hasse, For Affairs, 1691-1693.

¹²Ex. Doc. 20 (Consular Fees), 51-55, Con. Regs., 1856 (forms), Henshaw, Manual, 114ff, 209ff, 242-243, 117-118, 120n, 125-129; Con. Regs., 1855, Appendix B (in comparison with act of 1856, in Con. Regs., 1856); Con. Regs., 1856, 72-73, 75-78, ch. XIV, 42-2, H. Ex. Doc. 317, 119-123, 35-46

¹³Foochow CL, Apr 13, 1860, 1 Nagasaki CL, July 25, 1860, 4 Canton CL, Aug 23, 1857, 32-1, H. Mis

extent and importance after the middle fifties. By rule, copies of all communications to the Department of State were kept in a despatch book, and all other official communications written by consuls were entered in a letter book. Answers received were labelled, bound, and indexed by author and subject. Also specified were a fee book,¹³ passport book, invoice book, miscellaneous record book, and registers of official letters received and sent (with full descriptive information).

In seaports, i.e., in all consular offices considered here, there were further required an important record book of commercial returns (arrivals and departures of vessels and other data regarding vessels and cargoes), a register of seamen shipped, discharged, or to be reported as deceased, with accounts involved in dealing with each, and a relief book giving the number and the names of all seamen relieved, with pertinent data. There were, in addition, a book of current quarterly accounts recording the accounts furnished every three months to the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, a protest book and a book for the entry of extended protests, and a daily journal. During part of the period, annual reports on trade were expected. Reports were also made on judicial fines and fees. Items required for the Secretary of the Treasury included prices-current, monthly statements on depreciated local currency and rates of exchange, and information regarding discounts, bounties, commissions, and transportation expenses. News on prices of merchandise was also desired for the general appraisers at New York and San Francisco.¹⁴

In the observance of these requirements there was considerable discrepancy between theory and practice. Furthermore, fire and deterioration or misplacement of records in consulates of Eastern Asia and the Pacific damaged files and broke their continuity.¹⁵ It was not uncommon for public officials to regard the correspondence

of office during their tenure as their private property. Consequently, added value attaches to the excellent files, duplicates, and summaries of records which have been preserved in the Department of State.

The exacting work of guarding the revenue required much attention to certification of invoices of foreign merchandise. Invoices of all imported goods subject to ad valorem duty, and belonging to persons not residing in the United States, had to be sworn to and verified by consular certificates. Invoices of all kinds, when made out in depreciated or unequalled foreign currency, required an accompanying consular certificate showing the value of such currency in Spanish or United States silver dollars.¹⁶ From January 1, 1857, official fees were to be paid in "coin of the United States, or at its representative value in exchange", and not, as formerly, in the currency of the port. (Officers were told to secure American or Spanish dollars or their equivalent.) Consuls were expected to watch for undervaluations and attempted frauds and report them. Earlier leniency was ended toward applications to enter into the United States merchandise for which invoices were not accompanied by the necessary consular certificates. Increasing success attended consular efforts to detect frauds.¹⁷

Improvement made in consular forms and other materials by the act of 1856 resulted, generally, in more effective and prompt cooperation of consuls with the

government. Accounts of miscellaneous expenses were sent to the Secretary of State, and drafts for these items were drawn on the Department. Accounts for regular consular salaries were transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury, and those for the arrest and transportation to the United States of criminals went to the Secretary of the Interior. Drafts relating to accounts for distressed seamen, sent to the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury Department, were adjusted by him under the direction of the Secretary of State. Each account required a separate draft. Loss in sale of drafts on the Secretary of State was allowed when proper certificates were supplied.¹⁸

During the later part of the period, consular fees formed an index not only of trade but also of the general prosperity of consulates.¹⁹ If allowance is made for occasional laxness and irregularities, fees indicate whether individual consulates were a financial liability or asset to American taxpayers. With reference simply to salaries of all officers, it appears that fees met roughly 44 per cent of the cost. According to this standard, figures for 1858 show that at Oriental and Pacific consulates fees were but 34 per cent of the salary outlay. At the salaried consulates studied more intensively in this inquiry, the percentage was approximately 27. Only at Hongkong did fees exceed salary.²⁰

The important class of official fees chargeable to or on account of vessels included a long list of specific

[Doc] 67 (Consulates of China), 2

¹⁶ Sheppard, Amer Con Serv, 436, 1 Circulars, esp Mar 2, 1860

¹⁷ 4 Shanghai CL, February 28, 1857, 1 Circulars (Apr 7, 1851, n.s., emanating from Treas Dep., and Sept 20, 1853), Con Regs, 1858, 79; Johnson, Com U S, II, 246-247 (summary of complementary functions of United States customs officers). Cf Canton CI, p 588 (halves of registers of vessels).

In China, reports on exports had been kept according to the number of packages until 1845, when they were recorded by pounds (Com Rels, III, 372). For at least half the period these consular figures and import data were also at the disposal of the Chinese authorities, who appeared unwilling to employ them.

¹⁸ 55-2, S Ex Doc 20, 52-53, Con Regs, 1858, ch 17 Cf 33-1, H Ex Doc 123 (Commissioner's request for information, 1853)

¹⁹ Cf 1 Shanghai CL (fees as a guide in making up U S mails for China).

²⁰ 55-2, S Ex Doc 20, 52-53, 42-2, H Ex Doc 317 (Keim's investigations, occasionally uncritical), 50-61, 117-118

In 1845-1846 certain foreign service appropriations for the Far East included \$5,000 for salary of the Commissioner to China, \$2,500 for salary for the American serving as Chinese Secretary and Interpreter, and nothing for consuls. The figure of \$2,500 remained unchanged for years, but from 1849-1850 the Commissioner's salary (listed exclusively under judicial compensation) was \$6,000 (later \$9,000) and an

items which reveal the amount of technical detail involved in consular documentation and fee collection. Fees entered at Shanghai on the customary form (No. 44) for the last quarter of 1859 (\$581 38) covered nearly thirty different types of items.²¹ These read like a marine dictionary. The list in this particular case is not exhaustive, there were other matters directly or indirectly related to ships. In addition, of course, consuls collected fees unrelated to vessels, in connection with certificates of invoices, passports, sales of goods, and similar matters. In the same quarter, fees not covered by Form No. 44 were only \$57 50.

An official check was made on fees received.²² Consular officers were required to give numbered receipts and to register all collections in a fee book. Copies of many consular receipts for fees were furnished, by persons in control of ships, to collectors of customs in the United States, on arrival. These went to the Treasury, with a statement of all certified invoices coming into collectors' offices.²³

Comparison of the fee services of consulates in the broader Far Eastern region shows a wide range:²⁴

Classes B and C (compensation first and fees second, in each case)--

Consuls-general. Calcutta, \$5,000, \$2,741 90,
Akyab (consular agency, attached to Calcutta
—fees only), \$80 83, Shimoda, \$5,000,——
(vacant)

Consuls Melbourne, \$4,000, \$1,423 75, Hong-
kong, \$2,500, \$4,184 38, Singapore,
\$2,500, \$1,068, Penang (consular agency of
Singapore—fees only), \$62 33, Amoy, \$3,000,

\$271 40, Canton, \$4,000, \$410 40, Foochow,
\$3,500, \$194 47, Ningpo, \$3,000, \$50 25;
Shanghai, \$4,000, \$1,565 96, Honolulu,
\$4,000, \$3,979 72, Lahaina, \$3,000, \$789 05,
Batavia, \$1,000, \$298 23, Tahiti (Society
Islands), \$1,000, \$170 81, Bay of Islands
(N Z), \$1,000, \$211 38, Apia (Navigators'
Islands), \$1,000, \$70 42, Lanthala (Fiji
Islands), \$1,000, \$34 50

Officers not in Classes B and C (retaining fees)—
Bombay, —, Ceylon, \$20 50, Sydney,
\$1,171 10, Hobart Town, \$19 26, Manila,
\$711 68, Macao, \$242 76, Padang (vacant 6
mos.), \$68 64, Brunei (Brunei), —, Hako-
date, \$349 10, Bangkok, \$272 29, Hilo,
\$450 91 (At Nagasaki also the consular of-
ficer retained fees.)

Fluctuations in receipts and comparative gains or losses in fees of different consulates are useful in relation to consular history. A detailed preparatory table worked out in the course of this investiga-
tion shows, for example, that Canton lost heavily while Shanghai and Hongkong gained conspicuously. In 1845 only two of the consulates listed in Appendix I showed in this table, in 1859, for the first time, all of them figured.

In the case of China, statements of fees for judicial services under the act of 1848 were laid before Congress annually. These fees belonged to the government, since regular salaries were allowed for judicial services.²⁵ Fees fixed by Commissioner Davis under this law were unavoidably higher than those for similar services at some places in the United States. Competent and available Americans were hard to find in the Orient.²⁶

item of \$5,000 appeared for salaries of consuls at the five ports (Table concluding with 1854-1855--
55-2, S Mis. Doc 16, Statistical Tables).

²¹⁴ Shanghai CL, under Circ 6

²² Members of Classes B and C made returns of non-judicial fees to the Treasury, officers allowed all or part of their official fees made returns to the Secretary of State under the act of 1856

²³ Con. Regs., 1856, 62-65, 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 170-171, Jones, Con Serv., 22

²⁴ 56-2, H Ex Doc 49, 55-2, S Ex Doc 20, 56-1, S Ex Doc 9, 50-2, H Ex Doc 60 (Consuls, Vice
Consuls, &c), 56-1, S Ex Doc 3 (fees), 56-2, H Ex Doc 2 (Report of the Secretary of the Treasury
.); 29-2, H Doc. 12, 18-23; Henshaw, Manual, 227-241, 55-1, H Rep 348; Con. Regs., 1856, forms,
No. 58, Con. Regs., 1855, App., 105, and sect 17 of act of 1848, 55-1, H Mis. Doc 2 (China—Fees for
Judicial Services), 11

²⁵ 56 China DD, Dec. 26, 1850, encl 4, Canton CI, June 20, 1857 Cf 2 Shanghai CL, Dec 31, 1853, and

4 Canton CL, Sept 1, 1856

²⁶ 56 China DD, Feb 18, 1849

To sum up: the records and accounts kept by consuls for their own files and for transmission to Washington were admittedly incomplete and faulty, but they nevertheless permitted a fair degree of checking up by the government on commercial operations, particularly in relation to merchant vessels, and an increasing amount of protection of the national revenue derived from fees. Income from this source met a respectable share of the cost of the consular establishment. Large-ly a tax on commerce, it was evidence that service was being given to business men in the United States whose interests extended beyond the seas.

The keeping of records and accounts was routine in character, providing the government with information according to prescribed forms. Consular officers performed other services for the government, and its agents, which were advisory and informational. These services left much to the discretion of the reporting officer. Although they often took on the appearance of routine, they chiefly emphasized policy, as in the case of transmission of news of trade opportunities and means of advancing American commerce. This phase of the consular task constitutes the next subject for consideration.

Sect b--Information and Advice

Discussion of the expansion of American commerce in the Orient and of the government's publications on commercial changes and relations has indicated the growth of attention among consular officers to new opportunities in trade. They were expected increasingly to provide regular reports, in addition, they wrote many communications relating to special matters. The Statistical Office in the Department of State made use of information supplied, relaying much of it to persons in a position to apply it directly. Some of the information printed in government documents also appeared in books and periodicals, as in the case of

the writings of Collins, *commercial agent in Eastern Siberia*.²⁷

Consular officers were supplied with incentive to report by inquiries of individuals, requirements of Congress, expressed in fundamental laws or special directions, executive orders and consular circulars, and requests of diplomatic officers who were concerned.²⁸ To these stimuli should be added the occasional zeal and intelligent observation of some consuls.

The government promised special consideration and possible increase in pay for the use of diligence and intelligence in procuring information and for punctuality in transmitting it. The assumption was too easily made that every consul would possess most of the abundant information sought, "in order to discharge his official duties creditably". If he did not have it, he was expected to obtain it in order to qualify himself for these duties, without any special compensation, of course, or other expense to the nation. Among the points stressed was the translation of useful official documents "into American".

Actually the task of gathering information was very formidable. Consul Bradley, an able officer, reported that he had found it necessary to spend an almost incredible amount of time and labor, as well as a considerable sum of money, in securing facts desired for publication by the government.²⁹ An effort was made to secure adequate information regarding foreign currencies, exchange difficulties then vexing the government and consuls, prices, rates, taxes, wages, and similar matters. Some consuls in Eastern Asia naturally saw farther than manufacturers at home and went out of their way to point to the advantages of an enlarged export trade. In the words of Lewis Cass, it was difficult for persons not actually living in that "strange condition of society" in the Orient to "form any rational judgment".³⁰

²⁷Collins, *Overland Explorations*, esp. chs LXVII-LXIX.

²⁸1 Circulars, Sept 20, 1853, Mis Let., Mar 8, 1860 (Pilot to Cass), 52-1, H Mis Doc 87, 1

²⁹Com Rels., III, 681 Cf 3 Hongkong CL, Aug 8, 1855, 3 Shanghai CL, Dec 21, 1855, Com Rels., IV, Pt I, 198, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, X (Dec., 1854-May, 1855), 658.

³⁰1 China DL, Cass to Reed (private), 1858

Consular correspondence on public matters was directed to local authorities of the receiving government, individuals of the place, and persons in the American "commercial marine". It went also to the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Fifth Auditor, and the Register of the Treasury, as well as to the United States Legation, other consular officers, and United States military or naval officers in the neighborhood. It was prescribed that all (local) official rulings encountered by consular officers should immediately be transmitted to the Department of State. Local regulations operative only at a particular port were sent to the minister.³¹ Outside consular correspondence on public affairs and recommendations of individuals for service with the receiving government were prohibited (1856). Such a rule, however, could hardly prevent anonymous communications by consuls (Americans had previously been recommended for the Chinese customs service.) Officers were expected not to enlist their feelings on either side in local or sectional disputes and to confine their correspondence with the Department of State to important and interesting facts, avoiding all unnecessary reflections and criticisms.³²

Among consuls in Eastern Asia none took his task more seriously or devoted himself to it more indefatigably than Robert C. Murphy at Shanghai. He kept the Department informed not merely on routine matters but also on points which seemed to affect developing situations and future policy. If alert consuls at times took too broad a view of what was expected of them and lost patience with their superiors, they can hardly be criticized. Some of Murphy's letters deserve notice.

The state of the currency at Shanghai in 1855 attracted much attention. The rate of exchange was much higher than

at Canton. Murphy wrote the Department a careful exposition of the situation, relating its history, the Chinese prejudices involved, the supposed readiness of a few foreign commercial houses to exploit the limitations of currency for their own advantage through control of the discounting of bills of exchange, and consequent losses to American consumers of Chinese goods, tea in particular. He felt bound to protect the interests of all concerned, "and not to permit the advantage of a select few to be developed at the expense of the many."³³ Such a sentiment was in line with the feeling of many members of Congress. Murphy outlined remedies to be applied by American merchants and Chinese officials, and supplied monetary tables. Part of his letter was printed for general distribution.³⁴

Murphy's interest in the subject of Chinese finance, currency, and diplomacy led him to write further in such cogent manner that the Secretary sent his remarks to the Legation in China. This correspondence supplies incidental evidence of the genuine difficulty experienced by sincere individuals in refraining from the reflections and criticisms which the Department discouraged.³⁵

Another of Murphy's instructive letters dealt with the revision of the consular service in 1855, relative needs of Americans at different Chinese ports for consular aid, treaty revision, and future trade promotion. Although the government desired consuls to be guarded in their direct public utterances, it did not hesitate to make public some of their lively comments on policy, either in official or in unofficial ways. Personal attacks were sometimes deleted, but consular and diplomatic reports were published with remarkable freedom from censorship or revision. In the case of Murphy's suggestions regarding treaty revision and the

³¹ Con. Regs., 1856, 47; Con. Regs., 1863, 168, 35-2, S. Ex. Doc. 22, I, 421, 4 Canton CL, Aug. 23, 1857, Canton CI, June 20, 1857.

³² Con. Regs., 1856, 18-19, and sect. 19 of the act of Aug. 18, 1856, Demmitt, Americans in Eastern Asia, 227, 3 Japan Des., Nov. 26, 1860. For a difficulty regarding nomination of an American customs inspector see page 150, below.

³³ 2 Shanghai CL, June 25, 1855, with encls.

³⁴ 34-1, H. Ex. Doc. 2, 166-169.

³⁵ Certain acid remarks by Murphy reflected, with some reason, on Commissioner Parker, who possessed the faculty of embittering others and thereby clouded issues of interest to the student of policy. Cf. 16 China DD, May 29, 1858, with encls.

different ports in China, the Department sent the document on to a Washington newspaper, expressing appreciation of the writer's efforts.³⁶

Such communications modify the existing notion that commerce was lamely supported by the earlier consuls. The American government and American merchants at home often lacked adequate information concerning their interests in the Orient. They found their positions greatly improved by the reading of documents sent in by consuls who took seriously their obligation to advise and inform.³⁷

Reports to the Department of State from representatives in Eastern Asia were its chief source of knowledge. The complete picture on which a President and his Secretary of State relied was also derived from naval correspondence, letters sent to legislative and executive branches of government by merchants and other private citizens, communications emanating from trade associations, and the writings of special investigators.³⁸

Some features of this picture have been sketched in the study of commercial freedom and expansion. Others are added here and there in connection with specific consular problems. It is sufficient at this point to mention the great variety of the hundreds of consular contributions to it. These included data on diplomatic matters, important translations, accounts of unusual adventures of travellers, trade peculiarities of ports, European activities in unfamiliar localities, and losses of American vessels. Printed newspaper reports were often enclosed. Comments were made on unequal trade exactions, American business methods in Asia, consular trade promotion journeys, difficulties regarding seamen, and numerous other types of interests.³⁹ In addition to supplying general information, consuls were also able occasionally to assist commerce directly and specifically.⁴⁰

Sect. C--Supervision of the Use of the Flag

Much importance was attached to the

³⁶ 4 Shanghai CL, Dec 27, 1856, and Shanghai CI, Apr 8, 1857, cf. *ibid*, Apr 8, 1856. The Department had desired Murphy's views on treaty revision. To supplement oral remarks made in Washington he wrote a lengthy communication which deserves notice as one of the best consular efforts to render constructive service. It united the commercial and the diplomatic points of view in a practical and elastic manner suited to the actualities of the situation. This fact is well attested by the almost uniformly commendatory marginalia entered, presumably in the Department of State.

Murphy commented on the gradual revelation of the deficiencies of the Treaty of Wanghia—particularly its minuteness and the miserable translation of it into Chinese. The great amount of detail enabled the Chinese to block proposed regulations of a useful sort by citing contrary provisions in the document as a result of this "trickery", the consul asserted. Americans were not a whit in advance of their position twelve years before, except at Shanghai. The new treaty should contain few articles, and the particulars of each port should be regulated by special rules, subject to alteration according to circumstances. Stating that Americans in China had gradually come to know what they wanted, he outlined interestingly the functions of a possible "chief superintendent of trade" of the American government, in China, the duties of the chief diplomatic representative, cooperation with England and France, the manner of securing treaty revision, and relations with the navy. His own sense of duty was emphasized, in a manner not uncommon at the time, although in justice to his reputation it should be said that his industry, courage, and judgment seem usually to have been commensurate with his sense of duty. A good map covering the region from Peking to Hangchow, an instructive comparison of Canton and Shanghai and their respective shares of the trade, and an informing account of different unopened cities left the reader with an improved idea of future possibilities. (See Appendix 6.)

Writing four days later, this industrious officer sent three other reports, two of them on very complicated and important matters.

³⁷ Cf. *Manual. Hist. Sketch*, 11-12, 23, 5 Index Desp. from Consuls Great Britain, Aug 21, 1851.

³⁸ *Mrs Let.*, Mar. 25, 1845, 35-1, S Rep 191 (Memorial of Aaron Haight Palmer)

³⁹ Several references supply detailed information on representative communications from Macao, Hongkong, Singapore, Manila, Australia, New Zealand, Lahaina, Hakodate, Shanghai, Canton, Swatow, Ningpo, Amoy, and Formosa. See 1 Macao CL, Sept 25, 1856, Gideon Nye, *The Rationale of the China Question* (Macao, 1857), 1 Hongkong CL, July 24, 1846, 4 Hongkong CL, Ap 10, 1858, Com Rels, IV, 196-207; *ibid*, III, 676-678, 680-681, 682, 685-686, 689, 694, 4-5 Canton CL, *passim*, Com Rels, 1858, 41-45, 375-379, 1 Hakodate CL, May 29, 1857, 4 Shanghai CL, Dec 27, 1856, and Oct 15, 1858, 3 Shanghai CL, Nos 11-13, Com Rels, 1861, Pt 1, 572ff., 380, 16 China DB, Apr 10, 1858, exh 6, Ningpo CI, Oct 3, 1855; 2 Amoy CL, May 31 and June 14, 1855, Com Rels, 1859, 372, 375, 4 Canton CL, Nov 14, 1856, and June 6, 1857.

⁴⁰ See, for example, the case (1854) of the storm-tossed Thomas W. Sears, at Melbourne, related in Gale's *Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes*, 11. This material is a sample of advices received by merchant firms from their own representatives. Home offices of concerns like Russell and Company were not dependent entirely on official sources of information about either commercial or public affairs in the East.

consular task of protecting the standing and the uses of the American flag. The flag affected the prestige of the government, and its ability to guarantee the security of its citizens in remote lands and to reserve their special advantages to them. It supplied a necessary and easily understood symbol of American identity in confused and often tumultuous circumstances. The local consular officer took action to secure redress or to inflict punishment—if a militant faction in China showed it disrespect, in case a foreign vessel, in Japanese waters for instance, ran it up as a means of gaining privileges, or if renegade traders failed to comply with conditions governing use of it.

In unsettled times American consuls, occasionally in conjunction with those of other nations, prescribed special arrangements in the interest of their compatriots, e.g., consular certificates of identification to proper parties during disturbances at Whampoa and Canton in 1855. These were issued along with the flag. It was usual to inform local authorities of the receiving government of such arrangements, which sometimes spared them the worry of guessing whether flags (or other national insignia or documents) were being legitimately used.⁴¹

Outrages against the flag of a powerful foreign state were a sore subject to Asiatic governments as they began to conform to Western usage. The evidence on this subject reveals cases of as great concern among local officials as among consuls. Many conflicts of ideas and customs were produced.⁴²

The consul's function in relation to the flag and other evidences of American

nationality involved more than attention to a shadowy "national honor." It had a bearing on the workaday affairs of commerce and other activities which constituted the backbone of American interests in a rapidly shifting international scene.

The two general classes of consular functions considered have borne on maintenance of the consul and his establishment, and on matters relating to the home government or its agencies and thus to citizens in the United States.⁴³ These subjects show how the government extended its own structure and personnel to the Orient. The machinery set up, the operations prescribed, and the staff appointed lengthened the arm of domestic administration and increased the range of national vision.

The American government was concerned not only with an extension of its administration and information service to foreign lands for the sake of domestic interests. It was responsible also for the protection and the convenience of those American citizens whose presence in Asiatic localities constituted an extension of the American population beyond national boundaries. Numerically they were inconsiderable, but as a factor in international and commercial life they possessed importance. Using the discussion of the flag as a convenient turning point, the inquiry shifts its focus, in the exposition of the third group of functions, from the interests of the American government and population at home to those of Americans appearing in Eastern Asia, with only occasional and incidental allusion to the United States itself. The scene is Asiatic and for the most part remains such.⁴⁴

⁴¹ 11 China DD, Feb 12, 1855, encl., Tr of Wanghia, Art XXII, and Tr of Tientsin, Art XIV, 4 Hongkong CL, Feb 27, 1858, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I 268

⁴² See, for example, the Linklater and Donaldson case at Shanghai in 1854, in which the Crown and the Sir Herbert Compton figured. The consul, the taotai, and the American naval officer on duty all took a hand in the matter. Questions of blockade and supplies for Chinese rebels were numbered among the issues American conditions were met (2 Shanghai CL, Mar 30, 1854, The North-China Herald, Mar 11, 1854, wrongly quoted in Morse's generally excellent Vol I--pp 421-422; Sewall, The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk, 199-202; Perry, Narr, Vol 1, 504-507, 4 Shanghai CL, Apr 12, 1859, encl. on judicial cases; Thomas Taylor Meadows, The Chinese and Their Rebellions, London, 1856, final pages of ch XVII.)

⁴³ In the first compensation and living arrangements, care of establishment, and agents and subordinates. In the second, records, reports, and accounts, advice and information, including news of commercial opportunities, and protection of the use of the flag.

⁴⁴ The fourth division of the outline of consular duties, though turning again, to some extent, from individuals to governments, is concerned not with the American government but with those governments in Asia to which consuls were commissioned or with official representatives of European countries who were sent to Eastern ports.

Chapter 5

SPECIFIC CONSULAR FUNCTIONS (Continued-- THIRD GROUP DUTIES TO AMERICANS IN EASTERN ASIA)

Sect a-General Services and Protection of Interests

In the present century, foreigners in China have run the risk of loss of life and damage to property more frequently than have foreigners in most other parts of the world. This hazard has been reduced in Japan to what might be called the normal risk encountered in any civilized country, if it has not been entirely eliminated. The same is substantially true in the different parts of Southeastern Asia, the Philippines, and most of the island groups of the Pacific. Lingering insecurity of life and property in China is a matter of common knowledge. If one carries this idea of insecurity back to the middle of the nineteenth century and extends it to most of the Far Eastern area, some conception of the protective task of foreign consuls will readily be gained.

At that time the danger was intensified for all classes of foreigners, and particularly for the more bumptious members of crews of merchant vessels. Isolation and the need of immediate action placed much responsibility in the hands of consuls. Occasionally the intemperateness of disputants or the absence of consular oversight or of naval backing of consuls led foreigners to take direct action themselves. Difficulties created by such action were left to consuls or other officers to unravel as best they could. The naval forces of the United States were active in a number of places.¹

Consuls administering extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, Japan, and

Siam exercised a protective oversight for the benefit of their countrymen, and attempted at the same time to deal fairly with foreign plaintiffs suing Americans in consular courts. When the plaintiff was a native, the situation called for much breadth of mind on the part of the consul-judge. The same was true to a degree when the plaintiff was a subject of another Western government.²

Numerous specific provisions of a negative or restrictive character in treaties with East Asiatic states were designed to do away with undesirable native practices to which Americans had formerly submitted. Cases in point were the Co-hong arrangements in China and the treatment of shipwrecked seamen in Japan.³ Unfamiliarity of native officials with many rights and customs taken for granted in the West required clauses positively establishing such privileges. In connection with these arrangements, references to consular officers in treaties were frequent.⁴

An idea of those American rights and interests protected by consuls can be gained from a review of treaty provisions. Rights were gained either directly or indirectly through operations of the most-favored-nation clause usually appearing in some form in the American treaties. This general survey leaves smaller details for mention in more specific connections. Some matters included were not "rights" in a strict sense but were parts of the mechanism of trade on which Americans depended.

The main concerns of Americans in Eastern Asia, and of their government in making treaties on their behalf, included

¹On the American government's earlier relation to its citizens and its consular representation in China, see Dennett's Americans in Eastern Asia, pp. 75-80, and Letourneau's Early Relations. Regarding an armed steamer for service in China cf. Cong. Globe (34-3), p. 828.

²Treaty of 1858 (Amer., Art. XXVIII, Brit., Art. XVII, and French, Art. XXXV), Westel W. Willoughby, Foreign Rights and Interests in China (Rev. ed., two vols., Baltimore, 1927), I, 528-529.

³Cf. Morse, Trade and Admin. of China, pp. 302-312, Leitch Ritchie, The British World in the East. (Two vols., London, 1847), II, 141-142, 42-2, H. Ex. Doc. 517, 87.

the right to trade and to carry on the varied auxiliary activities of commerce, and the privilege of buying or leasing land to serve as a *locus standi*, and of erecting or occupying buildings thereon. Others were the promise of safety in travelling on land, the grant of a place to bury the dead; and assurance of aid in time of shipwreck. Likewise important were freedom to worship in their own way and to propagate their faith, and a guarantee of fair trial, whether in satisfactory native courts or in consular courts.

The Right to Trade Reciprocal trade equality was extended to the Dutch colonies by the convention of 1852 with the Netherlands. Goods imported and exported there by Americans in American ships paid the same duties as similar goods in Dutch vessels. As part of the coasting trade, island-to-island commerce was reserved to Dutch vessels. American tonnage in the indirect trade between the Netherlands and its colonies enjoyed privileges accorded Dutch ships.⁴

The treaty of 1850 with the Sultan of Borneo assured complete freedom of import and export in all parts of the dominion, subject only to payment of customs duties. Internal and export duties were prohibited. The limit on tonnage duties was set at a dollar a ton.⁵

In the British East Indian ports, Americans might trade between Penang and the United States in certain articles on a most-favored-nation basis with European nations, but exports might be carried thence only to the United States. American vessels might go from port to port to pick up cargo but not as part of the "coasting trade". Malacca, Singapore, and Hongkong,

like Penang, were free ports. American trade with British ports in Eastern Asia was substantially on as liberal a basis as American trade with the British Isles.⁶

Americans in Siam were allowed (1833-1856) to import their cargoes for barter, without price-fixing by Siamese officers. Sale of munitions of war was restricted, opium imports and rice exports were prohibited. The only duty was a measurement duty on vessels. Improvements followed with the treaty of 1856 and accompanying trade regulations.⁷ Americans might engage in non-resident trade at all Siamese ports. The measurement duty was replaced by set import and export duties like those paid on goods shipped in Chinese or Siamese vessels. Citizens of the United States might build ships in Siam, they might also employ natives. The ban on opium imports was lifted.⁸ Important commercial changes in 1860 abolished all transit duties, allowed export drawbacks on untouched merchandise, and fixed a ten per cent tariff on goods generally.⁹

Extension of American commercial relations with Pacific ports brought a nearly increase in trade with the Society Islands. In addition to repairs and supplies, vessels going there secured local commodities in exchange for cotton goods, hardware, and assorted merchandise. Customs regulations were promulgated in 1857. A ten per cent entrance duty was required on all imports in foreign vessels, as against five per cent in the case of French tonnage. An interesting and substantial list of exemptions, however, was of importance in relation to American interests and the culture substitution then underway.¹⁰

⁴East India Squadron, Com F A Parker, Feb 27, 1845 to Sept 25, 1845 (manuscripts in Navy Department), May 26, 1845, copy of J McKeever to Parker, May 17, Com Rels, III, 185, 191, Com Rels, 1860, 236, 28-2, S Doc 155, 126-127, Com Rels, I, 271-272, and text of treaty provisions (essential to each section of this survey).

⁵John C Templer (ed.), *The Private Letters of Sir James Brooks, K C B, Rajah of Sarawak* (Three vols., London, 1853), II, 65-66, 301.

⁶John Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (London, 1858), 2d1, 335, 401, Com. Rels, 1857, 14-17, *Overland China Mail* (Hongkong), Mar 30, 1849, p 59, and Morse, Int Rels, I, 358-359 (Macao), 28-2, S Doc 155, 84-89, 167-168, and Com Rels, I, 166-169 (the Philippine Islands).

⁷Secretary Marcy advised Harris to point out that the United States, lacking Oriental colonies, would not have to discriminate against tropical products of Siam, in the manner of European nations which gave preferential treatment to such products of their own possessions (*Japan Inst*, Sept 12, 1855).

⁸Com Rels, I, 492, Graham, *Siam*, II, 95-99, Templer, (Brooke's) *Private Letters*, II, 299, Cosenza, *The Complete Journal*, 390-391.

⁹Com Rels, 1860, 408ff, 450ff, Com Rels, 1861, Pt. I, 556ff

¹⁰Com Rels, 1860, 152-155.

In some island groups a degree of respect was given earlier agreements of simple substance secured by Commodore Wilkes--for example, in the Samoan Islands, a whaling resort with an elementary commerce American rights in many small islands of the Pacific were only such as chance or the visits of naval vessels might afford.¹¹

The treaty of 1849 with the Sandwich Islands provided extensively for commercial and consular privileges in accommodation of a trade dating back many years and owing much to the whaling industry, the emergence of California as a commercial factor, and the establishment of regular communications with the Atlantic coast. The treaty was mainly reciprocal. In addition to usual privileges, it gave permission to American whalerships to enter Hilo and two other ports to refit and to make small trades free from

government charges. The only ports of entry for all merchant vessels, however, were Honolulu and Lahaina.¹²

Unilateral trading privileges in the Loo Choo compact (1854) required courteous treatment for Americans and sale of whatever articles they requested, including wood and water at reasonable rates. Skilful pilots were expected to watch regularly for American ships and to serve them for a small sum.¹³

The more elaborate treaties with China gave American merchants the right (1844) to reside and trade at the five open ports (considerably increased in number, 1858-1860).¹⁴ Fixed import and export duties (ranging about five per cent) and tonnage dues were to be paid according to specified arrangements. This feature produced problems for consuls, who were liable for amounts left unpaid by departing vessels. Prompt determination of ad valorem

¹¹ Com. Rels., III, 393-394. For early arrangements see Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (New York, 1936), 342-343.

¹² Ibid., 537-539; Com. Rels., 1860, 450, 28-2, S Doc 155, 168, 34-1, H Ex. Doc 2, 189. The Russo-American convention of 1824 allowed Americans the right of navigation of the North Pacific (in common with Russians) and the right to fish and to resort for trade with natives to any of the coasts of Northeastern Asia, upon unoccupied points. Visits to locations of Russian settlements, however, required special permission.

¹³ Com. Rels., I, 509.

¹⁴ Different ports of Eastern Asia had a very uneven value for American trade. Some of those in China were chosen partly by guesswork. Not all the guesses were good.

With growth of business at other ports in China, Canton, remote from important sources of supply, became less satisfactory as a shipping center. Apprehension early existed over the question of opening the Chinese city and disturbance of trade by foreign wars and domestic fighting. (At Canton, river steamers and lorches dominated the local carrying trade up the river. In this activity Americans had an important place.) Whampoa, anchorage of Canton, was in the midst of tumult. In spite of much romantic talk, and undoubtedly cosmopolitanism, this anchorage was generally regarded by realistic observers as a miserable and pestilential place. Ultimate abandonment of the old factory sites at Canton and greater use of Hongkong as a base marked a step in the commercial subordination of the famous old Chinese port.

For Americans, the European possessions of Hongkong and Macao had importance as centers for receiving information and directions, and as transhipment points. Macao was an especially convenient place of residence for naval officers and for families of American merchants. From 1844 to 1855 the American naval depot was shifted back and forth between Hongkong and Macao. It was finally settled at Hongkong. There were signs of a trade revival at Macao, 1851-1852 and 1855-1856, and in 1857 and 1858 the number of American vessels present increased. Thereafter, the figures declined.

The period also involved Canton in a losing commercial race with Shanghai, which developed into an important point of collection and distribution for the Yangtze valley trade. This business altered the former coastal pattern of commercial exchanges, and aided the displacement, by foreign vessels, of a much larger number of Chinese junks. Shanghai made notable gains in foreign trade from about 1850, when it accounted for half the tea, and three-fourths of the silk, leaving the Chinese open ports. This place possessed a widely responsive market. It was affected by the opening of Japanese ports, Nagasaki in particular, and became the first leading transhipment point for the Japan trade. Commercial circles at Shanghai developed a "Japan fever" (Cf. S. Wells Williams, The Chinese Commercial Guide, 252-253, 2 Japan Des., June 21, 1858, 1 Macao Cl., Feb. 22, 1859, and Com. Rels., 1860, 404.) The history of Shanghai was also influenced by uncertainties and disturbances in 1847-1848, 1853-1854, 1858, and 1860, in which year trade improved in spite of foreign and domestic hostilities.

duties by consuls and superintendents of customs was specified (1844) American property was exempted from embargo, seizure, and detention "for any pretense of the public service" Americans violating treaty provisions, such as that against trading at unopened ports, were entirely subject to the action of the Chinese government, which had rights that consuls were morally, and sometimes literally, bound to uphold Plunderers of American merchant vessels in Chinese waters would be punished by the Chinese government Recovered property would be restored to the nearest consul¹⁵

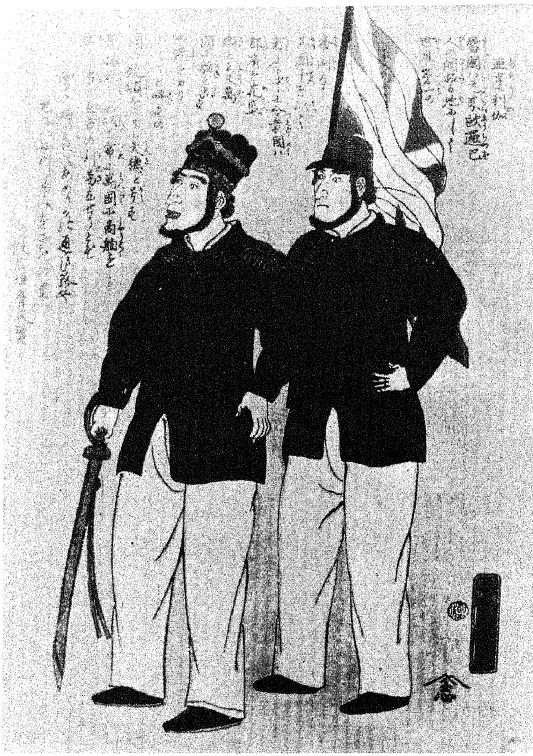
Careful provisions governed deposit of ships' papers with consuls, who reported entries to customhouses A Chinese notation on a port clearance protected a vessel against repetition of tonnage duties on entering a second port to discharge remaining cargo. The Treaty of Wanghia permitted transhipment from one vessel to another in harbor, on application through the consul to the superintendent of customs Collectors of customs consulted with consuls about erection of beacons and lighthouses Americans might engage pilots and hire servants, compradores, linquists, laborers, seamen, and others, as

The intermediate ports of China, between Canton and Shanghai—Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and, later, Swatow—formed a special group in regard to their initial obscurity in foreign trade, the conflicting predictions made as to their prospects, the financial, protective, and other problems faced by consular officers tardily assigned to them, and features of their commerce Swatow figured officially only toward the end of our period Amoy possessed a close commercial relation to Formosa, and to the Philippines and the southern island groups American trade there was small at first In the later fifties direct trade with the United States increased The "opening" of Foochow should ordinarily be understood to mean, not the beginning of the exercise of the right to trade there, but the particular event of the exploitation in 1853 of the opportunity, especially in the tea business—showing a special case of pioneering by American merchants Foochow came to be regarded as second only to Shanghai in importance, for Americans Of the 32,000,000 pounds of tea exported to all foreign countries in the last quarter of 1857, 6,000,000 pounds went to the United States (2 Foochow CL, April 1, 1858) Ningpo was a troublesome consular and commercial satellite of Shanghai Its commercial advantages were not commensurate with the official difficulties which it produced "Chinese boats" of American ownership, operating locally, were a feature of Ningpo trade from the beginning of the period A specialized run between Ningpo and Shanghai developed later At Ningpo, and at Swatow, Chinese gold merchants were able to keep in their own hands the direction of much of the trade which foreigners expected to capture (CL, *passim*)

These brief remarks are based on extensive information gleaned from scores of volumes of consular, diplomatic, and naval correspondence, Congressional documents, Parliamentary papers, local histories of ports, travels, biographies, descriptive and illustrative works, commercial and statistical reports, gazettes and almanacs, newspapers (China, Hongkong, and the United States), encyclopedias, and special studies, as well as from obscure periodical literature (Readers desiring a more detailed account and abundant references are referred to Part IV of the present work)

For pictures, special reference should be made to A van Otterloo, China, Beschreven naar de Nieuwste Bronnen (Amsterdam, 1881), and James Orange, The Chater Collection, Pictures Relating to China, Hongkong, Macao, 1655-1860 (London, 1924) Of use for each port is N B Demm's (ed.), The Treaty Ports of China and Japan (London and Hongkong, 1867) Wood's Fankwei and Williams' The Chinese Commercial Guide supply valuable facts and suggestive opinions On Formosa, see also James W Davidson, "A Review of the History of Formosa", in Trans. of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan, XXIV, 112-156, Henri Cordier, Bibliographie des Ouvrages Relatifs à l'ile Formose (Chartres, 1893), M. Jomard's "Coup d'oeil", in Bull. de la Soc. de Géog., Dec., 1858, 55-2, 5 Ex Doc 22, II, 1208ff., Walter A Durham, in Pacific Affairs, Sept., 1882, and 2 Amoy CL, June 18, 1859

¹⁵ For extensive discussion see Paullin, Dip. Negots of Amer. Naval Officers, 199-204, Dennett, "How Old is American Policy in the Far East?", in The Pacific Rev., II, 468, T F Tsiang's new conclusions regarding Kearney, in Chin. Soc. and Pol. Sci. Rev., XV, 422-444, and XVI, 75-109, Morse, Int. Rels., I, 569, Dennett, Amer. in East Asia, 523-524, Morse, Trade and Admin. of China, 208, l. China DI, Sept. 27, 1855, May 30, 1857, and Cass to Reed, Washington, 1858, Moore, Digest, V, 421



American Marines (?) as Seen by the Japanese Eye, 1854
(From the Chadbourne Collection, Naval Historical Foundation,
Washington, D. C.)

(From George Wingrove Cooke's China..., p. 225.)

Some of the best shops of Shanghai city open upon the tea-gardens; ...there are caricatures of the English barbarians.... There is also the studio of a portrait-painter, not probably a dangerous rival to Lamqua, of Macao. There is loud talking in that studio. A Yankee captain is inspecting a portrait of himself, which has been painted at a contract price of some twenty dollars. The Yankee is a man about forty, with streaks of gray in his bushy hair and beard, with a slight defect in one eye, a large nose, and a pock-marked face. Yet, withal, thanks to his affluence of hair and an expression of jaunty determination and devil-may-care go-aheadness, he is a manly-looking fellow. He is looking ruefully, however, at this counterfeit presentation of himself which is to go to the girl of his heart at New York. It is a most laughter-moving caricature of all the salient points of his physiognomy. The Yankee swears that it is no more like him than hickory nuts are like thunder. The artist has produced a small looking-glass, which he places beside the portrait, and, pointing to the gray hair, and the squinting eye, and the pock marks of the portrait, and then to the present originals from which they were copied, says triumphantly at each verification, "Hab got? Hab got? Hab got? How can make handsome man, 'spose no got handsome face?"

Translation, by Mr Henry S Tatsumi, of comment in Japanese
on the face of the illustration entitled "American
Marines (?) as Seen by the Japanese Eye, 1854 "

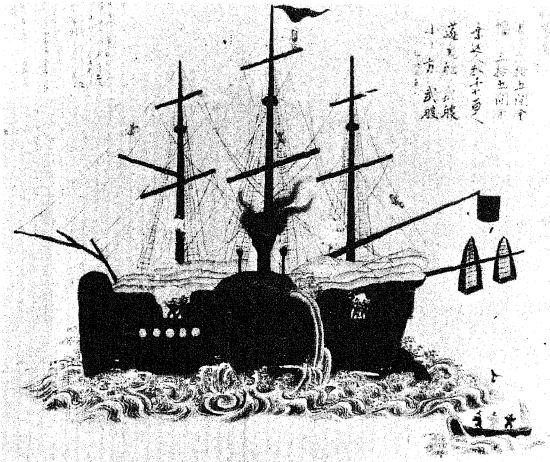
AMERICA

This country, to begin with, was developed by the Europeans and it is the most spacious continent in the world [sic]. The United States, besides having as many as a thousand states, has a capital called Washindon [Washington]. The port from which she sends out her ships to all the nations of the world is called Karikorunia [California]. The designation of the executive officer (tōryō) of the country is Furishitento (Purishidento) [President], and it is said that her merchantmen take some of the products of the country and go to other countries and make profit by trade.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <u>Yuki no furu</u>
Snow's fall(ing) | 1. Snowy nights or |
| 2. <u>Yo mo Amerika no</u>
night even American (ame, or "rain", and
(or) ka, or "day")
of all the places | 2 Rainy days (from
America) |
| 3. <u>Kayonji ya</u>
wending-way (or passage) | 3 A distant route we
wend our way |
| 4. <u>Koi ni wa yatsusu</u>
For love will guise | 5 For love's sake do
people guise
themselves |
| 5. <u>Mi wo saki no sato</u>
(one's) person, to yonder village (or habi-
tation) | 4 To habitations be-
yond (the sea) |

By Kanagaki-Robun

[The main idea of this versification is the coming of American ships over a distant course. The coming of American ships to Japan suggests "America". The letters "Ame" suggest the Japanese "ame", meaning "rain". This word in turn suggests "yuki", meaning "snow", given here as part of a "pillow-word"—an introductory expletive or "filling-out" word or phrase. "Yo mo" may be regarded as a "pivot-word" which finishes the introductory phrase and pivots toward the main idea. Mr Tatsumi points out that these lines are inferior as a poem, but they supply an example of play on words.]



Japanese Sketch of an American Ship at Uraga..., 1853
 (From the Chadbourne Collection, Naval Historical Foundation,
 Washington, D. C.)

Translation, by Mr. Henry S. Tatsumi, of comment in Japanese
 on the face of the illustration entitled "Japanese
 Sketch of an American Ship at Uraga..., 1853".

American ship which arrived in Uraga, Sagami Province, on June 3, Kaei 6, the year of the cow.
 [Perry's ships anchored on July 8.] A sketch of one of the ships which entered the harbor.

Length, 65 ken +	Steamships . . 2
Width, 35 ken +	Smaller ones 2 (These, however, were without the
Crew, 1700 men	wheels.)

The wheels on both sides of the ship are made of iron and they start turning when the smoke comes out of the tube above them. They turn as swiftly as an arrow and they move the ship freely forward or backward. The upper part of the ship is covered with iron and the lower part with copper.

- The round holes above. Holes for "stone-fire-arrow".
 - Square holes, 5' shaku square. Several on either side (of the ship). These are the holes for the cannon.
 - Holes at the lower part. There are several hundreds on both sides of the ship. These are rifle holes.
 - △ The triangular object on the ship. These are called the wind bags. They have the appearance of our oiled paper and extend from the bow to the stern. These are sun shades.
- When the water dries up in the ship these are folded up and put away. It looks as if they are made of straw.

The small boat in front is sounding the depth of the sea.

well as passenger and cargo boats. No arrangement was made about regular participation of American vessels in the coasting trade, but much of this business was actually carried on in small ships of many flags, some of which were exclusively concerned with it. Other treaty provisions related to weights and measures, re-exportation, trade in wartime, and Chinese aid in cases of shipwreck. The supplementary treaty of November 8, 1858 relaxed restrictions on trade in opium, cash, grain, and other commodities. Opium was admitted as a dutiable article which might be sold under stated conditions. This agreement shortened the period of exemption from obligation to report entry and pay tonnage dues, abolished a melleage fee, provided for a uniform system of revenue collection at all ports, and made commercial rules.¹⁶

Those charged with making treaties with Japan had the advantage of knowledge of conditions in China.¹⁷ While prudent enough to include a most-favored-nation clause in his treaty of 1854, Perry refrained from introducing an extraterritorial provision and omitted much of the detail

found in the Cushing treaty with China. The commercial situation differed sharply from that in China, where a large pre-treaty commerce with the United States had existed. The limited pre-treaty trade of Japan with outsiders was closer in character to that of the Loo Choo Islands, and the first conventions concluded by the United States with those islands and with Japan resembled each other in the brevity and informality of their trade clauses.

Omitting the right of continued residence, the Treaty of Kanagawa allowed only a very restricted commerce, "under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government".¹⁸ Additional regulations provided for landing places at Shimoda and for a harbormaster and pilots.¹⁹ The Treaty of Shimoda (1857) went a step further and opened Nagasaki for repairs, provisions, and other necessary articles. It allowed permanent residence of Americans at Shimoda and Hakodate, since ships had been unable to have their wants satisfied by the Japanese.²⁰ The arrangement for supervision of all trade by the Japanese government

¹⁶The treaty articles, and Morse, Int Rels., I, 568, 570

¹⁷"On early American attempts to deal with Japan, see works by Callahan, Cosenza, Bennett, Gubbins, Paulin, and Treat; A B Hart (ed.), Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, IV, 404, 30-1, S Mis Doc 80, 5; George R Howell, "The First Visit of an American Ship to Japan and Its Result", in Trans of the Albany Institute, IX (Albany, 1879), 147-152, 3 Shanghai Cl, Nov 1, 1855, 1 China Cl, Aug 15, 1844, 3 China DD, No 17 (encl., Jly 5, 1846), and June 17, Oct 26, and Nov 9, 1846, Hunt's Merch Mag, Vol 15, 141-144; Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, "Introduction"; Richard Hildreth's Japan As It Was and Is (1855), 534 Cf H Morse Stephens and Herbert E Bolton (edd.), The Pacific Ocean in History (New York, 1917)

The first regularly "returned" reports of shipping by Harris show the Tempest (350), a New London whaler, arriving at Shimoda on November 12, 1858 (2 Japan Des, Dec 31, 1858). The first American firm at Yokohama was Walsh, Hall, and Co (from 1859). For useful discussion see Williams' remarks in Hildreth's Japan As It Was and Is, 558-562, 3 Japan Des, May 15, 1860, and Inazo Nitobe, The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan (Baltimore, 1891), 35.

Information on the Japan ports is abundantly provided in diplomatic and consular correspondence, published works by some of the writers mentioned at the beginning of this note, the writings of James Murdoch and M Paske-Smith, travels, and the following: A van Otterloo, Japan (Amsterdam, 1860), Yotaro Kino-shita, The Past and Present of Japanese Commerce (New York, 1902), Y Takekoshi, The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, III (New York, 1930), Archives of Government Officers Outside of the City of Washington (Washington, 1916); E Papinot's Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan (Tokyo, etc., 1909) possesses high quality. A few of the general works on relations with China supply facts regarding ports in Japan. For more extensive accounts of Japanese ports see below, Part IV.

¹⁸On this point see Moore, Digest, V, 740 Cf 1 Japan Des, Nov 20, 1857, and James Murdoch, A History of Japan, III (London, 1926), 614.

¹⁹Cf Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, 589, 487-489, and Vol. 2, 373-391, Com Rels, I, 505-507, Wood, Fankwei, 500

²⁰At Shimoda, Americans were armed, but in the increasingly friendly semi-rural atmosphere of Hakodate, they came usually to find such precautions for safety less necessary. Tokugawa influence was strong and the scene of domestic disputes was far away.

was abrogated. Through operation of the most-favored-nation clause, other rights automatically came to Americans from agreements made by Japan with Great Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands, including extraterritoriality, greater personal freedom (with the right to bring families to open ports), and the right of residence at Nagasaki.²¹

The more detailed Treaty of Yedo (1858) permitted residence in all the open ports, at places chosen by consuls and local officers, and freedom of buying and selling.²² Distances to which Americans might go from each port were defined. This arrangement was qualified for persons guilty of certain offences, who also lost their right of permanent residence. Rice and wheat might not be exported as cargo. Less than four months separated

the American treaty which included legalization of the importation of opium into China and this earlier treaty with Japan which forbade the traffic.²³ All foreign coin was to be current in Japan and to pass for the corresponding weight of Japanese coin of the same description. Resident Americans might employ Japanese in any capacity. The treaty was amplified by regulations for the conduct of American trade, the usual rules regarding entry of ships and cargoes, smuggling, transhipment, and the like, and classes and rates of duties.²⁴ Refusal of a ship's clearance by the Japanese authorities required an explanation to consul and master. No tonnage duties on American ships were allowed, fees being exactly fixed instead.

The foregoing review of rights accorded commerce and of phases of the

At the time of signing the convention of Shimoda, in June, 1857, the Japanese wished the American representative at Hakodate to be merely a "Protector of Americans", and objected to the title of "consul" or "commercial agent". Harris suggested the term "vice consul" as being least objectionable, and this was accepted. Harris probably did not know that Rice had already opened a commercial agency, or even that he had been appointed. (See Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 576, cf. Gubbins, Prog. of Japan, 237-238.)

On early Americans at Hakodate see 1 Hakodate CL, June 30, 1858. Cf. Mis Let Wood to Cass, July 17, 1858. Regarding some American vessels at Hakodate note 55-2, S Ex Doc 54, 1855, 1 Hakodate CL, May 20, 1857, The New York Herald, morning ed., Oct 24, 1860, Cosenza, op cit, 576n.

²¹cf. Treat. Early Dip Rels., and Gubbins, Prog. of Japan, passim.

²²Blakely, On the Coasts of Cathay and Oipango Forty Years Ago, 209-213, 215, K Nakamura, II Tairō to Keikō (The Regent II and the Opening of the Ports), Tokyo, 1909 (Meiji 42), interesting Japanese views of the opening of ports and other topics, on pp 271-272, 236-258, 254-255, 289, Treat. op cit, 97ff., 187, I Japan Inst, May 16, 1861, Com Rels., 1858 (Sept 50, 1858), Dennett, Amer. in East Asia, 359-360.

²³It had also been banned by Russian and Dutch treaties.

²⁴Steamers carrying United States mails were exempt from some of these rules.

For the Consular Regulations at Nagasaki issued by Consul J. G. Walsh on September 13, 1860 see Treaty between the United States and Japan, with Land Regulations and Port and Harbor Regulations for Nagasaki (Nagasaki, 1860. Printed by C Indermaur-Indermann?) In the first five articles appeared a statement of harbor limits and regulations regarding flags, ships' papers, and throwing over a ballast. Firearms were not to be discharged on vessels in port. Vessels with persons suffering from contagious diseases were required to anchor outside the harbor limits. Breach of regulations was punishable by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars and imprisonment for not over three months.

Articles VII-VIII made masters accountable for the conduct of crews on shore, seamen were not to be absent from ship except during the time between sunrise and sunset and they were forbidden to carry dangerous weapons or to indulge in drunken or disorderly conduct, fines for such offences were to be levied against the master, who was subject to a further penalty for neglect (Cf. p 93, below).

Articles XIV, XV, and XVII discouraged the use of violence toward Japanese or taking the law into one's own hands, unless clearly in self-defence, prohibited furious or reckless driving or riding in the streets or in any place where safety might be endangered, and, calling attention to the need of examining a copy of the treaty at the consulate, promised prompt punishment to those who violated the laws and customs of Japan and interfered with Japanese officers in the discharge of their official duties.

According to Article XI, citizens or subjects of nations having no treaty with Japan were not allowed to reside or to land, masters of vessels were responsible for return passage for any such persons whom

mechanism of trade on which merchants depended supplies background for the study of numerous problems and special rulings In comparison with handicaps which Americans formerly carried, the new arrangements brought increased freedom and possessed the beginnings of precision Merchants knew at least the letter and the theory of the rights which their consular and diplomatic representatives were supposed to protect. The translation of these into established, accepted custom waited for the hundreds of cases of application and the settlement of scores of marginal problems which examination of treaties fails to reveal

Use of Land and Buildings Certain provisions allowed Americans to buy or lease land and to erect or occupy buildings thereon With such supplementary rights as travel inland and burial of the dead in special locations, these provisions indicate that, in terms of elemental human interest and need, foreigners in the East were in large part trying not only to secure commercial or occupational footholds, but also to reproduce in an alien setting the scheme and manner of existence obtaining in their homelands Indeed, some of them secured a type of special privilege or a degree of comfort unknown to them at home

The treaties of 1849 with the Sandwich Islands and of 1850 with Borneo granted Americans the right to purchase, rent, or occupy property in security In Siam, American merchants might rent factories, from 1833, and the treaty of 1856 further explained their rights After granting trading privileges at all Siamese seaports, it limited the right of permanent residence to Bangkok There, citizens

of the United States might rent land and buy or build houses (as well as purchase land within about four miles from the city walls, after ten years' residence) Otherwise, American residents in Siam might buy or rent houses and land within twenty-four hours from Bangkok (according to local boat time), if permission was secured from the Siamese officials through the consul.²⁵

In 1844 the Treaty of Wanghia granted the right to reside (with families) at the five open ports of China and there to obtain houses and places of business Sites might be hired from the inhabitants on which to construct such buildings, as well as hospitals, churches, and cemeteries Allowance was to be made for local popular feelings Local authorities of the two governments would choose the sites, rents being reasonably determined by the interested parties The Treaty of Tientsin attempted to remedy defects in the earlier treaty, which had caused many complaints On the present topic it added the rule that local authorities were not to interfere unless the inhabitants offered objections to the places selected²⁶

The sections set apart in the treaty ports of China for foreign residence were viewed somewhat differently by the British and the French on the one hand and the Americans on the other The former, with their background of Indian experience, regarded them in the light of concessions, which in a variety of ways would cut into Chinese sovereignty, as Dennett indicates²⁷ The latter held them merely to be selected sites, not affecting the sovereignty of China and remaining under the control of the Chinese officials responsible for protecting them At Shanghai this difference of opinion was sharply drawn Not until

they brought to Nagasaki By implication, Article XII permitted legitimate residents to employ persons not entitled by treaty to reside in Japan as long as they registered them at their own consulates and were responsible for their behavior It is not certain whether this arrangement represented a natural Japanese attempt to extend the use of their custom of providing sponsors for persons requiring strengthened status

²⁵For a sidelight see Wood, Fankwei, 230-231

²⁶The Chinese treaty of 1860 with France conceded to Catholic missionaries the right to hold property in the interior and automatically brought to Protestant missionaries also the right to lease houses for interior stations For disputes as to facts, resulting friction, and the later American policy see Morse, Int. Rels., I, 616, and Dennett, Americans in East Asia, 563

²⁷On settlement policies Dennett writes definitively (*ibid.*, 168-169, ch. X, 589)

1854 was an arrangement made conformable to American views American consular and diplomatic officers, notably Commissioner Marshall, were responsible for a policy of moderation toward the Chinese and independence toward the English and the French At the end of the decade when the second set of treaties opened new ports, the American diplomatic representative failed to live up to his obligations, and the principle of the international foreign settlement, with its safeguard in the practice of having the taotai issue title deeds, was allowed to yield to the plan of national settlements At Canton, for example, the British government leased land and issued titles in the form of sub-leases²⁸

In Japan a notable provision in the Dutch preliminary convention of November, 1855 permitted the sale of dwellings and warehouses and the letting of ground on the island of Deshima, at Nagasaki The American Treaty of Yedo, as already stated, permitted permanent residence in Japanese ports, thus removing the restriction (1857) of this privilege to Shimoda and Hakodate In this treaty Japan conceded the right to lease ground, to purchase the buildings thereon, and to erect dwellings and warehouses²⁹

Inland Travel Accustomed to freedom of travel at home, Americans and other foreigners found it inconvenient to remain continuously at port cities Even in pre-treaty days at Canton they had varied their confining residence with trips to Macao It was natural that treaty provisions concerning residence should contain supplementary specifications as to passports and the right of travel for business or pleasure

The consular convention of 1855 with the Netherlands provided that Americans bearing passports delivered or signed by consuls or consular agents must also bear papers locally prescribed in order to reside or to travel Restrictive power remained with the colonial governor In

Siam (1833) Americans might receive passports from the officials, as long as no legal impediment existed, and might depart freely The trade regulations of 1856 required registration of residents at the consulate and allowed consuls to apply on their behalf for permits to go out to sea or beyond treaty limits on land Within these limits they used passes from the consul countersigned by Siamese authorities³⁰

In China (1844) Americans might go from ports only such distances as were set by local officials and consuls At anchorages, seamen and other citizens might move about in the immediate neighborhood, but they might not "at their pleasure make excursions into the country among the villages at large" or repair to the public marts for unlawful disposition of goods Nevertheless, foreigners at Shanghai visited at a distance and rented residences seventy miles away Chinese authorities at Shanghai avoided the question of positive permission to foreigners for these "mystical vagaries". The right was later secured to travel for pleasure or trade to all parts of the interior, with passports issued by consuls and countersigned by local authorities, and to go from open ports on excursions not exceeding one hundred li in distance or five days in time, without passports These rights did not apply to seamen³¹

The stipulation of the Treaty of Kanagawa that shipwrecked persons should be taken to Shimoda or Hakodate was supplemented by the arrangement that they should be free from restrictions formerly enforced at Nagasaki and that they might move about freely within fixed distances The convention of 1857 admitted only the consul-general's right to go beyond the limits of seven ri (about seventeen miles), and this was qualified The Treaty of Yedo gave him (and the diplomatic agent) the privilege of travelling freely in any part of the Empire, a concession matched by a technically superfluous grant of a

²⁸The American government failed to take up a settlement grant issued to the consul at Tientsin See too 11 China DD, Apr 9, 1855, encl of Mar 31, regarding lights and beacons

²⁹On residence of families of the Russian treaty of Oct 12/24, 1857 (Art XXVII)

³⁰On reasons for the conversion of a stricken treaty provision into a police regulation see, for example, Wood, Fankwei, 237-238

³¹Ibid, 383-387 The li, varying in length, might here be set at a third of a mile

reciprocal right to similar Japanese officers in the United States Americans might travel ten ^里 at Kanagawa and Hakodate and into the "vicinity" at Nagasaki Local consular regulations for Nagasaki (1860) required resident Americans to register at the consulate promptly and also to register any employees not entitled by treaty to reside in Japan They were responsible for the behavior of such persons ³²

In brief, the period witnessed a gradual extension of the right to travel inland in those countries where Westerners had been seen, if at all, chiefly or exclusively at coastal cities Differences of habits and domestic issues in such countries gave to this normal privilege the character of a serious and even dangerous concession

Burial Grounds Remembering the dead as well as the living, the Treaty of Wanghia provided for the hiring of sites for cemeteries Perry's agreements with the Loo Choo Islands and Japan arranged for American burial grounds In each case molestation of cemeteries was forbidden ³³

Aid in Cases of Shipwreck One place of burial required no mention the sea claimed its scores of victims An effort was made, however, to reduce the number of casualties and the amount of suffering, as well as to lessen property loss, by agreements for local aid in time of distress Practically every first treaty in Eastern Asia contained an aid or refuge clause ³⁴

Freedom of Worship and Propagation of Religion Missionaries were interested directly in the general rights relating to residence, travel, burial, and shipwreck Just as merchants had a particular concern with trading privileges, so those engaged in religious work benefited by clauses es-

tablishing their freedom to carry on their chosen activity, as well as the broader right accorded all Americans to worship in their own manner It was the duty of consuls to uphold such clauses, which appeared in the treaties with Siam (1856, freedom of worship), the Hawaiian Islands (1849, freedom of worship), China (1844 and 1858, erection of churches, and 1858, prohibition of molestation of Americans, or Chinese, quietly professing and teaching Christianity), and Japan (1858, freedom to worship and to build churches without insult or injury) In the case of Japan it was stated, "The Government of Japan has already abolished the practice of trampling on religious emblems" All reference to protection of Japanese Christians was omitted Efforts of the increasingly devout Harris to secure full toleration for them failed³⁵

Guarantee of Fair Trial Americans doing business or carrying on missionary activity in the Far East were affected by treaty provisions relating to judicial matters Subsequent consideration of these matters focuses on Siam, China, and Japan It is convenient at this point to supply an idea of the general setting created by treaties and the rights which consuls were expected to protect By way of summary it may be stated that, in general, control over disputes (and sometimes crimes) on American vessels in port was vested in the American consul, ³⁶ that in communities in Eastern Asia under the flag of a European state genuine extraterritorial jurisdiction did not appear, and that the extraterritorial provisions in some of the simpler documents were rudimentary in comparison with the more complicated regulations of the treaties with China and with Japan (Ships and Scamen) With reference to vessels in port, the treaty of 1840 with Portugal allowed consular officers

³² For arguments respecting protection of Harris on walks see Bakumatsu Gankō Kankei Bunsho (Documents on Foreign Relations in the Final Period of the [Tokugawa] Shogunate), Vol 19, 12-20, item of Jan 6, 1858

³³ In October, 1854 the British were granted the right to have a fenced, protected burial ground at Nagasaki, and early in 1855 the Russians secured the same right at each open port See also John Mortlock Tronson, Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary and China (London, 1859), 552, and 35-2, b Ex Doc 22, I, 164

³⁴ Cf 6 China DD, June 20, 1851, and Log Book Samos New Zealand Manila, etc 1845-7

³⁵ For Japanese fear of possible efforts of Harris to aid the Christian cause see Katsu, Kaioku Kigen (The Origin of the Opening of the Country), Tokyo, 1895 (Meiji 28), I, 345-544

³⁶ Unless specially yielded, this right remained with the nation in which the port was located (Con Regs., 1856, 155, cf. ed. of 1863, 391-592, Shppard, Amer Con Serv., 440, Henshaw, Manual, 82-34, 94, Log of the Samos, Manila, 1847, and the Red Rover, Hongkong, 1859, and Con Regs., 1856, 128-129)

to act as judges and arbitrators in most disputes between captains and crews and to receive aid in enforcing their decisions. Deserters might be placed in the public prisons for a short period or sent home, unless their acts required the attention of local tribunals. Conventions with France contained substantially the same provisions. The treaty of 1849 with the Sandwich Islands was similar in tenor, and specified that the expenses of persons detained in local prisons must be met. (In the Islands, regarded ordinarily as a Christian nation, foreigners were of course always subject to the laws of the country³⁷.) The consular convention with the Netherlands included the arrangements described, and permitted litigants to appeal to their judicial authorities at home.

Quasi-extraterritorial matters of the foregoing type were naturally included in the genuine extraterritoriality enjoyed by Americans in Borneo, the Loo Choo Islands, Siam, China, and Japan. Treaties with all but the first two of those places specified the usual procedure for control of disputes or return of deserters. Japanese authorities were obligated to arrest and detain deserters, on behalf of the consul and for just compensation, and to give assistance necessary to maintain order among American ships. In China, consuls were dependent upon such makeshifts as they could provide for detention of seamen. They spent much time in finding proper places

(General Extraterritoriality³⁸)

Turning to genuine extraterritoriality, one finds it generally conceded in the treaty with Borneo, making all offending Americans subject to their consul. This was unqualified extraterritoriality. The compact with Loo Choo merely directed that such persons be returned to their ships to be dealt with by masters. In Siam, merchants were under obligation (1833) to respect Siamese laws and customs in all points. The treaty of 1856 directed that American offenders should be delivered by the local officials

to the consul, who was also bound to surrender lawbreaking Siamese in American employ to their officers. Jurisdiction over disputes between Siamese and Americans was placed in the hands of the consul at Bangkok, acting in conjunction with the proper Siamese authorities. Criminal offences of members of each race were punishable by their own officers and according to their own laws. No reference was made to cases involving Americans and other non-Siamese.

Several articles in the Treaty of Wanghia relating to civil and criminal jurisdiction were left undisturbed by the Treaty of Tientsin. Chinese local authorities were obligated to cause due examination, and to take proper steps to compel satisfaction, in cases in which Americans seeking redress from Chinese for debts or frauds made suitable representation to those authorities through the consul. The Chinese government, however, was not responsible for the debts of individual Chinese. Americans wishing to address Chinese local officers were required to submit their communications to the consul "to determine if the language be proper and respectful, and the matter just and right." Controversies between Chinese and Americans which could not otherwise be settled amicably were to be dealt with "conformably to justice and equity" by the public officers of the two nations acting in conjunction.

Controversies between Americans were left to the control of their own government, and those between Americans and other foreigners to settlement according to American treaties with the respective foreign governments. Dwellings or other property of Americans threatened or attacked by mobs, incendiaries, or other persons were entitled to protection, on requisition to the local officers by the consul. Chinese officers were bound to punish the offending individuals rigorously. Chinese guilty of any crime toward

³⁷ Of Moore, Digest, I, 479, and III, 758-759, and W. Frear, "The Evolution of the Hawaiian Judiciary", No. 7 of the Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society (issued as a separate pamphlet), June 29, 1894, pp. 9-10.

³⁸ On this topic, see the treaty provisions and Hinckley, Amer. Con. Jur., 39, Con. Regs., 1856, 246-247, Demmett, Amer. in East Asia, 182ff., 280-282, a valuable article by Carl Russell Fish, "The Frontier a World Problem", in The Wis. Mag. of Hist., Vol. I, No. 2 (Dec., 1917), 141, 1 Wangpo Ct., Dec. 10, 1857, Con. Regs., 1856, 225-226, 229-231, Con. Regs., 1863, 389, 1 China DI, Sept. 27, 1855, 5 China DD, June 19, 1849, Jones, Con. Serv., 54, Treat., Early Dip. Rel., *passim*.

citizens of the United States were to be tried by Chinese law, with the action of which plaintiffs must be content Americans were to be tried only in consular courts To prevent "all controversy and disaffection, justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides" Failure of actual practice to conform to this high treaty principle led, in Japan, to S Wells Williams' successful opposition to the inclusion of an extraterritorial clause in the Perry treaty

This treaty with Japan, containing a most-favored-nation clause, could not, however, prevent the granting of extraterritorial privileges through treaties made shortly afterwards by European powers Harris naturally included a formal statement on the subject in his first treaty (1857) Offending Americans were to be tried by the consul-general or the consul and to be punished according to American laws Americans offended against by Japanese might expect the latter to be tried and punished by Japanese authorities under Japanese law The Treaty of Yedo further opened the consular courts to Japanese creditors for recovery of just claims against Americans, who in turn were allowed the freedom of Japanese courts in corresponding circumstances Neither government assumed responsibility for the debts of individual Consular officers might call on Japanese authorities for the arrest and detention of fugitives, the jailing of consular prisoners, and assistance in enforcing law observance among Americans

In conclusion of this conspectus of treaty arrangements for American rights--to trade, reside, hold land and buildings, travel, bury the dead, receive aid in case of shipwreck, worship freely and propagate religion, and secure fair judicial proceedings--it must be admitted that they did not in all cases represent a happy grant on the part of the Asiatic states concerned The diplomatic and consular history of the period is full of tortuous and acrimonious

negotiations Unwilling or resentful officials and hostile populations, as well as indiscreet or callous Americans, kept the administration of certain articles from taking on a merely routine character War, rebellion, and manifold kinds of confusion added further complications ³⁹

Consular officers did not uniformly content themselves with protection of such American treaty rights as existed at any particular time While the machinery of their offices was functioning in the interest of rights already won, some consul presented to Washington their own ideas concerning desirable new privileges ⁴⁰ An influence was sometimes exerted upon these officers and the Department of State by individual Americans or by American firms and other organizations ⁴¹ In several cases consular officers were themselves members of interested commercial or missionary groups

Treaties failed to specify all those privileges to which consuls gave attention on behalf of their countrymen and to elaborate sufficiently some of those included The discussion of functions, therefore, turns to a number of these protective or "service" matters, such as passports, marriages, care of the mails, land arrangements, attention to destitute or deceased persons, the affairs of seamen, and wrecks

Sect b--Passports, Marriages, Care of the Mails, Land Arrangements

The issuance of passports within the United States was unregulated by law down to 1856 Abroad, consular officers might grant them only to American citizens Penalties were provided for disobedience ⁴² Consuls might not issue passports in countries where diplomatic representatives were present They were directed to give a visa when the foreign country in question required Regulations by the President specified in the act of 1856 were not issued for many years In addition to general passports and certificates relating

³⁹ See, for example, 18 China DD, Dec 10, 1858, encl 1, and 4 Hongkong CL, (Roberts) Feb 27, 1858 (hostilities about Canton)

⁴⁰ Cf 1 China DI, Sept 27, 1855, 1 Amoor River CL, Feb 20/Mar 5, 1860

⁴¹ See, for example, a memoir of American merchants, shipowners, and underwriters in China relating to losses in accidents at Shanghai, chiefly as a result of the want of lights or beacons at the entrance to the river The treaty of 1858 obligated Chinese collectors of customs to consult with consuls about such matters (11 China DD, Apr 9, 1855, encl of Mar 31 See also 1 China DI, May 5, 1859)

⁴² On passports of 1 Circulars, p 107, Moore, Digest, III, 862ff, The North-China Herald, Dec 19, 1857,

to property, special measures were sometimes necessary in the Far East, particularly in the interior where foreigners were curiosities. Of the different forms of passport, that employed late in the period at the Shanghai consulate serves as an example. It did not apply to crews of ships, "for the due restraint of whom" regulations were to be drawn up by the consul and the local authorities. The English portion of the form follows.⁴³

PASSPORT NO. UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
SHANGHAI, 186

The undersigned, United States Consul at Shanghai, requests the Civil and Military Authorities of the Empire of China in conformity with the ninth article of the British Treaty of Tien-tsin to allow , a Citizen of the United States to travel freely and without hindrance or molestation in the Chinese empire and to give him protection and aid in case of necessity.

Mr. being a person of known respectability is desirous of proceeding to and this passport is given him on condition of his not visiting the cities or towns occupied by the Insurgents

U S Consul

This passport remains in force for a year from the date thereof

Signature of the bearer

During part of the period uncertainty existed regarding marriages performed by consular officers.⁴⁴ Particularly puzzling was the case of a couple at Foochow, for whose ceremony a "special vice consul" had been appointed during the consul's absence. To the embarrassment of the couple the appointment was later disallowed.⁴⁵ To the diversity of American marriage laws, extraterritoriality added

new legal complications. During the course of the period it became clear that consuls might not themselves solemnize marriages. It has been shown that, to remove all doubt, the act of 1880 gave full validity, not to marriages so performed, but to those contracted abroad in the presence of any consular officer, between persons entitled to marry if residing in the District of Columbia.

Another part of the accepted machinery of life at home was the postal service. In the Orient, Americans and other foreigners often found themselves without news from home for considerable periods, and consuls performed a service in facilitating the transmission of the mails. As early as 1849 Americans in China complained of the postal rates charged at the Hongkong (British) post office. Not long afterward the Post Office Department in Washington gave attention to the making up and forwarding of mails from San Francisco to China. Opinions of consuls were sought regarding proper routes in the Far East.⁴⁶

Daily communication was carried on between Canton, Macao, and Hongkong, where vessels were continually leaving for Shanghai, Amoy, Manila, Singapore, Batavia, Penang, Bombay, and Calcutta. The "Overland Mail", a service direct from Europe to the Orient, had Hongkong as a terminus. Commercial houses in other ports of China and India had agencies at that place, with the result that letters addressed to them there could be transmitted immediately to their responsible agents for forwarding. Naha, in the Loo Choo Islands, and the chief port in the Bonin Islands were considered as convenient stopping points for mail steamers in the projected trans-Pacific line. Final arrangements cannot be described with exactness, as in the cases of passports and marriages, some of the

Wilbur J. Carr, "The American Consular Service", in Amer. Journ. of Int. Law, Pt II (July and Oct., 1907), 891-913; Henshaw, Manual, 87, Con. Regs., 1855, ch 15 and App., p 100, Con. Regs., 1856, 334, and Form No 46, 55-2, s Ex Doc 22, II, 1828-1850; Henshaw, 221, Vt Kyuin Wellington Koo, The Status of Aliens in China (New York, 1912—useful and important), ch XIV.

⁴³ 5 Shanghai Cl, Jan 18, 1861, and enclos., cf 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 169-170.

⁴⁴ Con. Regs., 1856, ch XXXI, Con. Regs., 1853, 386, Stat. at Large, III, Moore, Digest, II, ch VI, division IX.

⁴⁵ 6 China DD, Jan 27, 1852, enclo of Dec 6, 1851.

⁴⁶ 5 China DD, Aug 28, 1849, For Dom Com, 1862, 70-71, Morse, Int. Rel., I, 544-545, tr of 1849 with Sanwich Islands, Art XV, 1 Shanghai Cl, item dated Apr 12, 1851, Sewall, The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk, 19, 2 Hongkong Cl, July 23, 1851, 4 Canton Cl, Mar., 1852 (views of R. B. Forbes), Com. Rel., 1861, 376, 35-2, s Ex Doc 34, 30, Wood, Fankwei, 373-374, 30-1, H Rep 598, 15-16, Henshaw, Manual, 117, Con. Regs., 1856, 98.

methods used were in an indeterminate state. Actually, consular officers appear informally to have rendered a measure of service for those Americans without established postal arrangements of their own. To that extent consulates were overseas post office extensions. In some instances they seem to have paid due postage. The question of mails was related to the inadequacy of Asiatic postal systems, the opening of California, the growing use of steam power, and the need of coal depots. It had a connection with the commercial rivalry between Hongkong and Shanghai, and the importance of more advanced international postal arrangements.⁴⁷

Another task of consuls in China and in Japan required them to perform a land office function. They were obligated to confer with local authorities regarding land to be occupied by Americans at different ports. Their right at Shanghai to secure land without recourse to the British consulate was finally clarified. The general importance of the land question at Shanghai is well known. In 1855, although Americans had not yet taken up all the immensely valuable area set aside for them (about one hundred and sixty acres), the consul reckoned the value of existing real estate owned by them at one million dollars.⁴⁸ The bureau of the consulate which handled the business of first sales and later transfer of title assumed considerable proportions. Triplicate deeds bearing the seals of the consulate and of the Chinese native official were issued, one each for the Chinese office, the owner, and the consulate. An Index Register was kept,

including entries of all transfers. Annual rents were paid into the government bank and two of the three receipts therefor were deposited in the consulate. In 1855 total rents on about half the reserved area were cash 200,872. In the year ending March 6, 1855 ninety-six deeds were issued and twenty-two transfers were taken care of.⁴⁹

Very detailed land regulations and police provisions were arranged at Nagasaki (1860). Bona-fide residents might apply in writing to the consul for land. Renters were obliged within six months from date of title deed to erect buildings of specified values. A supplementary rule was designed to prevent speculation in land. Details were arranged concerning title deeds, boundary stones, roads, sewers, jetties, amusement places, rent, taxes, sharing of expenses, and joint procedure. At annual meetings of renters, consuls were supposed to raise funds, rate assessments, and arrange concerning wharfage dues on goods landed within the Foreign Quarter. Some funds went to lighting and cleaning streets and paying a watch A tax-defaulter might be sued in his consular court by the committee, or by the Governor in case his nation had no consul at Nagasaki. Renters' decisions upon certain municipal matters became binding only with the approval of consuls. These officers were obligated to mete out punishment to foreign offenders and to ask the Japanese authorities to act when a man's country was without a consul. Modification of regulations required consultation by consuls and the Governor, the former submitted changes to their diplomatic superiors.⁵⁰

⁴⁷For an excellent example of confusion, note the involved case of the *Egeria* at Shanghai (4 *Shanghai CL*, Mar 12, 1859. See also *Chin. Repos.*, XV, 620-621.)

⁴⁸See 3 *Shanghai CL*, cited in note 49, below

⁴⁹The forms for title deeds at Shanghai, Amoy, and Nagasaki exhibit the special conditions of each place and suggest some similarities. On land arrangements and community regulations cf. Brit. and For. State Papers, XLVII, 590-591; 3 *Shanghai CL*, Oct 19 and Dec 7, 1855 (work of the office at Shanghai), Morse, *Int. Rels.*, I, 350ff.; Denys, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, 555-564, 55-2, S *Ex Doc.* 22, I, 158-165, 6 *China DD*, Dec 26, 1850, with encls., M Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868* (Kobe, 1930), 240-241, 246-249, 408 (British regulations, resembling the American), Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, II, 377-380 (regulations, procedure, and difficulties at Yokohama); Moore, *Digest*, II, 655-657, 1 *Amoy River CL*, Feb 20/Mar 3, 1860 (prohibition of foreign building up the river from Sophisk). The consulate at Amoy has obligingly supplied a form of deed.

⁵⁰See above, note 24

Sect c—"Trouble-mending". Care of Destitute Americans and the Deceased, Settlement of Estates, Affairs of Seamen, Wrecks.

In spite of a generally forceful and adventurous spirit animating most members of American communities in Eastern Asia, consuls found themselves concerned not merely with the "normal" business of this majority but also with the troubles of the unfortunate, or the improvident, and those whose race was run. Among these special classes were so many seamen that it is convenient here to discuss consular duties to men of this occupation. It was necessary, furthermore, for consuls to attend to the worldly affairs of numerous Americans dying intestate. Wrecks of ships and destruction of property were also matters of frequent official concern.

In the Orient, illnesses and accidents afflicted many seamen on American vessels, among them a fair proportion of foreigners. For this class a relief fund existed. For other destitute or distressed Americans there was no specific provision. Nevertheless, consular officers expended considerable sums from their private means to aid such persons.⁵¹

When an American died intestate the consul was required to publish a notice of the death and report it to the Secretary of State, make (and transmit) an inventory, with two respectable merchants, of the remaining personal property, in the absence of any other authorized person, and settle debts due and owing. It was his duty to sell perishables at auction, liquidate legal claims against the estate, and, in some instances, sell the estate after a year and remit the proceeds to the Treasury for the legal claimants.⁵² He was ordinarily the "provisional conservator" of the property rather than an administrator. Within a period of about two months the consul at Shanghai reported the deaths of four Americans.⁵³ Many homes

along the Atlantic seaboard were saddened by news of the death of loved ones in the Orient, as a result of accident, armed conflict, dysentery, cholera, or some other affliction. Consuls sent word to a relative, a friend, or the postmaster of the home town of the deceased, and transmitted the will to beneficiaries.⁵⁴

Earlier description of the life of seamen and a review of treaty provisions relating to them have indicated causes of trouble likely to bring men of this calling before consuls. Congress had long given much attention to the powers and duties of consular officers in connection with mariners. Some of the earlier legislation became ineffective as a result of expansion of commerce into new fields which the consular service had not reached. In 1845 commanding officers of naval vessels were given the powers of consuls in regard to seamen at points without such functionaries. Deposit of ships' papers with consuls during the stay in port was designed to affect the action of seamen. Equal in importance to the prevention of abuse of seamen was the protection of ship operators against unrest or ill-considered action on their part. The legislation of 1855-1856 improved earlier provisions.⁵⁵

An *esprit de corps* had been a distinguishing feature of the smaller owner-merchant pioneer ventures, when every seaman theoretically was a potential captain or mercantile leader. This was worn down by larger ventures, greater differentiation of functions and occupational stratification, increasing preoccupation of masters with responsibility to employers, and, perhaps, reduction of the more obvious opportunities for seamen to rise rapidly. For all his romancing about his particular ship and its merits, the later seaman frequently was psychologically divorced from serious and eager concern with the interests which it served. As this rift widened, his fancy often attached

⁵¹For Marcy's discussion of this matter see Hongkong CL, Dec 22, 1854.

⁵²See, for example, the settlement at Amoy of the estate of Capt Leslie Bryson and the forwarding of a balance of \$2,645,59 (1 Amoy CL, Nov 30, 1852, and Jan 1, 1853, cf Con Regs, 1855, App., 99-100, and Con Regs, 1856, 334), and the Ricaby case (5 Canton CL, May 8, 1861).

⁵³Two mercantile employees, a ship captain, and a seaman (5 Shanghai CL, Jan 18, 1851).

⁵⁴On estates see Henshaw, Manual, ch I of Pt III, Con Regs, 1856, 54-57, ch XXI, Con Regs, 1855, App., 112-119, 4 Shanghai CL, June 30, 1858, Bangkok Transcripts (Stone and Co., June 11, 1859).

⁵⁵Cf Gong Globes (32-1), Pt I, 446.

itself to conflicting, and sometimes vicious, objects Misunderstandings and enmities which seemed at the time to grow out of purely personal elements on both sides actually were in part the inevitable result of changing circumstances which no single seaman, captain, or merchant could adequately control.⁵⁶

In many cases, the consul's relation to this changing situation possessed a routine character, but it often assumed the difficult aspect of a referee's task. No person but an extremist with some vested interest at stake could believe that justice was always with one side. The absence of social concepts and legislation which are nowadays accepted and the liveliness of partisanship and individualism placed a premium upon courage in just handling of disputes by consuls. Among merchant consuls there was always the possibility that they might slip into servitude to the ideas of their own trading group. As non-merchant consuls faced unfamiliar cases of hardship or injustice, they were subject to the temptation to slight the commercial merits of controversies, particularly in an age when people, and politicians especially, were steeped in enthusiasm for the common man and his rights. The more guidance consuls had from legislation and the greater their freedom to cite the impersonal rulings of their government, the simpler became their function.⁵⁷

It has been seen that arrangements obtained very generally throughout the Far East for local aid to consular officers in the apprehension of deserters as fugitives

from justice, and imprisonment of them until they were required by their commanders. Unauthorized "quitting of the ship" without intent to return to duty was legally an offence "of the grossest character".⁵⁸ The master of a ship noted desertions in the crew list and secured consular authentication. Forfeiture of the offenders' wages followed. Frequent reports show, however, that the practice was freely indulged in. It sometimes took on the appearance of a mass movement, and even included sailors on government vessels.⁵⁹

There were various degrees of disobedience to orders on shipboard, culminating in mutiny. In considering accusations against mariners by their officers, consuls were expected not to confound casual disobedience of orders with mutiny, charged in some instances in order to justify dismissal of seamen in foreign ports. Assertions were made that intolerable treatment was sometimes employed as a device to drive from the ship a man whose services were no longer needed.⁶⁰ Consular officers were supposed to hold shipmasters to the rule of humane treatment, even though the shipping articles omitted reference to it, and to allow mistreated seamen to abandon their ships without forfeiture of wages.⁶¹ Complaints were to be heard fully, without hindrance by ship's officers.⁶² A paternalistic attitude of "parental solicitude" toward mariners accounted for restrictions placed upon them in treaties and denial of passport privileges in China.

Besides general oversight and routine services, two specific and related

⁵⁶ Henshaw, Manual, 50-52, 75-76, 217-221 (Philadelphia Shipping Articles), Johnson, Com U S, II, 272-275, 307, Moore, Digest, V, 130, Con Regs, 1855, 42-43, Con Regs, 1856, 123.

⁵⁷ See, for example, 1 Hongkong CL, Jly 1, 1846.

⁵⁸ Con Regs, 1856, 129-130 Cf Com Rels, 1858, 430-431, and Henshaw, Manual, 73-81.

⁵⁹ See 33-2, S Ex Doc 34, 15-16.

⁶⁰ Cf Con Regs, 1856, 112, 124-125, and Johnson, Com U S, II, 306.

⁶¹ The cruelty of the master of one vessel resulted in a surprising adventure for four young Americans. Under other circumstances it might have revealed more than the Chinese government's readiness to return deserters according to treaty. After leaving their ship, the Two Brothers, off the coast of Korea, these men were passed along by Korean and Chinese officials to Peking, where they had interesting experiences, and on to Shanghai, where the consul took their unusual depositions. (3 Shanghai CL, Dec 22, 1855, and comment in the periodical Hsia Erh Kuan Chen [News from Far and Near], Hongkong, 1856, p 11.) Their experience has some resemblance to the well-known narrative of Ranald MacDonald. These men were the first native-born Americans known to have entered Peking. Cf J J L Duyvendak's comment on a Dutch-American, van Braam Houckgeest, in The Chinese Christian Student, XXIV, Nos 2-3 (Nov-Dec, 1932), p 7.

⁶² 4 Shanghai CL, Ap 12, 1859, encl on cases, Con Regs, 1856, 99, 125-135; Moore, Digest, V, 144-148.

aspects of consular duties to seamen require notice enforcement of laws about payment of wages, and extension of relief to mariners in distress

Discharge of seamen and payment of wages occupied much space in the consular regulations and consumed much of consuls' time and clerical effort. When an American seaman was discharged in a foreign port, three months' extra pay was ordinarily to be exacted from the employer. Only in special cases might consuls use their discretion, even this slight leeway was ended by the act of 1856. The wages collected were credited to consular accounts, and two-thirds of the sum in each case, the seaman's share, was given him after he had engaged on a vessel home. His shore expenses were of course deducted. To 1855 consuls received a small percentage on these transactions, but the new legislation forbade such charges. It has already been seen that consuls were accountable for extra wages which they neglected to collect from masters.⁶³

Captains of vessels were bound to accept a certain number of seamen for the trip home, at the request of consular officers. They received certificates which, on presentation at the Treasury, recovered the passage money. Proof was required of delivery of the seamen at the specified American port. One-third of the extra wages collected by consuls was retained for a fund for indirect payment of these passages and for maintenance of mariners thrown upon their hands. This relief included board, lodgings, clothing, and medical attendance. Deficits were met by drafts on the home government.⁶⁴

Consular duties to seamen included protection and relief for foreigners as well as for American citizens regularly

shipped in American vessels at any port in the United States. Consular correspondence indicates that American seamen left destitute from vessels under other flags were also aided.⁶⁵

Consuls were required to appoint examiners in cases in which the first officer or any other officer and the majority of the crew of a ship made complaint in writing against going to sea on account of the unseaworthiness of their vessel.⁶⁶ Attempts to protect seamen against such danger often proved insufficient to ward off disasters, especially when other factors than the condition of the craft were at work. Collisions, hidden reefs, and storms at sea--typhoons off the China coast in particular--took a heavy toll.⁶⁷ Consular officers were instructed to act promptly and energetically on behalf of survivors and, whenever practicable, for the protection of property. Lack of funds for such purposes often led to applications to local authorities for assistance.⁶⁸ In its financial aspect, such help can hardly be called anything but a charity gift to the American government.

Routine duties with regard to vessels in port consumed much time, attention to vessels in distress added to the consular burden. Losses in the years from 1845 to 1860 certainly reached several score. After a time the reader of consular correspondence and log books finds difficulty in retaining a sense of the magnitude of the disasters and the tragedy back of the often brief allusions to these occurrences. Activity in regard to wrecks frequently was confined to reporting the loss, discovered in one way or another. Whenever possible, officers of the consulate returned to the government half of the vessel's register.⁶⁹

⁶³ Con. Regs., 1856, *passim*, Con. Regs., 1855, 50, 62-68, and Appendix, 110-111, 1 Circulars, Nov 28, 1851 (of Henshaw, Manual, 58-59), log of the Samos (at the Friendly Islands), in the Essex Inst., 5 Canton CL, Nov 22, 1859, 1 Foochow CL, Mar 31, 1856

⁶⁴ Henshaw, *op cit*, 62, 68, 70-71, 121-122, 204-205, 223, Con. Regs., 1856, 93, 95-96, 117-118, 29-2, H. Doc. 12, 24ff, 56-2, H. Ex. Doc 2, 245ff, 1 Amoy CL, Jan 1, 1853

⁶⁵ Con. Regs., 1856, 121, 132-135, Moore, Digest, II, 607, Bentley, Digest, 429 (of Henshaw, Manual, 1853, sect 5), 450, par 8, 1 Circulars Nov 28, 1851, Hongkong Consular Ordinances, 1844 (Hongkong, 1846)

⁶⁶ Henshaw, *op cit*, 174, Con. Regs., 1856, 113, 42-2, H. Ex. Doc 317, 38

In the case of the John N. Gosslen (Hongkong, 1854) the vessel put back twice, experienced further difficulties at Swatow, and finally reached San Francisco after other trouble at Peal Island. The master had insisted that the ship was perfectly tight. (Journal of a Voyage in the Ship John N. Gosslen (Essex Inst.). Cf. Henshaw, *op cit*, 57, and Con. Regs., 1856, 305-306, act of 1840)

⁶⁷ Journal, 1858-1859, on the bark Falcon (Essex Inst.)

⁶⁸ Henshaw, *op cit*, 109-113, Con. Regs., 1856, 138-139

⁶⁹ E.g., 3 Canton CL, No 33, May, 1845 (the Paragon)

Some accidents near to port explain the careful attention of consuls, naval officers, and others to preventive work such as circulation of information concerning dangerous shoals and rocks, preparation of sailing directions, provision of lights and buoys, and attempts to check the activity of local pirates and ruffians. Fortunately their efforts and those of different local officials and rescue parties were supplemented by help from officers and crews of foreign ships. Elemental perils stripped men of a part of their nationality, and mariners of all races shared a citizenship of the sea which led to many deeds of generosity and heroism.⁷⁰

In the discharge of their duties to Americans in Eastern Asia, consular officers dealt with a great variety of interests—basic human concerns of persons in distress, intermediate activities bearing on the usual procedures and routine of a safe, ordered existence, and broad rights as to commerce, residence, religion, and the like, which possessed an added public character because of their prominence in treaties. Many of these intersected to form a complicated network of obligations.

⁷⁰ For example, the bark Hesperian, sailors of the Melita from Nikolaievsk, and Pelew Islanders picked up by the Terolina (1 Hakodate CL, Oct 12, 1859, 4 Shanghai CL, Mar 16, 1859, Spalding, Japan and Around the World, 331-332)

On wrecks in general see Henshaw, Manual, ch II of Pt III, 5 Canton CL, May, 1845 (ship Paragon), Forbes, Notes on Ships of the Past, 106-107, BEHS, May, 1928, 8-9 (a vivid account of hardship), Williams, Chin Com Guide, App., 176-177

Chapter 6
SPECIFIC CONSULAR FUNCTIONS
(Concluded)

Two sets of functions remain. In addition to (1) maintenance of himself and his establishment, (2) services to the government offices and citizens at home, and (3) obligations to Americans in Eastern Asia, the consular officer was responsible for (4) performance of acts relating to the government to which he was commissioned or to its subjects (and, incidentally, to other governments or their nationals), and (5) miscellaneous or special duties.

Fourth Group. Relations with the Receiving Governments

Sect. a--Quasi-diplomatic Functions

In discharging their obligation to advise and inform the Department of State, consular officers communicated many miscellaneous items bearing actually or potentially on diplomacy. Few of them seem to have had any compunction about rendering opinions on affairs of special concern to their diplomatic colleagues. A confused and unconventional situation obliged consular officers to perform some diplomatic acts, and it was only natural that nice distinctions as to prerogative should be little observed.¹

From the standpoint of Western international practice, the situation in the Far East, and in China particularly, was anomalous and difficult. Until the latter part of the period, China was the only Pacific country other than the Hawaiian kingdom in which an American diplomatic representative resided. The American mission to China was usually present in the South, remote from Peking. The Chinese officials with whom it dealt

did not fit exactly into the categories of international law. They constituted a scattered foreign office personnel, not always accessible. No definite foreign ministry in the Occidental sense was established until 1861. At Macao, confusion was worse confounded, on account of the unusual relation between the Portuguese masters of that port and the Chinese government, already described. In the colony of Hongkong, the British diplomatic representative to China ordinarily had a close relation to affairs, as Governor and Superintendent of Trade.

The first treaty with Japan was drawn up in the face of very inadequate Japanese ideas of diplomacy and Perry's own ignorance of the true character of the government of the Empire. The document mentioned only consuls or agents as American representatives. Townsend Harris, bearing the title of consul-general, made three treaties in the Far East, two of which were silent concerning diplomatic officers. The treaty with Siam substantially left all matters to the consul and the Siamese authorities. When Harris was received at Yedo by the Shogun in 1857 he was still a consular officer, holding a special appointment to negotiate treaties. In some cases it is doubtful whether the government of the United States at the outset entertained any clear-cut intention of ever creating the customary diplomatic machinery.

Furthermore, most consuls were not, as today, in close communication with their diplomatic colleagues, and had to take at least tentative action in broad questions of policy. Many routine matters took on a slightly discretionary aspect. Consular history abounds in examples of

¹See above, p 68n

discharge of quasi-diplomatic functions² By virtue of their location and experience, consuls travelling to or from the United States were able to perform an added function of a minor diplomatic order in the carrying of treaties Charles William Bradley, consul at different ports and claims commissioner in China, carried treaties with China and Siam, along with other papers, and made notable diplomatic suggestions³

It was easy for a newly appointed consul to overrate his own influence on diplomatic policy⁴ The zeal of the redoubtable Consul James Keenan at Hongkong even drew him past the zone of diplomacy into the field of military action In the Caldera piracy case (1854) he joined Lieutenant Preble on the chartered steamer Queen, which with vessels of other governments and private individuals conducted an expedition to demand the handing over of the pirates

"As I had received no answer to my dispatch, I went with the expedition, hoping to have a personal interview with governor or military commandant, and to recover a portion of the property taken from the vessel "We landed and took two batteries, forty-seven junks, containing about 40 guns and two villages The towns and junks were burned "

This peace-time foray of the informal international police force secured trophies for the Navy Department Consul Keenan,

later charged with indiscreet use of the American flag during a British attack on Canton, tempts the reader's imagination with a comment on his possession of the pirate chief's flag, "the only one in the inner battery"⁵

Regardless of particular functions, consuls in Eastern Asia had abundant need of that finesse which is regarded as a diplomat's great asset A few did not possess the tact, courtesy, and astuteness necessary even in ordinary contacts with local authorities Others might justly feel that they had succeeded in the effort to "break down" the great prejudice which has always existed between [native officers] and foreigners⁶ A minor consular diplomacy, so to speak, came into play wherever consuls of different nations, possessing dissimilar ideas and policies, were brought together in a community under circumstances tending to throw them much in each other's way The official mind in Washington was colored somewhat by events in such consular communities, to which attention is now directed⁷

Sect. b--Dealing with Local Authorities and with Consuls of Other Nations

Descriptions of treaty provisions relating directly to consuls have mentioned acts which brought them into contact with local authorities of the receiving government Present remarks emphasize the mutuality of the functions shared by these

²In keeping with the Chinese custom of making known political events by proclamation, consuls at Shanghai issued a proclamation (1854) in Chinese, exposing causes of recent difficulties with Chinese soldiers (2 Shanghai CL, Apr 20, 1854) In the same year a difficult situation existed at Manila in regard to Manilamen in crews of American vessels and related matters of trade American law required two-thirds of a crew for the whole voyage to be Americans, a crew of Manilamen shipped for an American port could not be brought back To secure them, however, masters and consignees had to sign a distasteful bond to return them to Manila Trade suffered, and the consular officer made suggestions of a diplomatic and political character To a simple act of courtesy to Russians at Shanghai in 1855 was attached a degree of diplomatic importance (On this and other points see 4 Shanghai CL, Jly 14, 1857, 33-2, S Ex Doc 34, 17-18, 10 China DD, Jan 14, 1858, Meadows, *The Chinese and Their Rebellions*, ch XX, Shanghai CI, Sept. 27, 1859, 5 Shanghai CL, Feb 18, 1860, 4 Shanghai CL, Oct 4, 1858, Morse, *Int Rels*, I, 62, 480)

³4 Canton CL, Jly 1, 1857, 5 Canton CL, Jan 3, 1858, Wood, Fankwei, 238, 57 Index to Dispatches from U S Ministers Gt Britain, France, Russia, Netherlands China May 16, 1857-May [May] 18, 1870 (Dep of State), item of Jly 14, 1858

⁴ Foochow CL, Apr 18, 1860; cf a report in Scholefield, *The Pacific* , 23

⁵ Hongkong CL, Nov 16, 1854, Hasse, *For Affairs*, 315 Cf 1 China DI, May 15, 1859

⁶ 2 Shanghai CL, Feb 20, 1855

⁷ There is further direct reference to consuls in relation to larger phases of diplomacy in a subsequent account of their dealings with American diplomatic representatives

two sets of officials, and suggest ways in which duties of American and other foreign consuls were linked, often in a noticeably cooperative manner

Although official attention to development of friendly relations was often fruitless in specific instances, it was always desirable, both in the normal administration and routine of consulates and in the valuable work of education in international problems and ideas which had to be carried on at certain ports. This was especially true in China.⁸

In that country a basis for mutual respect between American consuls and local authorities was made in law and in etiquette by the treaty agreement which carefully equated them in rank and pointedly outlawed the use of offensive language. Since many native officials reflected an attitude of racial superiority, it is easily understood that their interpretations of equality provisions contained reservations not acceptable to foreigners. As late as 1858 the use of genuinely equal phraseology, in the Chinese language, was uncommon enough to elicit comment.⁹

Officials of the two countries shared such duties as the apprehension and control of deserters, disturbers of the peace, escaped criminals, and pirates, adjustment of disputed ad valorem duties, supervision of transhipments in harbor, clearing of vessels and collection of tonnage dues, and improvement of harbor conditions. Other matters included selection and leasing of suitable grounds for the location of American buildings, and the study of currency problems. Local officials rendered some services of value to Americans or to the government of the

United States, and consuls at times acted reciprocally. For example, they made annual reports for the Chinese "board of revenue" concerning shipping and trade. In some Oriental countries consuls had additional obligations to local authorities, relating to native vessels, forbidden imports, the coasting trade, and consular court services.¹⁰ It cannot be said that each item was given unremitting or uniformly willing attention, different authorities often complained of neglect of obligations.

Consular history in treaty ports supplies cases of group action by consuls of different nations. Conspicuous instances were cooperation at Shanghai on behalf of the Chinese customs revenue,¹¹ steps taken to provide government for that city, use of similar regulations for their countrymen, arrangement of joint naval protection, and lending of the services of their employees. Toward the end of the period American consuls, other consuls, and local authorities in China were placed in a triangular relation in regard to shipping. The Treaty of Tientsin provided that, in the absence of a consular officer, a captain or supercargo might have recourse to the consul of a friendly power or to the superintendent of customs, who would conduct the ship's business.

Common responsibilities among treaty consuls and an occasional erasure of national lines were affected by the general fact that most foreigners were so easily distinguished in appearance from natives and so often seemed to look alike that a native attack intended for one group might injure members of another. Apart from the deeds of mobs, there existed a danger of

In matters of diplomatic import the Department appears to have done some "shopping around" for informed opinion outside of government circles

In addition to previous specific references cited, interesting extensions of this section may be found in Wilson and Tucker, Int Law, 176-177, 195-196, Henshaw, Manual, 92-93, 121, Con Regs, 1856, 19-20, 22, 227, Morse, Trade and Admin, 206-207, A H Foote Papers (Library of Congress), Foote to Armstrong, Nov 8, 1856, Singapore Transcripts (supplied by the courtesy of Consul-General Lester Maynard, Singapore), 1 Macao CL, Sept 3, 1858, Morse, Int Rels, I, 321, 326, 391, 403, 410, 497, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 575-576, 4 Credences (Dep of State), p 116, Con Regs, 1863, 587, 1 China DD, Feb 17, 1858, Gussia Esther Gaskill, "Chinese Official's Experiences during the First Opium War", in Amer Hist Rev, XXXIX, No 1 (Oct, 1933), 82-86, 4 Shanghai CL, Nov 20, 1858, Bradley to Abbot (curiously filed), 1 China DI, May 8, 1854

⁸Cf Con Regs, 1856, ch XXIX, pp 14, 17-18

⁹1 Macao CL, Sept 3, 1858

¹⁰Perry, Narr, Vol 2, 194, Wood, Fankwei, 251, 1 China DI, Sept 27, 1855, Henshaw, Manual (1849), 94, Tr of Wanghsia, Art XXII

¹¹For protection of the customs revenue and regulation of non-treaty vessels at Shanghai and Ningpo,

undiscriminating official action. Higher officials were exempt from the compulsion of regular and intimate contact with foreigners which often influenced the local Chinese authorities. This fact retarded the general growth of a cooperative spirit among these lower officers.

Sect. c--Duties to Subjects of the Receiving Country and Protection of Their Interests

Emphasis has been placed on the mutual obligations of consuls and local authorities, and those of consuls of the United States and other foreign nations. In the case of any one officer, native or foreign, several states of mind might succeed one another rapidly--advocate, moderator, friend, trustful colleague, unwilling or suspicious collaborator, and downright enemy. Besides the official side of consular cooperation, there was a subsidiary but important personal aspect. The American consul and his subordinates were frequently in contact with individual subjects of the receiving government or with those of other foreign nations. The contact extended to some foreigners lacking consular representation.

In certain instances the relation to individual natives was so direct that any official or formal aspect of it may be temporarily ignored. To thousands of persons in the neighborhood of the consulate American officers stood for the United States, to the staring populace their attitudes and actions were a visible and significant representation. There were also frequent routine contacts with native traders at the consulate or elsewhere, in connection with fees, shipping, trials, and other matters. Individual services were rendered to occasional native persons who were embarrassed or distressed.

Reference has been made to the treaty right of Chinese, Japanese, and others to seek redress through consuls from Americans owing money to individuals, and to have certain difficulties consid-

ered by consuls. In China a regulation of the Commissioner in 1851 strengthened this right. In accordance with these arrangements, a Chinese tailor addressed the consul at Ningpo praying to recover the amount of a bill for clothing against Captain Taylor of the American brig Granada. In another instance a Chinese woman asked that American ruffians be arrested for outrages on her son. This type of case shows that under extraterritoriality consular efforts to control Americans (as distinguished from attempts to protect them) became a method of serving natives equitably.¹²

Treaty revision in 1858 brought within the scope of consular protection Chinese converts to Christianity, even against the action of their own officers. In Japan consuls were faced with a treaty prohibition (1858) of offensive action by Americans toward "Japanese religion" or the excitement of religious animosity.

Service to subjects of other foreign nations is sufficiently illustrated by mention of friendly aid given to Russians in Japan. Certain Russians owed the Japanese a sum of money and the Japanese were prepared to allow only one-third value to the Russian money. The Russians protested and deposited with Consul-General Harris certain moneys to be held until a settlement of the currency question could be made.¹³

With responsibilities to Asiatic and European governments and subjects as well as to their own government and countrymen, consular officers stood in need of the judicial temper. Their powers and resources were not always equal to the demands upon them. Their duties at times ran counter to the interests or prejudices of some of the varied persons or groups whom they were supposed to serve. These remarks apply more or less generally to consuls in the Far East. In extraterritorial countries more than a judicial temper was required, a definite judicial function called for specialized competence. For convenience, remarks on this duty are

see 6 China DD, Sept 24, 1851, encl of June 28, and 16 China DD, Apr 10, 1858, exch 6

¹² 1 Ningpo CL, Jly, 1, 1859, 4 Shanghai CL, Apr 12, 1859, encl Cf comment on the need of consular officers to control clamorous American adventurers, in the Perry Narrative, Vol 2, 185-187, and an outrage in Indo-China mentioned in 32-1, S Ex Doc 38 (Mission of Mr. Balestier), 3

¹³ 1 Japan Des, Dec 10, 1856

grouped with comment on an obligation in regard to coolies under the heading "Special Functions". Although these topics relate in part to earlier sections, their importance and many-sided nature necessitate separate treatment.

Fifth Group Special Functions

Sect a--Judicial Matters and Care of Prisoners

Exposition of rights gained for Americans by treaties has provided, secondarily, an idea of judicial obligations of consular officers. The account of the basis of consular work has supplied additional information, as well as an outline of the pertinent legislative arrangements. These provisions created a major function.

It will be recalled that consuls exercised initial authority over Americans for offences committed on American ships at sea and sent accused persons home for trial. By several treaty provisions they were also in charge of troublesome Americans on vessels in foreign ports. At most of the ports figuring particularly in this study they administered extraterritorial provisions, trying and punishing wrong-doers. Until 1848, however, Congress delayed action on the notable grant of extraterritoriality in Cushing's treaty, supplementary and corrective legislation was required to bring the not entirely satisfactory measure passed in that year into

agreement with subsequent treaties. The act of 1860 has been described.

The present section mentions legislative deficiencies affecting judicial work, the question of the law and regulations to be applied, and some of the cases actually handled.¹⁴

Drawing upon his limited legal knowledge, Commissioner Davis began work during the winter of 1848-1849 on basic regulations for the courts in China. Although the act of 1848 authorized the creation of consular courts, Davis was at a loss to know what means he might use to organize them. At exactly the same time, the Attorney-General advised that, as the act had not designated any particular place for the confinement of persons arrested, the Commissioner's regulations should make proper provision, or, in the absence of such regulations, the acting functionary should move at his discretion. This was a difficult arrangement, since the expenses of arrest and support in prison were to be paid by income from the execution of the act. Problems growing out of the attempt to make the act effective constituted one of the two or three chief consular anxieties.¹⁵

When courts began to function, it was found difficult in some cases to determine what laws were applicable in the intent of the statute, and what the term "common law" meant. The provision that ministerial decrees and regulations should have the force of law was designed to take

¹⁴Executive and judicial precedents and decisions are brought to a convenient focus in the consular correspondence in the Department of State.

¹⁵The desire to provide for Americans the sort of justice to which they were accustomed at home encountered constitutional objections, which persisted for many years (Cf 3 Shanghai CI, J-y 30, 1855) Among topics discussed were the power to make regulations, certain omissions of grand jury action, permission granted executive officers like consuls to act as prosecution, judge, and jury (of Moore, Digest, II, 617-622, 624), and rights reserved to the states. Support of the system was found in the need of maintaining friendly relations with China and protecting Americans, the Congressional power to regulate foreign trade, and the obligation of a strong government to regulate its citizens abroad. According to some opinions, Congress, the Commissioner, and consuls in China acted judicially on behalf of that nation, through the treaty. Exact identity of rights of Americans in China and at home could not be expected. On Davis, see 5 China DD, Jan 27, and Feb 18, 1849, 31-1, 8 Ex Doc 72 (Report of the Commissioner to China), 8-19, Regulations for the Consular Courts of the United States of America in China, together with the Act of Congress, of August 11th, 1848 Table of Fees, and Forms for Blanks Used in Consular Courts (Canton, 1848 Press of S W Williams) Cf 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 41, 31-2, H Ex Doc 56 (Opinions of Attorneys General), Pt II, 2136-2137, Hanckley, Amer Con Jur, 64-69, Wright, The Control of Amer For Rels, 116, 198, Moore, Digest, II, 648-650, 654-657

care of this problem. The act of 1860 supplemented the law of the United States and the common law with equity and admiralty law and in other ways amplified the foundation. Incompleteness of intervening statutory guidance caused confusion, argument, and acrimony, and taxed official ingenuity and initiative. Opinions of the Attorney-General were required, as in the question of the consul's jurisdiction in criminal matters. In 1855 it was held that, with the exception of certain cases of petty misdemeanor, the consul would sit with assessors and would make decisions, subject to appeal to the Commissioner. In capital cases, however, there was no appeal, although conviction required the approval of the Commissioner. A circular of 1857 and the act of 1860 further discussed this matter of distribution of powers. The latter stated generally that the diplomatic officer's jurisdiction was appellate only, apart from murder, insurrection against the countries of residence, piracy, and offences against public peace amounting to felony, which he might try.¹⁶

How statutory omissions, consular dilemmas, ambiguity of terms, and some emergencies were affected by the happy grant of authority to the Commissioner to issue regulations is seen in the following comments on these quasi-legislative acts.¹⁷

In the first regulations, Commissioner Davis provided for oaths of the consul and citizens sitting with him, and for concurrence with or dissent from judgments made by him. The Commissioner dealt with appointment of clerks and marshals by the consul and for allowance to them of certain fees, such as those for criminal prosecutions. He arranged, further, for procedure, bail, and transmission of copies of

proceedings and testimony to the Legation, and for civil actions, new trials, appeal in civil cases, executions, and forms of evidence. Fees of "citizen associates" of the court were the highest, three dollars a day. Witnesses were allowed half that, and twenty cents a mile for journeys to and from the court.¹⁸

Rules arranged differed in some necessary ways from the laws of the United States.¹⁹ For example, current practice among foreign merchants in China necessitated a higher interest on judgment. More generous remuneration was required to secure court officers. The report on the first regulations conveyed news of the first case tried under the new system.²⁰ The extraterritorial work of American consuls in China was duly launched--by treaty provision, legislative statute, executive directions and regulations, and use of these in a case.

Two years later, in 1851, at the suggestion of two consuls, Peter Parker, chargé ad interim, submitted a set of regulations designed to control the actions of mariners in Chinese ports. These bore the assent of Consuls Bradley, Forbes, and Griswold, a desirable though not indispensable form of support. Officers of vessels were expected to prevent difficulties between seamen and Chinese by careful control of shore leave. Registry of Chinese boatmen at the consulate was prescribed, and Chinese provision boats were regulated. Masters were obligated to secure payment of just Chinese claims against their seamen and to report serious collisions between crew members and Chinese.

Two further sets of regulations, by McLane, in 1854 related to debtors,

¹⁶Cf. 1 China DI, Oct. 5, 1855, Con. Regs., 1856, 202, 210ff., 214-215, 340-341, 4 Canton CL, Aug. 7, 1857, Jones, Con. Serv., 55-56, Stat. at Large IX, 277, Con. Regs., 1863, 389, Moore, Digest, II, 624 (cf. 625-630), 1 China DI, Oct. 5, 1855, 4 Canton CL, Aug. 7, 1857

¹⁷Useful points appear in Henshaw's Manual, 86n, 89, 224, and Jones' Con. Serv., 51

¹⁸On regulations see 42-2, H Ex Doc 57, 252-255, Con. Regs., 1863, 126, 32-1, S Ex Doc 43 (also H Ex Doc 80), 34-1, S Ex Doc 92 (also H Ex Doc 125), 15 China DD, Sept. 9, 1857, encl., 35-2, S Ex Doc 11 (also H Ex Doc 21), 35-2, S Jol., 247-248, 36-1, S Ex Doc 7. See also different articles of the regulations issued at Nagasaki by the consulate (76n., above).

¹⁹Litigants formed a cosmopolitan group, oaths were prescribed in different forms for Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Parsees, and Chinese.

²⁰Cf. Koo, The Status of Aliens in China, 162-165, and Latourette, Early Rel., 143

attachments, and procedure and to monthly consular court, special sessions, and exclusive control by consuls of the presence of counsel. The issuance of regulations enabled American officials in China to meet unexpected and urgent needs. During the Civil War in 1854 the Legation submitted rules making it a misdemeanor for Americans to participate in the conflict or to supply vessels for this purpose, and a notification of the same date gave warning to American citizens in China.

The consular system itself provided occasion for the next regulation. Irregularity of tenure of full consuls confronted subordinates with the judicial obligation. The Legation felt compelled cautiously to specify the possession by vice consuls and acting consuls of the right to discharge it in minor cases, with a view to paving the way to the Commissioner's appellate jurisdiction. Perhaps because of Parker's failure to win the favor of all the consuls (through his apparent attempts to stretch the powers of his own office), he did not easily secure assent of the different consuls concerned in this proposal (1856). The consul at Canton assented, as did the officer at Foo-chow, who set aside doubts of a legal nature in view of the need of such an adjustment of the system. However, the spirited consul at Amoy, T. Hart Hyatt, raised legal objections and conducted a vigorous correspondence with Parker. He insisted that substitutes, not being "duly appointed" by action of the President and the Senate, received only strictly consular rights. He finally yielded, not, how-

ever, without a parting shot at Parker's reasoning.²¹

Parker's next action (1857) authorized the holding of consular court and the performance of other work at the house of the Legation, or on board a national vessel or a merchant vessel at the five ports, during hostilities between China and England and France.

Further arrangements, by W. B. Reed, in 1858 provided the manner of distribution of funds in cases of assignments for the benefit of creditors. A year from date of assignment the assignee might petition the consul for an order of distribution. Thereupon the consul would serve notice by direct communication or by publication in newspapers at appropriate places. If no obstacle finally appeared, a consular decree would direct distribution. No consul or vice consul might act as trustee or assignee in such cases. In this same year, Reed's attention to fees and court expenses brings the account back to a subject considered by the first regulations of 1848-1849. Fees of court clerk and crier were set, as well as those of the marshal, who received five dollars. All fees and expenses of the court were ordinarily to be paid by the losing party.

It is convenient to conclude this section on judicial functions with a history of cases. Based on somewhat elusive, but essential, material in the consular correspondence, this sketch corrects an ignorance resulting from insufficient publication of information about suits before the American Civil War.²²

Not all the consulates authorized

²¹ Less than two years before, Secretary Marcy had refused to allow Edward Cunningham a year's salary as judge of a consular court on the ground that the Department could not recognize any judicial authority on the part of a consular agent, or, "as he is sometimes called by courtesy", a vice consul (Shanghai CL, Apr 29, 1854. For earlier use of such authority see 6 China DD, May 21, 1851, enc1, and Aug 21, enc1s of June 27 and Jly 25. Cf Con Regs, 1856, 26 and ch XXX, 12 China DD, Ap 10, 1856, 54-5, S Ex Doc 6--, Letter and Regulations, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 782; Con Regs, 1863, 389, Moore, Digest, II, 623.)

²² Cf Hinckley, Amer. Con Jur, 1x, 58-59, Stowell, Con Cases and Opinions, lists, citations, and topical index, Chin Repos, (e.g., XV, 554-561), The China Mail (indexed—e.g., XIII, Jan 1, 1857), The North-China Herald (decisions in certain cases), Norton-Kyshe, Hist of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong, I, 324, 375, 579, 34-2, H Mis Doc 1 (China Consular Returns for Fees, &c); Gale, Far Eastern Trade Routes and Carriages (Sears-Stryx case), 55-2, H Rep 212 (Aaron Van Camp and Virginian P. Chapman—false "consular court" at Apia), 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 699, 726-754 (A R B Moses difficulty), and 842-843, 12 China DD, Feb 22, 1860, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 886, 896-897, 898, 912-913, 1013-1014 (U S vs Charles Jackson); Wood, Funkwee, 326.

Of an exhaustive review of cases drawn up in preparation of the present work only a few typical portions appear in the text. Some relevant material is found in reports of cases in courts at home. Details

at the beginning of the period were established at once. Even after the passage of the judicial act of 1848 there were offices only at Canton and Shanghai (covering Ningpo). According to the consul at Shanghai (1855) there was no call for the exercise of the judicial power at Amoy and at Ningpo.²³ Foochow was more important, and of course Canton was well established. There and at Shanghai was transacted the bulk of the consular court business, which produced a voluminous record. In addition, there were other judicial acts of record and various orders of court and processes issued during trials. One suit at Shanghai involved the sum of twenty thousand pounds. Many cases were arbitrated before the consul, according to official suggestion contained in the consular regulations.

At Canton five cases were tried up to January 28, 1853, including the initial one, a larceny case resulting in imprisonment for the accused.²⁴ A Filipino convicted of assault with a knife was sentenced to prison for six months. In other suits, relating to claims for property damage, American ships and commercial firms were involved. Three of the cases brought the consulate only seven dollars in fees.²⁵

At Shanghai no fees were received during the year ending August 19, 1851. In 1853 receipts were \$673, this sum was paid out for expenses. Nine cases are recorded, in five of which the United States prose-

cuted.²⁶ Between March 1 and December 31, 1854 the consular court at Shanghai entertained twenty-four cases, in nine of which the Chinese Imperial Collector of Customs stood as plaintiff against American merchants and firms for debt. Analysis shows four cases involving larceny and rioting or both (plaintiffs being an Englishman in one suit, two Chinese in another, an American in a third, and the English and American police of Shanghai in the last), two each of debt, assault (with a Chinese as plaintiff in each instance), damage by collision, and running a frigate ashore (both of the same substance), and one each of mutiny, breach of contract, and breach of regulations (with a Chinese officer as plaintiff). With three exceptions plaintiffs won their cases. Only one suit was appealed to the Commissioner.²⁷

In 1855 Consul Jones at Foochow reported that at the mouth of the river, thirty miles away, a member of the crew of the American ship *Agnes* was injured on shore by Chinese, and that Captain Stone had tried to seize some of the offenders and take them to the ship, an attempt which was frustrated by the resistance of a mob. To save their lives the Americans fired on the gathering, and some of the Chinese were killed. For this occurrence Jones tried Captain Stone and fined him two hundred dollars, an action which he reported to the Chinese authorities.²⁸ This case cost the court fifty-two dollars. In 1856 several cases at Foochow were settled out of court.²⁹

of individual cases in China would have to be sought in archives of the different consulates, with supplementary use of accounts in local papers (e.g., the insolvency of Nye Bros. and Co., in *The China Mail*, Jan. 12, 1860). Study of cases yields abundant and varied commercial information, such for instance, as attitudes toward failure of firms in China.

²³ Disbursements at Amoy were \$84 15 (34-2, H Mis Doc 1)

²⁴ For costs and shortening of detention see 31-1, H Mis [Doc] 46 (Receipts and Expenditures of Consulates in China)

²⁵ 33-1, H Ex Doc 123, 109

²⁶ 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 588 (with names of litigants)

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 447, 590-591 (McLane duties award, with some details and names of the American firms), 33-1, H Ex Doc 123, 116, 32-1, H Mis [Doc] 67, 34-1, H Mis Doc 20 (China--Fees for Judicial Services), 34-2, H Mis Doc 1, and 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 538-543 and *passim*. These references include judicial business at Amoy, Foochow, and Canton during parts of 1853 and 1854 and at Shanghai in 1855 (18 suits).

²⁸ 31 Foochow CL, June 20, 1855, 34-2, H Mis Doc 1

²⁹ For a convenient conspectus of judicial work at the five consulates in 1856 see 35-1, H Mis Doc 2, 4-12

In use of reports of cases in American courts at home it is necessary for the investigator to know the personal or firm names of litigants, in order to locate relevant suits readily. In addition to volumes of reports entered in the Bibliography (B VI), reference may be made to important works mentioned below, 159n

The number of cases at Shanghai in 1856 was more than three times the number at the four other ports. Shanghai figures for most of the year yield a total of thirty-three, concentrated chiefly in the latter part of the year. There were no appeals, nine suits were carried over to 1857, four were against one person, Kimball, the sailor-thief. In seven cases Americans sued Americans, although probably in the interest of Chinese in some instances. In an equal number the United States acted against its own citizens. British persons or interests brought suit ten times. In two of the three suits of Chinese against Americans the plaintiff secured judgment. All defendants, of course, were American, one was the ship Herculean. Assault or assault and battery figured in nine cases, debt in eight, and in the remaining cases such matters were involved as stealing of sailors, drunkenness, breach of regulations, and acts of violence or immorality. Arbitration disposed of fifteen other disputes. The case of Russell and Company against Yuh Lung-tuck on charges on breach of contract received similar attention, the claim for

fifty thousand dollars being placed under consideration of "the joint court" composed of the taotai and the consul, acting judicially.³⁰ During the period of these cases, receipts of the consular court totalled \$529 08, most of which was disbursed for expenses. The United States marshal was paid fifty dollars a month for five months. Payment of the clerk and the Chinese interpreter accounted for \$125 00 more. Jail expenses were paid to the British jailer. During 1856 Vice Consul M W Fish conducted court.³¹

In a volume dealing with cases in Japan after our period, G H Scidmore observes that the limited amount of reference to the earlier cases decided in the consular court at Kanagawa is attributable to a great fire in the sixties, which destroyed the larger portion of the archives.³² It is unlikely, however, that many cases were dealt with in the first years of consular administration. Most of the information relating to consular cases was reported to the Department of State in the Japan correspondence and that contains scant reference to judicial proceedings.

During the first half of 1858

Reports of cases contain much commercial information, especially as to the considerable size of some ventures. Certain reports convey an idea of commercial failures as a circumstance rather than as a result of discreditable action; there were various suggestions of aid in the rehabilitation of bankrupt firms.

³⁰This extremely useful case is reported, with a transcript of the "joint court" record, in Murphy's letter of February 1, 1857 to Assistant Secretary of State Thomas, with enclosures (4 Shanghai CL, reproduced as Appendix 8 of the present work). It supplies one of a number of interesting problems requiring further information from consular files in the Far East, from papers of commercial firms like Russell and Company, and from other sources.

³¹Of the forty-eight cases at Shanghai, September 20, 1858-March 31, 1859, about half were concerned with debts of various kinds, certain others involved damages (4 Shanghai CL, Apr 12, 1859). The twenty-two cases determined during the remainder of 1859 were somewhat similar in character and distribution (5 Shanghai CL, Jan 31, 1860, encl.). For comment on cases at other ports (in 1858-1859) relating much use of physical violence, the service of missionaries and shipmasters as assessors, and sentence to imprisonment of a Spanish seaman (from an American ship) for manslaughter, see 1 Ningpo CL, Mar 13, 1858, 2 Foochow CL, Feb 18, 1860, and 2 Amy CL, May 30, 1859. Of the twenty-four cases at Shanghai in the second half of 1860, eleven were for debt, with eight decisions for defendants, most of the eleven plaintiffs were Europeans. Expenses exceeded receipts (5 Shanghai CL, Jan 8, 1861, encl.)

³²A Digest of Leading Cases decided in the United States Consular Court at Kanagawa, Japan, of Decisions and Opinions of the United States Minister in Japan, of Decisions of the United States Circuit Court for the District of California, of Opinions of the Attorney General of the United States, and of Instructions from the Department of State of the United States, relating to Consular Jurisdiction in Japan (Yokohama, 1882), Preface. A copy of this uncommon work is in the Library of the Harvard Law School. (For an indication that the court records were not burned see 62-3, H Doc 1443, 65.) The same writer has also published a volume, difficult to get, entitled Outline Lectures on the Ministerial and Consular Courts of the United States. in Japan (Tokyo, 1867). Cf Charles Sumner Lobinger's "Extraterritoriality", in Corpus Juris, Vol XXV (New York, 1921).

E E Rice, Commercial Agent at Hakodate, seems to have held consular court, even though the act of 1860 extending to Japan the law of 1848 had not even been formulated. His action was chiefly in connection with seamen from two New Bedford ships. The offenders were fined and imprisoned on board ship. In 1859 Rice fined a second mate fifty dollars for brutally flogging a boy of fourteen in the absence of his superior officers, and sentenced two seamen of the same ship to eighteen months' imprisonment at hard labor for breaking into and destroying property. The Commercial Agent was uncertain as to his obligations in criminal matters under the treaty.³³

An interesting record of July 9, 1859 shows that consular court was held at Hakodate to dispose of the complaint of "Tshuda Ominokami Governor & Collector of Customs vs Charles A Fletcher & Als Respondents". It was alleged that goods had been landed from the bark Maury without entry at the customhouse or permit, as required by treaty, that goods had been sold from this vessel to other vessels in the harbor before making proper entry, and that, without a permit, goods had been bought and transferred from a vessel in port belonging to a nation having no treaty with Japan. Duty was also claimed on a cargo landed and stored during the preceding March, but not sold. Legal reasoning was complicated by remoteness from necessary sources of special information. Giving as reasons the inexperience and neglect of both the customs officers and the respondents, the court remitted the fines for failure to comply with regulations and gave twenty-four hours for correction of any er-

rors in the manifest and entry of cargo. It was brought out that if the Japanese allowed vessels of other countries to trade in the open harbor without payment of duties the United States would claim the same right under the most-favored-nation clause.³⁴

In the case of Charles H. Smith, an American citizen charged with killing a Japanese, Rice sat with associates, including the Russian and the English consuls, the Governor of Hakodate, and other Japanese and Western officials and gentlemen. The defendant pleaded guilty, saying that he had shot at a burglar in the night. The court, including the Governor, unanimously agreed that his act was justified. The unusual composition of this court—supposedly an American extraterritorial court—made it, in the strictest formal sense, neither American nor extraterritorial. For the act of 1848 called for citizens of the United States as associates and made no allowance for a breach in extraterritorial privilege such as the presence of a Japanese in the group of associates produced.³⁵

This attempt to meet a compelling judicial problem with the limited means available had a marked frontier character. The Commercial Agent was guided by a treaty, a Congressional act on extraterritorial jurisdiction not yet extended to Japan, and some precedents created by similar experience in China.

In the second half of 1859 two cases in consular court at Nagasaki were reported, with fees of \$142 30. In the first six months of 1860 three cases were handled, with fees and fines of \$58 42.³⁶

In eighteen cases entered before the consular court at Bangkok, Siam, during

³³ I Hakodate CL, June 30, 1859 and Nov 4, 1859

³⁴ Ibid., Aug 5, 1859, encl. A confused report, difficult to manage

³⁵ It is possible that the Governor was regarded only as an informal adviser. If he was formally a member of the group, the arrangement had something in common with that later proposed during 1886-1889 in connection with treaty revision in Japan, by which, with the tables turned, foreigners would have had a place in the Japanese judiciary.

³⁶ I Nagasaki CL, July 23, 1860, cf. the letter of Jan 2, 1860. The consular court records for Nagasaki 1859-1900, are now on file in the Department of State.

In 1860 Harris, forced to rely for precedents on mere "public reports", advised the consulate at Nagasaki not to interfere with American vessels chartered for the French and English commissariat departments to transport horses from Japan to China. These ships hoisted the flag of the chartering government and claimed exemption from the usual consular acts and fees due the Japanese government under the American treaty (3 Japan Des., June 14, 1860, with encl.)

the six months from January 25 to July 29, 1859, verdicts usually favored plaintiffs. There is also indication of use of arbitration or "amicable settlement." Three of the cases involved assault and battery, conviction following in each instance. Others related to theft and smuggling rice. In nine of the eleven cases concerned with non-payment of wages, leases, or bills, plaintiffs were successful. With one exception all plaintiffs were Europeans, six of the suits entertained were referred to the American consular court by the British consul, and one each by the French and the Hanseatic consuls.³⁷

Judicial functions were exercised by consuls in Eastern Asia with reference to three kinds of settings in which offences might occur, in the presence of legislative, constitutional, and legal uncertainties, and with gradually increasing help from regulations issued in China. Litigation came with increasing volume before consular officers in China, Japan, and Siam.³⁸ Charges were varied, and litigants belonged to different races and stations. Suits involving financial adjustments—damages, debts, wages, etc.—were most numerous, and cases of violence were next in number, with charges of larceny and theft in third place. East Asiatic states could no longer enforce their laws against foreigners, but the officials of treaty powers were not adequately equipped to discharge the duty which was transferred to them. A long process of adjustment had only begun by 1860, amidst confusion, hardships, bitterness, and bloodshed and in the face of widely differing concepts of law among litigants.

Sect. b.—The Passenger Act and the Coolie Question.

No more important cause of difficulty appeared among troublesome Americans

than the traffic in Chinese coolies, near kin to the slave problem then agitating the United States. Not all the incidents connected with it led to the consular court, but it produced many situations of questionable legality, particularly in regard to those aspects of the extraterritorial relation which were designed to protect the interests of native peoples. In this case, it was the Chinese who were supposed to benefit by consular control of the coolie traffic.³⁹

Discovery of gold in Australia and California, discontinuance of slavery in much of the English-speaking world, and the opening of opportunities for labor in the West Indies and other Latin-American regions accounted for the emigration from China of large numbers of men who either sought to better their condition or were induced, sometimes by force, to go to these foreign lands. In the decade of the fifties the transportation of such Chinese became a major commercial operation, with numerous attendant injustices, which most of the foreign governments concerned were slow to regulate. While thousands of emigrants, particularly those for California, might probably be regarded as free agents, thousands of others can be considered only as slaves, with respect to the occasion and the manner of their leaving China, the terrible hardships, cruelties, and dangers of the passage, and the terms of compulsory service awaiting them. It is this second group which chiefly constituted the excuse for agitation over the infamous "coolie traffic."

After the British government by its Passengers Act (1855) provided for inspection of the traffic from Hongkong in ships of any flag, the base shifted to Macao and to ports in South China. American legislation was unsatisfactory. Laws of 1847, 1849, and 1855 related to

³⁷Bangkok Transcripts. On delay in Washington in relation to the consul's judicial powers see Moore, Digest, V, 846.

³⁸For the difficulty of collecting debts in Siberia, a non-extraterritorial area, see l Amoor River CL, Feb 20/Mar 3, 1860.

³⁹For the traffic in general see the summary in Dennett's Americans in Eastern Asia, 535-539, and the writings of Mary Roberts Coolidge and Persia Crawford Campbell. For negotiations and regulations relating to emigration from China in this period note the important work by Harley Farnsworth MacNair, The Chinese Abroad, 9-18.

More specifically, see William Speer, The Oldest and the Newest Empire. China and the United States (Hartford, 1870), 12-19 and ch XVI, Ta Chen, Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labor Conditions, 111-112, Com Rels, 1857, 200, 7 China DD, Mar 27, 1852, Campbell, Chinese Coolie Emigration,

conditions on passenger vessels, but they were not so framed as to check abuses in cases in which a port of the United States did not figure.⁴⁰ An opinion of the Attorney-General in 1859 contended, further, that the coolie trade was not within the range of the acts of Congress prohibiting the slave trade.

No specific relief for the evil came from the American government until the passage in 1862 of "An act to prohibit the 'coolie trade' by American citizens in American vessels."⁴¹ In the absence of this decisive legislation during the preceding decade, local public opinion in Far Eastern ports and the good spirit and sense of justice of diplomatic and consular officers provided most of the protection received by the coolies transported, or in danger of being transported, on American ships, to non-American ports. The consular function was more moral and practical than legal.⁴²

Late in the period, Consul Rawle at Macao endeavored to check the traffic as carried on from that port under the American flag. Other officers did what they could informally to alleviate conditions and to circumscribe the business. The limits of their success are fairly indicated by a fulmination in the New York Herald Sun of June 19, 1859.

"THE COOLIE SLAVE TRADE --While the Southern fire-eaters are making a noisy but empty clamor in favor of reopening the African slave trade, our puritanical psalm-singing nigger worshippers in the North are quietly but vigorously pushing the coolie slave trade with China. We notice in yesterday's Shipping List a report of the charter of the ship J. Wakefield, to Hong Kong and Shanghai for \$14,000 and back to Havana with coolies for \$45,000. Desiring to know who the modest and religious gentlemen that own the ship J. Wakefield are, we referred to the American Lloyd's Register, but find that their modesty is so great that they have succeeded in keeping both their own and their ship's name out of that excellent publication."

Formal and informal duties, sometimes intertwining or merging, sometimes diverging or conflicting, made consular officers directors of their own establishments, servants and informants of the government of the United States and its citizens, whether at home or in the Orient, and agents of that government in the extension to citizens abroad of many customary services and forms of protection. These functions likewise drew consular officers into numerous relations with officers of the receiving governments and their subjects--antagonistic, cooperative, or protective, as the case might require--and with officers and nationals of other foreign countries appearing in Eastern Asia.

The constructive and international character of this consular work is often seen in an emphasis upon the mutuality of interest of Americans and other persons, whether these were other foreigners or natives of the place in question. Mutuality was necessarily carried to the point of benevolence at times, on account of the conditions of the period, the provisions of treaties, and the exigencies of particular cases, which placed consuls in the position of teachers of international relations and practices. This phase of the work of Townsend Harris in Japan is well known, but other, less conspicuous officers carried on in much the same spirit. It is as though they had been compelled to conduct a complex business requiring adequate plant, special methods, and precise tools concurrently with the erection of the plant, the working out of methods, and the fashioning of tools. Many things tacitly accepted in the Occident had to be specified in detail and discussed at length. Consuls were faced with some tasks suited to the colonial or territorial administrator and yet were often required to proceed along lines followed in dealings between sovereign states.

⁴⁰ Coolidge, Chinese Immigration, 42-45, 58-1, H Rep 443 (Coolie Trade), especially useful, Hasse, For Affs, I, 348

⁴¹ 1 Amoy CL, May 1, 1855, Con Regs, 1856, 160-162, Stat at Large, IX, 127, 399, and X, 715-721, 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 86, Williams, Chin Com Guide, 220ff, 234ff, 44-2, S Rep 689 (Chinese Immigration)

⁴² 15 China DD, Jan 26, 1858, exh 5, Con Regs, 1863, 372-373, Stat at Large, XIII, 340 See, too, I Macao CL, Jan 18, 1858, and 35-1, H Ex Doc 123, 78-79

⁴³ For an expressive description (1855) of the situation by Consul T Hart Hyatt at Amoy see 1 Amoy CL, May 1, 1855 Cf 33-1, H Ex Doc 125, 116-117

Consular work called for a variety of abilities and characteristics not always possessed in equal measure by different individuals--administrative and managerial, diplomatic, legal and political, financial and economic. Besides high ability, devoted energy was required. Many

complications suggest the difficulty of even the ablest person's achieving uniform success. Since most of the consular officers were not exceptional, the expectation is that numerous taxing problems would appear. Such was the case, and to these difficulties the inquiry now turns, in Part III.

Part III

CONSULAR PROBLEMS

Chapter 7
CLASSIFICATION,
and
FIRST GROUP. MAINTENANCE AND ROUTINE

Several aspects of consular problems make it easy to understand the exasperation and the sense of futility which now and then characterized consular complaints made to the government of the United States. One should imagine a consul unable to buy a flag for the consulate, to write a local official because of lack of a translator, or to learn the will of his government on account of remoteness from Washington and uncertainty of policy there. One should picture this consul as handicapped by real or apparent conflicts in his responsibilities to different superiors, faulty cooperation on the part of American naval officers or certain groups of resident American citizens, and jealousy of consular colleagues. Finally, one should see him obstructed by the peculiarities and occasional contumacy of native officials, his own inability to confine and punish troublesome fellow citizens sentenced in his court, and helplessness before selfishness, greed, and cruelty among the very persons whom he was expected to protect and restrain. If the officer was in poor health, as was often the case, his state of mind was so much the worse. If he lacked faith in the strength of his own position and in the effectiveness of his office, it is not strange that he should occasionally have cut a sorry figure in his locality.

Especially in China, the extension of the consular system meant the grafting of a restrictive political element upon what had been primarily a commercial and social situation. It is small wonder that to some self-reliant merchants the political consul seemed an unmitigated nuisance,

and that the consul reciprocated the feeling. This type of antagonism between government and business men appeared in Eastern Asia in an acute form. Without attempting to whitewash consuls, succeeding pages give attention to those elements of impersonal circumstance which handicapped even the abler officers in dealings with their countrymen and with foreigners.

At a number of points the present Part differs from Part II in classification of topics. Not every function gave rise to special problems requiring separate attention in Part III, not every set of problems can be traced back to exactly corresponding functions. Although the five main divisions of Parts II and III are substantially the same and parallel treatment is provided whenever desirable, the subdivisions differ.¹ Classification is influenced by intrinsic similarities and differences found in the problems themselves, and by their relation to the essential historical and commercial material. It is possible in certain instances to relate the settlement and disappearance of a problem, but in other cases the difficulty remained in an indeterminate state at the end of the period. The problems considered invest consular functions and history with significance, and reveal an overseas cultural frontier in its second stage, when individualistic pioneering began to yield to oversight and official restraint or guidance by the national government.

OUTLINE OF PROBLEMS

First Group Maintenance and Routine
Sect A--Pay of Consuls and Their Agents.

¹The reader will see that, among other possible schemes than the one employed, an arrangement of problems as official and unofficial, or as American and non-American, might be used. Neither of these is sufficiently practical.

Sect b--Outlay (for rent, flags, and other equipment), and Expenditure of Personal Funds
 Sect c--Translation (bearing on relations with local authorities, collection of information, and court proceedings) and Interpreters
 Sect d--Distance from Home, Novelty of the Situation for Congress
 Sect e--Sickness and Absence.

Second Group Problems Relating to the Government of the United States (including its representatives or agents, and, indirectly, its citizens at home)
 Sect a--The Home Government Department of State (appointment and tenure, relations directly or through the diplomatic representatives), Congress (delay), Treasury Department (reports), and Navy Department
 Sect b--United States Naval Officers (and these officers as diplomatic and consular functionaries, American merchants and firms and the Navy)
 Sect. c--American Diplomatic Representatives (their attitude toward merchants and consuls, their characters from the consular angle, e.g., Parker and Reed)
 Sect d--Other American Consuls (Cf First Group, Sect a, above.)
 Sect. e--Use of the Flag, Registers, and the Coasting Trade

Third Group Problems Concerning Americans in Eastern Asia
 Sect a--General Protection of Interests of Americans, Piracy and Wrecks
 Sect b--Resident Americans (especially the merchants, merchant and missionary consuls, personal attacks), the Consul as a Member of the Foreign Community, His Social Position
 Sect c--Seamen (Cf the following section)
 Sect d--Care of Criminals and Prisoners

Fourth Group Relations with the Receiving Governments (or their subjects, and with third governments and their subjects, incidentally)
 Sect a--Contacts with Local Officials and Customs Officers (of various nationalities, Asiatic and European), Obligations to Them and to Natives (the coolie and opium questions being separately treated in the Fifth Group, Sects b and c), Instruction, Titles and Forms
 Sect b--Land and Buildings
 Sect c--Consuls or Subjects of Third Nations (in the receiving state).

Fifth Group Special Problems
 Sect a--Judicial Problems
 Sect b--The Coolie Traffic
 Sect c--The Opium Problem
 Sect d--The Currency Question
 Sect e--The Duty Question

Consular Qualities and Views

First Group: Maintenance and Routine

Sect a--Pay of Consuls and Their Agents
 "MUKDEN, Manchuria, Saturday, Nov 25 [1933] --Decreases in exchange value of the American dollar are causing hardship to American residents in Manchuria " "Consular officials who have taken salary cuts amounting to 15 per cent state that they are receiving at the present time only about 60 per cent of the amount in local currency which they received six months ago" (Press item)

Inadequacy of pay, Congressional unreadiness to reimburse consuls for unavoidable special expenses, losses in exchange on drafts, unfavorable comparison of American consular establishments with those of other nations, and difficulty of dividing given salaries among different claimants--these points explain why much consular time and energy were expended on maintaining the status of the establishment. To this consideration officers should have had to give but a minimum of their attention, particularly in a period when Congress at times found itself handicapped less by a deficit than by a surplus in the Treasury

The problems are arranged, in order, with reference to Congressional attitudes and memorials to Congress for pay, remuneration for judicial services, exchange and uncertainty of cashing drafts, and division of pay between consuls and their agents. Since the last-named point covers the chief problem in the relations between consuls and their agents, it is unnecessary to provide elsewhere for separate treatment of those relations, non-financial contacts are included in this section

Numerous comments have shown the unfamiliarity of most members of Congress with the problems of overseas commerce and

administration, and their apathy even in the face of adequate information. Almost alone among the executive departments in desire or power to sponsor consular interests, the Department of State found itself unable to lead Congress satisfactorily, although many of the legal enactments bear the impress of that department's influence. Even in the face of consular appeals for larger allowances, it had to administer the Congressional policy of parsimony.² Inadequate salaries and lack of adjustment to the particular needs of individual consulates created a chronic source of complaint and led to an appalling volume and type of correspondence. Reference has been made to numerous appeals from consuls for individual allowances and emergency legislation. Furthermore, party antagonism exposed consuls and diplomats to unmerited hardships.³

Recalling earlier remarks on legislative attitudes, debates in 1852 on the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill supply striking evidence of the temper of Congress and emphasize the predicament of overseas officers. It was asserted, for example, that the American diplomatic mission to China was only a nominal mission, that the Chinese wished to remain apart, and that no difficulty was "experienced with the Chinese Empire in consequence of having no higher officer than a consul at Hong Kong"--which, of course was not at the time a part of

China. "In fact there is nothing between us and the Chinese Empire except that we shall carry ginseng, cotton goods, and a few articles of that sort . to China, and bring away their silks and teas " "No Commissioner .. has ever seen His Holiness, the Emperor of the Celestial Empire, or anybody, except some one with a crooked name, who is governor of the town of Canton " The necessity of supporting more than the old "commercial" office at Canton was laid at the door of the English, who "had forced China to open her ports to receive English opium" Disdain was expressed for any attempt to improve the comparative social status of the nation's agents in the Orient.⁴ As Sheppard acutely remarks, a people of lavish hospitality at home sent abroad official representatives on a "mean second-rate salary, and all this in the name of republican simplicity."⁵

Abolition of clerk hire with the provision of regular salaries, and subsequent cancellation of the new arrangements for consular pupils not only injured the prospect of a trained service but also increased the financial grievances of consuls.⁶ Especially burdensome was the load borne by consuls in larger ports. Chiefly for this reason, the government lost two of its most efficient and experienced consular officers, at Calcutta and Shanghai. Increases of consular salary sometimes meant little more than indirect allowance for clerk hire. Removal of the provision for consular pupils opened the door to another difficulty, under

²Hakodate CL, June 26, 1856, Macao CL, June 24, 1857, Hongkong CL, July 15, 1856, Nagasaki CL, p 416, 1 Amoy CL, Mar 9, 1853 (date of commencement of salary), 1 Ningpo CL, Oct 26, 1855 (judicial salary), and subsequent correspondence, 4 Shanghai CL, Apr 12, 1858, Bentley's Digest of the Official Opinions of the Attorneys-General, 107, item 132

³See 35-1, H Ex Doc 123, 139-140, Cong Globe (32-1), XXI, Pt 2, 2094 (House), and 35-2, H Ex Doc 88 (gold discovered and cost of living), 29-2, H Ex Doc 12, 3-4 Special appeals 1 Ningpo CL, June 26, 1854, 35-2, H Ex Doc 115 (Claim of James Keenan), 35-2, S Jol , 182-183, 36-1, S Jol , 269, 32-1, S Rep 21 (action unfavorable to A H Palmer), 32-2, S Jol , 172, 35-1, H Jol , 1036, 2 Shanghai CL, Sept 15, 1853, 35-1, S Rep 176 (Memorial of Townsend Harris), and S Rep 240 (Petition of Portman), 36-1, H Jol , 246, 36-2, S Jol 224, 55-2, S Mis Doc 10 (Memorial of Palmer), Cong Globe (34-3), XVI, Pt 1, 632 Of Fussel, The Life of Caleb Cushing, I, 408-409, and Johnson, Com U S , II, 275-274 Salary figures under the acts of 1855 and 1856 appear below, 258n

⁴Cong Globe (32-1), Pt 5, xvi, 2094, 2182 (House), 2511-2512, 2538-2540, 2423 (Senate), and ibid (31-1), Pt 2, 1619-1620

⁵Amer Con Serv , 454 See also Perry's complaint in his Narrative, Vol 1, 133

⁶In addition to following footnotes, see these references on financial topics 2 Shanghai CL, Mar 4, and Apr 20, 1854 (instructive remarks by Murphy), 34-1 H Mis Doc 20, 1-5, Chin Repos , XVIII, 109-110, and Williams, The Life and Letters , 164-165 (living costs), 35-2, H Ex Doc 68, 5-18

the rule (1856) requiring the employment of Americans only, at consulates. Unless they were sent out from the United States it was hard to secure them for service in China. Actually, non-Americans had been employed to execute the laws of the United States in important conflicts of interest affecting many millions of dollars worth of American property.

The legislation of 1855-1856 created confusion regarding return travelling allowances of consuls. The Fifth Auditor's Office in the Treasury Department was besieged by requests for such allowances from officers whose appointments or reappointments had not happened to fall after the specified dates which alone entitled them to consideration. The appropriation act of 1857 further complicated the matter, which was finally settled in 1859 by permitting allowances for return expenses to officers who had been at their posts when the rule took effect (June 30, 1855).⁷

Mention has been made of a similar maladjustment, produced by the reorganization legislation, in relation to compensation for judicial services rendered by consuls during the short life of the act of 1855. The usual series of memorials for rectification followed. Repeated arguments were necessary to win an appropriation (1860). Efficiency and morale were impaired by this protracted difficulty. The remuneration desired by consuls was not excessive. Increases in regular pay under the act of 1856 were not equal in all cases to the amount of the abolished judicial compensation. The officers affected were also denied the trading privilege. During the time of uncertainty one consul drew on the Department for five hundred dollars of

the salary for judicial salary, on the assumption that it was owing, and had to redeem his draft, with three hundred and fifty dollars exchange.

Drafts and exchange were another fruitful source of embarrassment and irritation in the attempt of consuls to maintain a decent financial status. In the years when fees were retained generally, the problem was less serious, as it affected only the drafts for special expenses. Merchant consuls usually had other sources of income and were not always concerned with the amount of the consular remuneration. With non-merchant consuls the case was different, especially when they failed, in advance, to inform themselves sufficiently concerning financial arrangements in the East. Fixed salaries, whether for judicial services or regular consular duties, ordinarily required drafts on the government and accounted for most of the serious difficulties with exchange and the actual securing of money. It became necessary for the government to open credits for consuls with its London bankers, authorized to pay net salaries at the usual United States Treasury rate of \$4.84 to the pound sterling. For loss by exchange a draft on the Department of State, with voucher, had to be made.⁸ For instance, Consul Hyatt at Amoy drew (January 1, 1855) on Baring's in London for one quarter's judicial compensation of \$250, less \$50, the existing discount between Amoy and London, and drew on his government for the deficit, which he had charged to his expense account.⁹

Facilities for cashing drafts at the ports were distressingly limited. At the different cities in China, where the American communities were relatively small,

Problems relating to return travelling allowances, judicial compensation, drafts, and exchange are included in the following citations, taken from a long list of over twenty items. 1 China DL, May 5, 1848, 1 Macao CL, Sept 3, 1858 (office twice removed from the salaried list), 1 Shanghai CL, Mar 28, 1850, and Sept 27 and Oct 24, 1853 (instructive details), 3 Shanghai CL, Sept 1, 1855 (erroneously given as 1853 in the despatch and in 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 181), Ningpo CI, Oct 21, 1853; 4 Shanghai CL (marginia on Bradley's letter of July 14, 1857), 1 Ningpo CL, Jan 30, 1858, Bentley, Digest, 103, 4 Shanghai CL, Sept 20, 1858 (an escape from the exchange tangle), Williams, Chin Com Guide, 361, 34-3, H Ex Doc 2, 670, 37-2, H Ex Doc 36 (Receipts and Expenditures), Com Rels, III, 293.

⁷ 4 Shanghai CL, McConnell, Auditor, to Case, Aug 6, 1857, Com Regs, 1863, 351-352. See also the preceding note.

⁸ 4 Canton CL, Oct 12, 1855, and Jan 10, 1856, Com Regs, 1856, 90, Foochow CI, Mar 11, 1856, 34-3, H Mis Doc 8 (Mode of Paying the Salaries)

) and H Ex Doc. 2, 670, Com Regs, 1863,

the only firm willing to buy consular drafts on a regular business basis (1858) was Russell and Company, and that concern occasionally regarded such purchases as favors or even declined to make them. When it demurred, at Shanghai, the officer in question was forced to ask assistance as a personal favor from Augustine Heard and Company. Consular drafts sold at "four to six per cent worse" than drafts of merchants, on account of the trouble in collecting them.¹⁰ At Ningpo no bills on Europe or America were salable. At Canton, branches of three British banks refused to accept consular drafts at all. Consular protest (1857) greeted the new policy by which consular fees were supposed to be paid in American money, while consular salaries were paid in the currency of the port.¹¹ In general, uncertainties and changes of procedure in Washington provided abundant annoyance at ports along the China Coast.

In Japan the situation was even more inconvenient. Unable in that country to dispose of his bills on London, Harris was compelled to send them for negotiation to the nearest port where Americans resided. On July 1, 1857 he had not heard from a draft for salary sent to Shanghai six months before. The government of the United States was not responsible for the absence in Japan of international banking machinery, but it failed signally to envisage intelligently and to provide discriminatingly for the needs of officers in unusual situations. At the end of his money, and seemingly forgotten at home, Harris was "reduced to the mortifying necessity of asking credit from the Japanese" for daily supplies. More than two years passed before he found himself able to dispose of his drafts in Japan.¹²

Transactions already sufficiently confused and trying were made more so by the difficulty of securing proper certificates of the rate of exchange applying to

drafts, upon which the government insisted. At Shanghai most of the merchants called upon to sign them consistently refused, on the ground that such action was prejudicial to their business—a survival from mercantile dominance of the scene in pre-treaty days. Figures appearing in numerous consular communications indicate the high price and the fluctuations of exchange, resting on shifting bases in China, and drawn on different places in Europe and the United States. It ran all the way from sixteen per cent in 1850 (Shanghai), twenty per cent in 1851 (Canton), and twenty-six per cent in 1852 (Shanghai), to seventy per cent in 1855 (Shanghai). At Canton fifteen per cent was regarded by the consul as a fair rate.

Confusion arose from use of substitutes during several necessary absences of consuls. Disputes occurred between the two officials in question regarding division of pay, or between them and the government about compliance with legal routine. On resuming his duties at Shanghai in August, 1856, Consul Murphy learned that Dr M W Fish, who as vice consul had ably discharged the duties of office from the beginning of the year, was denied salary by the Department of State, which had approved the terms of the appointment. The two men had made the common sense assumption that the person performing the service deserved the stated compensation. Other conspicuous cases involved Keenan and Roberts at Hongkong (1858-1859), Glover and various other persons at Shanghai (1857-1858), and Hyatt and Doty at Amoy (1857-1860). The unfortunate part played in them by the Legation adds no lustre to its record. The regrettable features of these affairs grew out of payment of an agent, nourished by the difficulty of finding really satisfactory persons interested in a temporary post.¹³

Faced constantly with problems relating to their remuneration, American

¹⁰ 4 Shanghai CL, Oct 22, 1858, cf 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 181-182

¹¹ 4 Shanghai CL, Feb 28, 1857

¹² 1-2 Japan Des, Jly 1, 1857, and Aug 10, 1859

¹³ Voluminous evidence appears in the consular and diplomatic manuscripts and in newspapers of the years in question. Cases are presented in this Part to illustrate the character of problems rather than to supply the entire narrative of consular issues. The selected cases are drawn from the writer's exhaustive account of problems, in draft.)

The Keenan-Roberts controversy abounded in charges and counter charges, damage to reputations, rumors, testimonials, and sycophancy. It witnessed Roberts' desire to replace Keenan permanently, inconsistency of policy toward ships and seamen, and a lawsuit winning Keenan a judgment of \$1,400 against

consuls felt keenly the superior situation of their English colleagues and on different occasions impressed upon their government the details of the incomes of these officers. In comparison, American provisions for consuls were niggardly. At four of the five ports in China there were full consuls in the British service, with salaries ranging from £1,200 to £1,800, and vice consuls as well. At the fifth, and at Whampoa, were well-paid vice consuls in charge. No office had less than four interpreters, assistants, and Chinese writers, each on adequate salary, two consulates had six each. In all, there were thirteen student interpreters. Rent allowances were generous, and at Canton and Shanghai consular properties were purchased. At Shanghai the buildings cost \$44,000 and the grounds were worth over \$180,000.¹⁴

Among American consuls, outlays from personal salary for miscellaneous purposes of the consulate and for translations constituted a source of anxiety. These expenditures were essential to the maintenance of offices and the regular routine.

Sect b--Outlay, and Expenditure of Personal Funds

For over half the period under consideration the participation of consular officers in mercantile pursuits at a number of ports meant that the problem of maintaining a consular building and finding a consular residence caused relatively little inconvenience. With the increase in the number of non-trading officers difficulties multiplied, especially in regard to rent. During the entire period some phys-

ical arrangements were necessary for the detention of offending seamen or other persons awaiting return to the United States for trial. After passage of the act of 1848 the need of prisons became acute. Much petty annoyance grew out of unsatisfactory arrangements for flags, flagstaffs, safes, and the like. Moreover, while provision was made for funds to care for destitute American seamen, difficulty arose over the cases of other destitute Americans, whom the consul was in duty bound to protect. The question of rooming houses, hospital care, and medical service consumed much time and energy. Essential to the successful operation of some of the larger consulates were the services of clerks. In Eastern Asia these were hard to find, the lack of means to pay them has been noticed. In brief, several routine matters assumed an urgency equal to that of matters of intrinsic importance.

The act of 1856 provided that an officer not permitted to trade might be allowed the actual expense of office rent, up to ten per cent of the annual salary. The President, through the Department of State, decided whether a particular officer required the grant. The necessary appropriation was not available until July 1, 1857. It became the rule that officers not permitted to trade must have their consulates in central locations and must use them exclusively for consular business. Violation of this regulation endangered an incumbent's rent allowance. An officer situated like Townsend Harris in Japan experienced less difficulty in regard to rent than officers in China. Local disturbances in the Middle Kingdom and the inadequacy of allowances introduced

Roberts, apparently the less popular of the two men.

The Hyatt-Doty quarrel exhibited a bitterness of invective and a layman-missionary animosity which are probably unsurpassed. What was essentially a simple matter of interpretation of terms of an agreement and erroneous double payment by the government required attention for many months. Doty, the substitute drawn from missionary circles, was required to refund the amount of his unauthorized drafts on the Treasury.

Additional problems are found in 6 China DD, Aug 21, 1851, Ningpo CI, Jan 24, 1860, 2 Foochow CL, June 50 and Oct 5, 1859, and 19 China DD, Mar 20, 1860. In one pathetic case a consul's widow was obliged to continue the salary controversy with the temporary appointee.

For dates and tenure of different officers see Appendix I.

¹⁴ 34-2, H Mis. Doc 1, 3-4 Op Jurien de la Gravière's *Voyage en Chine* (Two vols., Paris, 1854), I, 258, 3 Shanghai CH, Sept. 1, 1853 (an error for 1855), Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan*, 238, Cosenza, *The Compleat Journal*, 543, 546-547, 409 Note also, more generally, 34-3, H Mis. Doc 8, 35-1, H Ex Doc 4 (*Contingent Expenses of the State Department*), 30-52, and H Ex Doc 115 (J P Cook, Esq.), 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 165-168, H Ex. Doc 68, and H Ex Doc 75 ("James Keenan").

complications As late as 1861 the consulate at Canton experienced difficulty over payment of rent for 1857-1859 (at \$400 a year) Exchange on drafts for rent was an additional cost.¹⁵

Improvidence in legislation permitted the act of 1848 to stand for over ten years without effective provision for prisons The matter was left to the discretion of consuls—a somewhat refined way of presenting a bill For nearly the entire period under review the problem of prisons and consular police was a history of makeshifts For example, the consul at Shanghai in 1852 established a police force at the consulate, with the sanction of the Commissioner, and incurred expenses of \$358, for which he drew on the Department, with exchange The government's lack of a fund to pay the draft necessitated an application to Congress for an appropriation In 1858 the consulate was embarrassed as a result of its lack of a jail and the inability of the overcrowded British consular prison to take care of two American seamen who had refused duty on an American vessel Although American men-of-war received prisoners in some emergencies, these vessels were not always available, and their commanders were averse to converting them into prison ships

In 1859 Consul Hyatt at Amoy, unable without a prison to maintain order among American seamen, was compelled to build one on his own responsibility, trusting to the government's sense of right to indemnify him He was willing to rent it to his country, but the response to this ambitious effort was notice of the government's inability to pay the rent.¹⁶

When the act of 1860 finally allowed the actual rental of suitable buildings, or parts of buildings, used as prisons, an annual limit of six hundred dollars was set Additional provision for wages of prison keepers and care of offenders set a maximum limit of eight hundred dollars a

year in any one place One prison only was allowed in Japan, where there were three offices, four were assigned to China, and one was authorized for Siam—at such ports as the minister, with the President's sanction, might designate Appointment of seven marshals was authorized, including one for Japan, one for Siam, and four for China, but lack of a concurrent appropriation delayed filling these places, and continued the difficulty of paying prison rent, wages of keepers, and expenses of detention.¹⁷

The end of the period, therefore, witnessed only a partial removal of the problem of prisons and prisoners from the class of major dilemmas to the ordinary routine of the service Of less striking character, but equally disturbing to consular officers, were numerous outlays for contingent expenses and small equipment

Although consuls were by law allowed expenses for flagstaffs, bookcases, binding, stationery and other supplies, the Department of State so neglected these matters that officers had to make such arrangements as they could In some parts of the world flags and flagstaffs might have appeared a trivial matter, but in the Orient the need of presenting an impressive appearance gave them an unusual significance Materials rotted quickly When one consul, for instance, had received no flags for two and a half years and had not been visited by a man-of-war for eighteen months he naturally felt compelled to buy materials and have flags made The expense of one hundred and thirty dollars was not negligible The consul's flagstaff, costing nearly three hundred dollars, had been put up without authority, the pole sent out by the government having been unsuitable and much inferior in appearance to the staffs of the British and the French¹⁸

Safes for the protection of moneys and valuable documents were another type of necessary equipment To 1857 there was no secure place for archives and for fees

¹⁵ 1 Shanghai CL, Oct 31, 1853, 4 Shanghai CL, May 6 and 12, 1858 (relating also an indebtedness of the consulate to the English hospital which could not be met), 35-1, H Mis Doc 2, 1, and 2 Shanghai CL, Mar 4, 1854

¹⁶ 2 Amoy CL, Sept 30, 1859, 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 78, Amoy CI, June 30, 1860 See the illustration on page 132

¹⁷ Com Regs, 1863, 187, 365, 404, Stat at Large, XII, 72, 1 Circulars, Jly 31, 1860, Shanghai CI, Nov 7, 1854, 35-1, H Ex Doc 115

¹⁸ 1 Shanghai CL, Jly, 1849, and Dec 31, 1850, 4 Canton CL, June 31, 1854, Foochow CI, Feb 19, 1858, Shanghai CI, Mar 25, 1856, 3 Shanghai CL, Dec 7, 1855 (case of the patriotic American contractor, Dewsnap); 1 Japan Des, Oct 25, 1857

collected Deeds to property at Shanghai were then valued at more than a million dollars Serious warning was given residents of that city by theft of the entire set of books of a mercantile firm of many years standing Consequently, the consul purchased an iron safe for about four hundred and fifty dollars¹⁹

Valuable time was taken up in 1860 by a problem relating to a safe sent out for the consulate at Ningpo Its extreme weight required sixty coolies with combination levers to unload it at Shanghai, and no shipmaster going to Ningpo would tranship it at a reasonable figure Some months later the Department acquiesced in the consul's suggestion that it be left with the Shanghai consulate, which would send its smaller safe to Ningpo²⁰

Agencies performing services for Americans at the expense of the consulate may be regarded as semi-official extensions of the establishment Their accounts sometimes amounted to several thousand dollars, especially for the care of seamen and other destitute Americans for whom consuls were responsible--including such items as board, clothing, medical and hospital fees, and funeral costs In some instances, these charges caused a heavy drain on the private means of consuls²¹

General legislation for the service as a whole ignored some of the unusual conditions in the Orient One of the novel features of the consular situation there was produced by the difficulty of quick mastery of the native languages Abundant confusion resulted from the government's assumption that consular clerks could easily handle foreign languages in any country Actually, interpreters and translators constituted a special and distinct part of the staff In the eyes of Congress they were long regarded simply as clerks, who were supposed to be American

citizens Persons here referred to as clerks in Eastern Asia really did little or no linguistic work, for which foreigners were usually secured²²

This sketch of attempts by consuls to finance a proper maintenance of their establishments and of minimum routine supplements the earlier account of their difficulties concerning payment for their own services Such payment could not be regarded as free and clear, because of special drains on it The last mentioned of these, interpreting and translating, assumed such importance that it requires separate treatment

Sect. 2--Translation and Interpreters

"Nothing is worse than a barrier against the communication of thought"--Naosuké

It is fair to describe the American government's handling of consular problems of interpreting and translating in China and in Japan as linguistic mendicancy A subject not clearly understood at home was treated as of small importance Much of the official work of this kind, accordingly, was done on borrowed time, money, and knowledge--borrowed from the consul himself, from the staffs of European or English colleagues, usually the latter, from busy missionaries, and from chance connections Consular translating was both a specialized function and an operation essential to proper execution of several other duties, such as the gathering of commercial information for the government The policy followed in Washington has been discussed elsewhere, and attention at this point may at once be centered on the embarrassments which grew out of the translation problem

¹⁹4 Shanghai CL, Feb 28, 1857

²⁰1 Ningpo CL, June 28, 1860

²¹29-2, H Doc 12, 24 This document shows the effect of increasing commerce and the mischievous result of an act of 1840 authorizing consuls, upon joint application of master and seaman in a foreign port, to discharge the latter without payment of the prescribed three months' extra wages See also Hongkong CL, Dec 22, 1854, and Jan 22, 1855

²²Con Regs., 1856, 35, Con Regs., 1863, 125, 35-2, H Ex Doc 68, 8, 2 Foochow CL, Oct 1, 1859, 4 Shanghai CL, (Bradley) Dec 18, 1858 A consular circular of June 1, 1853 emphasized the President's "decided disapprobation of the anti-American practices and tendencies" in the system, including employment of foreign clerks As a result of the anti-foreignism of the act of 1855, over three hundred vice

"Previous to this however I had had several misunderstandings with His Excellency the Governor, and he told Mr McLane in my presence that it was all owing to the fact that I had no competent interpreter, and that if I would obtain one, as well as the proper Chinese letter writers or Linguists and any other assistance which was necessary to carry out the full and complete intention of the Treaty, that he would pay for it."²³

The Consular Regulations of the following year stated (p 35) that if consular officers did not know the language of the receiving country at the time of appointment, it was expected that they would "soon acquire a sufficient knowledge of it for the management of their official business." Even the enclosures sent the Department in a foreign language were desired in translation also.

At the present time, Americans properly take for granted the linguistic attainments of their consular officials in the Orient, but it is little known that the opportunity to achieve this competence rests upon a long series of thoughtful efforts. A few of the many painful incidents show the character of the difficulty.

Paske-Smith relates a story of violence in Japan resulting from a simple case of faulty linguistic knowledge in which the word "cheap" was mistaken for "cheat." Foreign merchants in that country seem at first to have had their "office boys" translate important contracts with Japanese.²⁴ Of course misunderstandings occurred, and it was to the consuls that these were referred.

As late as 1859 Rice, the Commercial Agent at Hakodate, saw in questions of

translation the cause of delay in the retirement of his many troubles. Excessive care was necessary, for all his statements appear to have been taken down for transmittal to Yedo. This officer found himself in difficulty over such a small matter as the use of the word "Colonel" in the address of letters received by him from the United States. Rice explained to the Japanese governor that he had once been aide to the governor of Maine and that the title had no relation to his work in Japan. When American naval officers embarrassed him by criticizing the use of it, he learned the pitfalls of inadequate interpreting, combined with petty gossip.²⁵ At the time of his arrival no one present could speak more than a few words of English, and the only means of communication was a very old edition of a Dutch and English dictionary. Rice's own English, moreover, was not above reproach. His Russian colleague at Hakodate had a well-paid interpreter. Rice was resentful that an interpreter was not provided him with "a small portion of the money squandered by American Naval Officers (there are many honorable exceptions) who all their lives have lived from the public Treasury except what they could sponge from the poor Consuls." He complained to Secretary Cass with considerable freedom of speech. "It is the first public office that I ever held under our Government and with God's blessing it will be the last."²⁶

Apart from damage to strictly consular and commercial business in cases like this, the lasting injury to social and racial understanding during initial contacts and trying adjustments emphasizes

consuls, consular agents, and clerks were removed from the service generally. A large crop of embarrassments naturally followed.

²³ Shanghai CL, Dec 31, 1855 (Murphy to Marcy). Similar accounts are scattered through the consular correspondence, especially in 1 and 3-4 Shanghai CL, 1 Ningpo CL, 1 Amoy CL, 2 Foochow CL, 5 Canton CL, 1 Hakodate CL, and Nagasaki Transcripts. See also the consular instructions for Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow, and Shimoda, and 1-2 Japan Des., 1 Japan Inst., and 18-19 China DD. Supplementary sources of different kinds provide a wide view of this very interesting subject. They include biographical and descriptive works, public documents, monographs, and miscellaneous materials.

²⁴ Western Barbarians, 220-221, 387.

²⁵ When the story reached Harris through officers of the Mississippi, it related that Rice had claimed to have been governor of Maine and a high officer of the United States army and that he outranked the commodore and the consul-general—charges so specific that they could hardly have been transmitted by the Japanese authorities in the existing state of their knowledge of the United States and in the face of the language difficulties present.

²⁶ 1 Hakodate CL, 1859.

the error of the government in failing to pay early attention to translation. By their unselfish labor in vexing situations, several men, of different races and occupations, tided the American government over the first years of neglect and permitted it to lay a foundation for a respectable system of interpreting.

In spite of the limited provision for interpreters in the act of 1856 the problem remained an acute one throughout the period. Various means were used to take care of translation. Resort was sometimes had to a third language known to both parties. At other times, English-speaking natives, either private individuals or officials, carried the burden. In certain earlier instances merchant consuls were able to command the services of their bilingual employees. It has been pointed out that interpreters belonging to other consulates were borrowed occasionally and that missionaries gave unselfishly of their hard-won knowledge of native languages.

Copies of the first treaty with Siam were prepared in Siamese, English, Portuguese, and Chinese. The use of Dutch and Chinese in dealings with Japan is well known. Heusken, Harris' English- and Dutch-speaking interpreter, placed his superior in a somewhat better position than that of most American consular officers in the Orient, and yet Heusken found it worth while to study Japanese. One suspects that Harris' readiness to credit the Japanese with mendacity was a result not merely of his early ignorance of domestic changes in the country but also of the indirectness of communication. He found an even deeper difficulty in the fact that

the Japanese had no words or experience equivalent to many terms which he used.²⁷

One of the chance natives who served was the famous Japanese "Hecos". This man had been in America and later was attached to the American consulate at Yokohama. He was a valuable and faithful intermediary, on whom much greater reliance could be placed than on the interpreters of the Japanese government at the place.²⁸ Beginning with use of the Dutch and Chinese languages and then including English, there had grown up at Nagasaki a "college" of interpreters of Japanese race, with official status. Later some of them were established at Hakodate. Hodgson refers to them agreeably and states that their title was hereditary in their families. They had a difficult part to play, for they sometimes did not feel at liberty to state freely what the American officer had said, and at other times failed to grasp the meaning of statements or to find suitable phraseology, in spite of their willingness to assist. To add to their difficulties, they were obliged to kneel or to stand while speaking. In the independent countries of Eastern Asia intercourse between native and foreign officers on a basis of equality was a novelty which required native interpreters to risk unpopular departures from the attitudes, forms, and phrases of pre-treaty days.²⁹

Merchant consuls' use of Chinese or American commercial employees for consular business was a makeshift at best. As official work increased, the need of improvement became insistent, particularly at Shanghai. Dissatisfied with the gratuitous services of American missionaries,

²⁷ Cf. Simoda CI, Aug. 25, 1855, and Tilley, Japan, 170, 1 Japan Des., Mar. 4, 1858.

²⁸ Sewall gives the story of Nakahama Manjiro, a shipwrecked Japanese who was educated in America and later rendered excellent service as interpreter of words and of ideas. (*The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk*, 211-215.)

²⁹ Cf. Pemberton Hodgson, *A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859-1860* (London, 1861), 5n.; Williams, *The Life and Letters*, 283. According to a Japanese view of the interpreters at Nagasaki, they had dominated their superior officers, in years before our period, and their community of interest with the Dutch traders often led them to work at cross purposes with the Japanese commissioners and to develop an "interpreter-diplomacy" (*tsuchi-gaiho*). (*Meiji Ishin-shi Kenkyū*-Research in the History of the Meiji Restoration, Tokyo, 1929, sixth printing, 1933, contribution by Tabohashi, pp. 258-262.) On Harris and Japanese fear of their own interpreters' tricks see Katsu, *Kakoku Kigen* (The Origin of the Opening of the Country), I, 355-356. Cf. Cosenza, *The Complete Journal*, 462.

During the troublesome months when Consul Hyatt at Amoy was trying to secure a site for his buildings, his "Chinese teachers" were threatened and driven from their homes by their hostile countrymen, merely for translating Hyatt's official letters. (1 Amoy CI, Dec. 10, 1855.)

and uncertain whether any other American could be secured to interpret satisfactorily, Consul Griswold early asked for an annual allowance of five or six hundred dollars to pay a suitable Chinese educated by a missionary. He may have been the first American officer to point to the wisdom of "making arrangements for the education in China of an adequate number of young men citizens of the United States to act hereafter as Interpreters."³⁰ Commissioner Humphrey Marshall, with some reason seeing in this problem a British menace, as was his custom, pointed to the gross deficiency of American consulates in China in the acquisition of information and in communication with the Chinese in their own language.³¹

Consuls received favors which they could seldom return in kind, when they were compelled to rely on translations made for them by missionaries and by interpreters attached to consulates of other nations. Criticisms of missionaries' knowledge of native languages was well founded in certain instances, but some of this knowledge was exact and valuable. In the diplomatic field, the services of men like S. W. Williams and W. A. P. Martin are recognized. In consular history, attention should be called to the notable contributions of a missionary in China whose linguistic and other achievements entitle him to a secure place in history—Dr. Divine Bethune McCartee, servant of three governments during his fifty-six years in Eastern Asia, and accomplished consular officer of the United States at different ports in China, Ningpo in particular. The unanimity and reliability of opinions of his skill in dealing with the Chinese, the excellence of his acquaintance with language, history, and customs, and his readiness to make uncalculating sacrifices for the sake of his country and the Chinese create an admirable

picture. Among the few consular papers of superlative quality is this missionary's comprehensive memorandum on consular officers, appearing, unsigned and unbound, in the Shanghai Consular Letters.³² It deals thoroughly with such subjects as interpreters, the variety of language problems, titles, institutions, procedure, past errors, and abuses. The following excerpt indicates one of the existing evils:

"Chinese connected with the Consulates and others are frequently guilty of taking bribes or of acts of oppression toward their fellow subjects, and combine to keep the injured party from obtaining access to the Consul for redress. The only remedy for the aggrieved person in these cases is to wait in concealment for the Consul or Interpreter to pass by and then rush forward & kneeling present his petition. By possessing the ability of investigating these irregularities, by his knowledge of the local dialect the interpreter might prevent much injustice and obloquy—and gain great favor & respect for his flag & country in the eyes of the Chinese people & Officers. He would be able also to transact business without the intervention of Middlemen or others and thus save the government from 50 to 50 per cent."

Had this document reached the attention of all Congressmen it is doubtful whether it would have influenced them greatly, but its places in clear outline one result of their inattention.³³

The three American interpreters allowed to consulates in China by the act of 1856 were secured by Canton, Shanghai, and Amoy. Foochow and Ningpo were left without official assistance, as were Hakodate and Nagasaki in Japan. Consul Bradley at Ningpo quixotically declined to receive an appointee, on the ground that acceptance would deprive a needier colleague of help. He reckoned without the

³⁰ 1 Shanghai CL, Mar. 28, 1850

³¹ 33-1, H Ex. Doc. 123, 81-82

³² Vol. 4. Internal evidence and comparison show that it was written at some time after May 14, 1856. In view of its misplacement in the archives, this valuable paper has been transferred to 1 Ningpo CL. Cf. 34-1, H Ex. Doc. 2, 87, and "Remarks on Chinese Foreign Relations" (in four parts), by the able missionary D. J. Macgowan (McGowan or MacCowan), in The North-China Herald, VIII, and Murphy's comments of Oct. 19, 1855, in 3 Shanghai CL.

³³ See also Murphy's trenchant remarks in 3 Shanghai CL, Oct. 19, 1855.

On linguistic "vestibules", outside of China and Japan, where foreigners gained preliminary knowledge of the languages, there are interesting fragments of information in different works of the period.

Judicial requirements of his position, which he later stated would demand the constant attention of an interpreter. Accordingly he asked for one, as well as for a marshal, and announced that he was paying the expenses of a well-educated young man going to China as a sort of consular pupil. Apparently the government was content to rely on his generosity.³⁴

Even though an interpreter was assigned to Canton, there was delay in making the appointment, and temporary arrangements were necessary. Withdrawal of the Legation from Canton deprived the consulate of the aid of its interpreter, and missionaries in the place, although still willing to assist, were little interested in leaving their societies for the government service. Late in the period one of them did accept a temporary appointment for six months.³⁵ At Foochow the situation remained unsatisfactory to three officers in succession. The Department refused to use appropriations for interpreters for compensation of the Chinese who did the work. Many communications received in Chinese from native officers and private individuals compelled the consulate in 1860 to hire a Chinese at forty dollars a month. The high cost of living made this deduction from the consular salary a serious item. Ill feeling between different consuls in the service, a not uncommon phenomenon, manifested itself in the sharp-spoken Consul Gouverneur's criticism of the allowance of an interpreter to Consul Hyatt at Amoy, a port which he regarded as of less commercial importance than his own.³⁶

The source of this competitive attitude has been found in the neglect of its representatives by Congress, which during most of this period allowed a problem of central importance to increase in severity, tolerated unworthy makeshifts, then provided relief, in the provision for consular pupils, that was shortly snatched away, and experimented from 1856 to the end of the period with an insufficient allowance of interpreterships.

Sect d--Distance from Home, Novelty of the Situation for Congress

Consideration of problems encountered by consuls deepens a reader's consciousness of the part played by their remoteness from Washington. In the nature of the case, distance was an aspect of the work of nearly all consuls, but in the Orient local conditions magnified its importance. Speed and consistency of policy were impossibilities. Different consuls applied varying policies and adopted unrelated or conflicting ideas. Not merely were they all remote from their own country, most of them were also well out of easy touch with one another. Much of the difficulty already related concerning pay, control of agents, drafts and exchange, translation, and minor matters was increased by the factor of distance. While it is best considered as a phase of the subject of maintenance and routine, it also increased the acuteness of other matters yet to be considered, such as relations with the home government, dealings with naval officers, piracy, and care of criminals. Problems which might readily have been settled after a short lapse of time or have lost their appearance of validity became increasingly unmanageable as many months of correspondence intervened. One consul, aggrieved by the severity of local authorities and the Department's apparent apathy, accused it of allowing the "distance that lends enchantment" to rob "ruffianism of rudeness."

Much importance attached to the question, What degree of discretionary power should be given consuls in the Far East? The arrangement of specific regulations for the judicial system in consular courts in China has provided one instance of partial local autonomy. Although in later years of the period the form and content of the Department's general instructions and regulations improved, the defectiveness of laws was long felt to require that much discretion be left to consuls. In defending his use of compulsion in dealing with the Chinese, the

³⁴ Shanghai CL, Dec 13, 1858, 1 Ningpo CL, Mar 18, 1857, and Dec 13, 1858

³⁵ China DD, Apr 22, 1859, 5 Canton CL, June 28, Nov 20, 1859

³⁶ Foochow CL, Feb 18, 1858, and Apr 12, 1860, Foochow CI, June 17, 1859

consul at Shanghai admitted the danger of this resort but insisted that "the immense distance an officer is removed from home , the immense interests at stake, which, to delay protection, would inevitably prove disastrous require powerful and immediate remedies "³⁷ To charges of official extravagance on his part, another economical consul replied that it was "absolutely necessary that a public officer in China should have a little more latitude than officers residing nearer home "³⁸

Not always able or disposed to depend on the diplomatic officers of the United States, consuls experienced a natural tendency to place some cooperative reliance on their European colleagues, when compelled by isolation to act decisively In 1857 Harris, at Shimoda, ran out of all kinds of foreign supplies Finding himself in bad health, he put down his thoughts as follows: "I am so shrunk away that I look as though a 'Vice-Consul had been cut out of me ! Where, oh ! where is Commodore Armstrong?"³⁹ To this valiant consular officer isolation became exile On October 20, 1857 he received his first despatch from the government after leaving Washington in October of 1855 In the same year he learned that a large number of letters for him had been at Hakodate for nearly four months During his first twenty-eight months in Japan he had only two opportunities to forward despatches to the Department of State.

Elementary personal reasons as well as official need led consuls to welcome increases achieved in the speed of communication, whether by clipper ships or by steam vessels, and to urge the establishment of a line of mail steamers across the Pacific

The old East India and China traders had gained somewhat by isolation from their home lands, by secrecy, and by non-cooperation The earliest of them had no "plant" other than their ships—a means of communication always at hand Their ventures were self-contained and unified Later, branch offices were created and ventures became complex Commerce extended to

new places, like the ports of Japan Trading firms retained control of numerous ships and continued the original competitive traditions ⁴⁰ Among new conditions attending the introduction of the consular system was the likelihood of an increased publicity inimical to this older attitude As a former merchant, Harris the consul wrote trenchantly of the conflict of tendencies

" Many merchant vessels refuse to take any letters whatever, others receive them, but delay the delivery of them for weeks and months after the vessel has arrived There is a very general action among the merchants here, to obstruct the transmission of intelligence from this country and they justly this proceeding on the ground that to do otherwise would be injurious to their interests."⁴¹

Again adding to the chagrin of American consular officers was the superior position of their British colleagues, a position based on other traditions and strengthened by better financial support and the relative proximity of important British possessions in the East

Professional isolation would have been more easily endured had it not been accompanied at a number of ports by a considerable degree of social isolation, both from Americans or other Westerners and from native persons, with whom freedom of social intercourse had not reached the point which it has since achieved Such relaxations and variety of social life as were available were seized upon with avidity, whether the means of escape from humdrum was a hunting trip, an excursion "to the hills", the visit of an American or European man-of-war, or the coming of a noted diplomat or traveller ⁴²

Sect e—Sickness and Absence

The ideal of a smoothly-functioning consular system, offering continuity of service and conditions attractive to men with professional ambitions, was remote from the minds of most Americans ninety

³⁷34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 174

³⁸1 Foochow CL, Jly 21, 1856

³⁹Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 376-377 Cf 1-2 Japan Des , Sept 11, 1857, and Dec 6, 1858

⁴⁰For a telling example of their success see Potter's Memor, 10

⁴¹3 Japan Des , Apr 9, 1860

⁴²For some of these matters see Section b in the Third Group, below See also 1 Ningpo CL, Jly 20, 1860, Potter, Memor, 8, 29-2, H Ex Doc 12, 4-5, Con Regs , 1856, 196, Shanghai CI, Oct 5, 1855,

years ago. The chance appointee was sent out to earn a moderate remuneration at some remote post with every prospect of difficulty in keeping his establishment in efficient working condition. If the officer himself was not physically fit, his duties suffered, whether he attempted to struggle along with them or turned them over temporarily to a substitute. Enough has been said of consular problems to show that they predisposed officers to worry and to those uncertainties or irregularities which injure health. In addition, unsanitary living conditions, inferiority or inaccessibility of regular medical service, and difficulty of arranging vacations, to say nothing of occasional personal misconduct, contributed directly to a distressing amount of sickness and absence from official duties. The consul could not be reasonably certain of his health for a month in advance. This situation resulted in both personal discomfort for the officer affected and inconvenience or inefficiency in the handling of business.

In 1857 no less than six subordinate consular officers were serving in place of regular appointees in Eastern Asia. Ill health accounted for some of these cases. The heat in China was excessive. Wrote one merchant after a few successful years in Shanghai: "I had my one hundred thousand dollars, but I had paid the price for it took me several years [at home] to regain my health."⁴³ At Shanghai, most cases of illness occurred after the intense heat of the summer season had weakened constitu-

tions. When the north winds of September suddenly depressed the temperature, both natives and foreigners suffered from fever and dysentery. The October monsoon, however, provided a welcome brace not enjoyed farther south at Canton.⁴⁴

When a consul asked for sick-leave, he might seek relief at some point in the limited areas open to foreigners or else take a short trip. In either case he might need a rest of only a few months. When he had to visit the United States, very extended leave was necessary, especially in the earlier years of slow travel. Consul Griswold, for example, asked in 1851 for leave of at least a year, with the possibility of a second year. In some instances, damage to the health of the consul or his family was so serious as to require final resignation.⁴⁵

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The pioneering character of consular attempts to gain a foothold in an alien setting was emphasized by a measure of non-support by the home government. Attention is now directed specifically to consular problems connected with that government and its various representatives. This second set of problems still pertains chiefly to the internal economy of the service, providing a necessary background for later study of consular dealings with American citizens in Eastern Asia, as well as distinctly external relations with officials and subjects of receiving states.

Canton CI, June 20, 1857, 1 Foochow CL, June 19, 1856, 1 Hakodate CL, Aug 1, 1859.

⁴³Potter, *Memorandum*, 11-12

⁴⁴35-2, S Ex Doc 20, 50, Fortune, *A Residence among the Chinese* , 436-437; 2 Shanghai CL, Apr. 5, 1852 (Jones)

⁴⁵1 Shanghai CL, June 6, 1851, 1 Foochow CL, Sept 23, 1857; 4 Shanghai CL, June 25, 1857, Kidō Okamoto, *The American Envoy* (trans. by M Inouye, Kobe, 1951) In Japan there is now almost a cult of Okichi-san, the girl regarded by several writers as Harris' mistress. The alleged facts of this case would concern diplomatic rather than consular history, and need not be rehearsed here. They suggest, however, the usefulness of more knowledge of the public effects of the personal affairs of officers abroad, and point to a possible connection with improvement in Harris' health. Cf the dates and the items under the heading "Health" in Cosenza's *The Complete Journal*.

Chapter 8

SECOND GROUP. PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Sect a--The Home Government: Department of State, Congress, Treasury Department, and Navy Department

Robert S Sturgis was serving in 1855 as American vice consul at Canton. It became his duty to supply an American, John Pascal Geoffrey, with a certificate entitling him to fly the American flag on his ship, a lorcha named the *Rapid*. Her bill of sale was held as security that she would not be used in illegal trade. Lieutenant Preble of the naval vessel *Queen* later took possession of the lorcha and released it only on condition that the flag should not be hoisted again on board, in spite of the fact that disturbed conditions on the river necessitated the use of a flag, for safety, even on small boats making short trips. A heavy pecuniary loss was suffered by Geoffrey as a result. Sturgis addressed Preble's superior, Commander Joel Abbot, in charge of the East India Squadron, at Hongkong, who reported that the lorcha had been found guilty of violating the treaty with China. He had directed Preble to remove her flag because of a decision of Acting Commissioner Parker, to whom he had referred the matter. The offence cited was "trading and going up the creeks and rivers into the interior in a manner not authorized by said treaty". The vice consul addressed a long letter to Parker, with necessary enclosures, asking that officer to send the correspondence to the government in Washington.¹

Sturgis stood in the position of an agent of a consul. The latter had been appointed directly by the President with the approval of the Senate and was obligated to heed the counsel of a diplomatic superior serving temporarily in the place of a regular Commissioner (also appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate)

The diplomatic representative was endowed with certain powers in the name of the home government. Both he and the consular officer were dependent upon cooperation by the naval commander on the station, who exercised a degree of individual discretion and also received guidance from instructions prepared by the Secretary of the Navy. This executive officer and the Secretary of State exchanged ideas and information on the Far Eastern situation, which might also draw comment from the President or require action by Congress, one of its committees, or another of the executive departments. This web of relationships was complicated by distance and the emphasis of individuals upon their official prerogatives, as well as by occasional suspicion of those in another line of governmental service. It offered ample opportunity for the growth of misunderstandings and ill-feeling, particularly in cases where personal antipathies also existed.

Sturgis soon sent a copy of all papers in the *Rapid* case, including his letter to Parker, directly to the Secretary of State, requesting instructions regarding use of the flag within his jurisdiction. "I conclude the whole subject. requires no reference to Washington, where you have more important matters requiring attention, but the Commodore having referred it to the Secretary of the Navy, I may require instructions from your Department." Parker was the butt of a number of attacks by consular officers and in this instance was addressed by Sturgis in very plain language:

"Had Commander Abbot had more experience in these waters and informed himself more fully .I should have sent a rejoinder to his final note, endeavoring to prove to him that the lorcha in question had committed no violation of that treaty. ,

¹See note 2, following

but I conceive that further correspondence on the subject would have been useless, and I address myself to you in the form of protest against what appears a signal injustice at a period when with the full knowledge of yourself as well as the Comd'r Naval officer the river is covered with boats of all classes committing the same act under the same flag without permission of any kind, and without the least interference

" I may state that neither yourself or Comd'r Abbot had taken any measures to insure safe transit from Canton to Whampoa, although repeated piracies had been committed, and then had no other recourse than to grant the flag to Chinese boats of all classes conveying American property in accordance with the previous usage at Shanghai, at which port Capt Walker of the U.S.S. Saratoga had been obliged to support these flags by the most forcible measures

" I assert most distinctly that both yourself and Comd'r Abbot have been for a long time aware that the American steamer Spark has made repeated trips to the interior as in the instance of the Rapid, and that you had every reason to suppose the steamer was engaged in a trade with people there connected with the bands now clearly proved to have been pirates (but to whom you have extended the honorable term of 'Rebels') " 2

This case illustrates the modification of consular action by a variety of policies, resting in turn upon the authority of different branches of government in Washington. Discussion of consular functions has exhibited more generally some of the relations of consuls with President, Congress, executive departments, and subordinate officials or agencies.³ The following remarks on imperfect functioning indicate the tax placed on consuls, and the prevailing urgency of feeling.

Appointment of consuls and definition of limits of consulates were duties of the President Yet of the Chief Exec-

utives in office during this period only one, Buchanan, had had any diplomatic experience, and the system of political appointment, with consequent uncertainty of tenure, remained It was fortunate that Presidents meddled only infrequently with Far Eastern consular affairs ⁴

The decisive part played by Congress needs little additional comment That body held the purse strings, created incomplete legislation, passed on special appeals of consuls, and heard numerous memorials relating to matters with which consuls were particularly concerned These officers performed their important judicial functions under the preoccupied eye of Congress, to which judicial accounts and reports were sent Either house might request specified papers and letters of consuls for particular consideration Consuls were always subject to investigation as a result of charges made against them

A tendency among consuls to use force in local emergencies in the Orient was hampered by the position of Congress with reference to war Most consuls were quickly converted to a belief in at least a show of force, especially in irregular situations such as those created by banditry and piracy Yet any act tending toward war was within the purview of Congress, then largely agricultural in its sympathies According to Commodore Perry this body contained many "very odd people" In an emergency, it was small comfort to any officer, aware of vigorous British action, to hear from Washington that "the expediency of seeking redress by other means than negotiation, and of protecting our merchants in their business, without regard to the treaty will be the proper subject for consideration by both Congress and the President."⁵

Of the executive departments, the

² Canton CL, Apr 10, 1855 Cf 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 582-583, Asia, Chang-lin, The Status of Shanghai (Shanghai, 1929), 15, 11 China DD, Jan 12 and Mar 14, 1855, Com Rels, 1860, 417

³ Cf. 34-1, H Jol, Pt I, 702, NIS Let, Mar 8, 1860 (Eliot)

⁴ With insufficient information President Fillmore and President Pierce interfered and barely avoided doing injustice to Bush at Hongkong and to Townsend Harris (1 Hongkong CL, Sept 4, 1851, 2 Hongkong CL, Jan 23, 1852, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 402-404, 2 Japan Des, Jly, 31, 1858 Cf Fish, Amer Diplomacy, 2, 245, and Robert L Duffus, "Fremont and Jessie", in The American Mercury, VI, No 23, Nov , 1925, 289-297)

⁵ Cf., in order, Canton CL, Mar 8 and 8, 1854, and Feb 13, 1855, Boston Board of Trade, Third Annual Report (1857), 3, The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, 280, Shanghai CL, Nov 7, 1854

three most intimately concerned with consular problems were the Treasury Department, the Department of State, and the Navy Department, the second being a clearing house for most of the business. Other branches sometimes aided in the settling of consular difficulties or disposed of routine matters. Bound by Congressional legislation, the Treasury Department ordinarily adhered to exact accounting practice, and was unable to make allowance for the financial vicissitudes of consular officers. While this department figures in frequent difficulties over the adjustment of accounts, and originated some of the consular circulars, it may be excluded from further consideration as a primary source of difficulties.

Complaints against the tardiness or absence of special instructions from the Department of State reveal a cause of irritation among consular officers comparable with their financial distress. This factor remained even after the printing of extensive consular regulations. Even the best consuls could not always provide sufficiently accurate or abundant information to permit a quick and clear-cut decision by the Department on a local Far Eastern problem. Lack of promptness or of definiteness of instructions was caused in some instances by the fact that problems common to several consulates called for general rather than specific consideration. In other cases the Department found itself helpless in the face of the provisions or inadequacy of existing law. Certain problems arose unexpectedly, without precedent, or suddenly assumed a new form, such as a question relating to discharged seamen soon after the California gold rush began. This much may be said in extenuation of the Department's procedure. Its hesitation, nevertheless, sometimes took on the character of dilatoriness, pungently described in a letter from Canton to the Secretary of State:

"I have seen copy of a despatch from the State Department dated 18th January 1855 to the Consulate at Canton, referring to a despatch of Nov 7, 1854, to the Consulate at Shanghai as indicating 'the views the Department entertains in respect to the propriety of U S Consuls acting as Collectors of the revenue for the Chinese Authorities.'

"This despatch professes to reply to one I addressed the Department immediately after the fall of Shanghai in September 1853 asking instructions

in case the then existing recognized Chinese Custom House should be deprived by progress of the rebellion, of power to act

"In putting this question I expected an early definite and concise reply, and have been disappointed in each and all of these particulars

"After a careful examination of the despatch alluded to, I am unable to perceive the views of the Department. In fact I am led by the whole tenor and bearing of the despatch to believe that at its date the Department held no independent views at all upon the subject.

"It gives the decision of the British Government regarding the provisional rules of September 1853 for clearance of ships, and closes by stating in express terms that the Department 'withholds any instructions in respect to the course to be adopted in future as to the payment of duties by American Merchants till the state of affairs is more clearly defined'. If this means till the British Government has decided for that of the United States such concession is disgraceful to the Government of the United States.

"Admitting there may be some propriety in a concerted action I must inform the Honorable Secretary that the undecided course pursued has led to much embarrassment with American Merchants in China.

"I have written this letter hoping to induce the Honorable Secretary in his future correspondence with Consuls in China, to answer more promptly and explicitly the questions addressed him affecting American interests here, and I have to inform the Honorable Secretary that there yet remains [sic] important despatches of mine unanswered by him."⁶

⁴ Canton CL, May 15, 1855, Spooner (late vice consul) to Marcy, see also the letter of Apr 27, 1854.

A current assertion that before the treaty of 1844 Americans in Canton were entirely without instructions from their government is incorrect. Direct inquiry of the Department of State has yielded a list of fifty-one instructions, 1817-1844, distributed through six volumes. On Departmental information and policy see also Dennett, Amer. in East Asia, 213-214, 705, and Fish, Amer. Dip., 281-283.

Although consuls occasionally heard in despatches from the Department that their decisions or actions had been approved, and in rare instances received praise, its attention was largely confined to matters of business. Psychologically, official commendation could have compensated consuls somewhat for their hardships and anxieties. At Shanghai, for example, Consul Griswold was retired from office without a word of commendation of his useful and arduous service.⁷

The policies of American commissioners and ministers to China and to Japan brought them into frequent conflict with consuls and created a set of local problems which are subsequently given separate treatment. These policies also formed part of the policy of the Department of State, and as such, call for a preliminary word at this point.

With the exception of Peter Parker and Townsend Harris, the diplomatic officers regularly appointed were sent out by the Department without any direct experience in Asiatic affairs. Consuls were expected to secure exequaturs through them and to defer to them in policy, in cases of emergency. The relationship also called for information on developments at consular cities and for stated reports or answers to specific queries. The Legation shared with the Department of State the important right to give or withhold consent to approval of appointment of agents. Diplomatic officers addressed naval commanders in nearby waters in support of consular demands for protection of American interests, as the Secretary of State addressed the Secretary of the Navy. The position of the Legation was more difficult than that of the Department of State in some respects, since the former was on the scene of action and sensed the reality and urgency of problems. Relations with consuls were frequently agreeable, but diplomatic representatives did not escape criticism, particularly in cases in which differences of

temperament, opinion, or outlook existed. Matters of policy affected members of the two branches of the foreign service somewhat differently, and even the more acrimonious disputes between individuals present something besides a history of personal quarrels.⁸

The same is true of relations between consuls and naval officers in the Orient, back of whom stood the authority and policies of the Navy Department in Washington. The present section concludes with the part played by this other home base. Diplomatic and consular representatives throughout the period were almost of one voice in importuning the Department of State to induce the Navy Department to make better and more generous disposal of its forces in the Far East. Consular regulations (1856) directed consular officers to refrain from requesting the presence of national vessels at their ports, except through the Department of State, unless emergencies arose. In such cases the naval officer in charge was to be given a statement of the facts. He would then "act upon his own responsibility, subject to the general or special orders he may have received from the Navy Department."⁹

This department found it difficult to scatter a limited number of vessels to cover the widespread points of danger in years when national opinion was generally insensitive to the need felt at those places. Comparative statistics indicate that at the beginning of the period the entire naval force of the United States was smaller than that of any other country in relation to the amount of the national commerce. The frequency and occasional savagery of consular attacks on naval policy indicate that theoretical traditions, practices of navigation, and red tape played an irritating part. Nevertheless, consuls sometimes failed to understand the reasons for apparent neglect of them and their fellow citizens, and certain naval commanders undoubtedly showed an abundant and

⁷ Shanghai CL, Oct 24, 1853; cf 29-2, H Doc 12, 2

⁸ On these points note Hongkong CI, Feb 2 and Apr 7, 1857; 1 China DI, Feb 20, 1860, Murphy's letter of Apr 5, 1854 to McLane, in 2 Shanghai CL, Cordier, Les Origines de deux Etablissements Francais, etc., 18-14, 18, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XLII (1911), 99-100, 4 China DD, Jan 27, 1848

⁹ Con Regs, 1856, 72

energetic sympathy The present narrative attempts to approximate fairness as closely as possible, but the same story written from a strictly naval angle would probably show some variation¹⁰

Near the beginning of the period the Navy was handicapped by the scarcity of seamen, which prevented immediate despatch of even a frigate to the "China station", to say nothing of a steamer. Four years later the steamer was still lacking. Applications for naval attention were followed in a number of cases by letters from the Department of State to the Navy Department

Naval officers sometimes seemed to be burdened by misapprehensions. Lamenting that but two naval visits had been made to Shanghai during his years of service, Consul Griswold wrote (1851) that one vessel had made a "hurried & undignified" departure, without receiving the visits tendered by the Chinese authorities, to the general damage of the American reputation. The impression was received that she hastened "in fear to seek the protection of the harbour or guns of Macao". Griswold resented the apparent idea of naval commanders that the only American trade merititing protection was at Canton

"They are no doubt lead [sic] to this easy belief in a measure by the reported difficulties of Navigating the Coast This Coast is navigable with

Comparative safety by our Merchant Ships it is supposed with officers of not greater knowledge or Courage"¹¹

In his Memoir, Potter, the pilot, relates that he found an American man-of-war "outside the open sea" off Shanghai. No person on board had ever been to Shanghai. He brought the ship about half the way up the river to anchor for the night

"I was eating supper with the officers in the ward room One ventured to ask me what countryman I was, and when I told him that I was a Yankee from New England they all expressed their great surprise

They thought that they had got beyond the reach of the most enterprising Americans"

Besides protecting American interests against injury at the hands of foreigners, national vessels were needed to aid consuls in maintaining order on American ships, at least in Chinese ports, where the assistance of satisfactory local police was not available. Commissioners and ministers properly regarded them as a suitable means of conveyance in their voyages from port to port. Long-range communications between the Legation and consuls bred misunderstanding. Yet there was delay in providing such conveyance, particularly as the requirements of coastwise navigation called for the acquisition of a steamer of light draught.¹²

¹⁰For naval matters note Hunt's Merch Mag, Vol 15, (Jly -Dec , 1846), 151; 31-1, S Ex Doc 1 (Report, Sec of the Navy), 457; Hasse, Foreign Affairs, I, 341-345 (description of the East India Squadron), 32-2, S Ex Doc. 1, III, 15-16 (activities of the Squadron); Proc of the U S Naval Inst, XXXVI (Paullin), Williams, The Life and Letters, 281

See also 1 China DI, May 28, 1847, 6 China DD, Jan 28, 1851, Amoy CI (Index, Vol 41), Apr 24, 1851, 2 Shanghai CL, Apr 10, 1854, etc, 4 China DD, No 47, encl, Biddle to Parker, East India Squadron Commodore Biddle Cruise from August 1st 1845 to May 3d 1847 Supplemental Navy Department, Dennett, Amer. in East. Asia, 197, Canton CI, Mar 19, 1852, 6 China DD, Jan 27, 1852, Foochow CI, Jan 31, 1857, 1 China DI, May 30, 1857, Feb 5, 1858, and Feb 20 and 27, 1860, 18 China DD, Dec 10, 1859 (personal), 19 China DD, Feb 13 and Apr 24, 1860, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 383, 400-401; 4 Shanghai CL, Sept 5, 1858, Com Reis, I, 555-556, and III, 394, 34-1, H. Ex Doc 115 (Sloop of War "John Adams" at Feejee Islands), Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, 299.

¹¹4 Shanghai CL, Dec 1, 1851

¹²On this interdepartmental matter see 33-1, H Ex Doc 125, 98-99, 1 China DI, June 22, 1854; 34-1, S Ex Doc 1 (Report, Sec. of the Navy), 7, 13, 22, Spalding, Japan and Around the World, 247, 33-2, S Ex Doc. 34, Perry, Narr, Vol 1, 148, 302-303, 1 China DI, Nov. 9, 1855, Papers of William L Mercy, McLane to Mercy, Mar 20, 1854, in Vol 49 (Div of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), 2 Shanghai CL, Apr 10, 1854 Foreign aid was necessary to relieve Americans in danger. Indeed, in 1854, it was only good fortune, rather than Perry's superior foresight, that averted genuine catastrophe at Shanghai during this officer's absence in Japan, even so, there was loss of life

Attacking the independent assertion of departmental prerogatives by naval commanders, Humphrey Marshall exclaimed, "I will not disguise my mortification, that I am without the means to do anything, I cannot command a vessel of war to take me from one point to another without submitting my views and purposes in going to the supervision of the commander."¹³ The question long remained. With this state of affairs in China should be linked Townsend Harris' lack of that national aid and comfort for which the absence of naval contacts was largely responsible. Although Harris had been informed at the Department of State in September, 1855 that a man-of-war would visit Shimoda every three months, he was left without this support. Asserting to Harris that he had not received orders to revisit Japan, Commodore Armstrong promised that a ship would be sent there in March, 1857, but even this promise was not kept.¹⁴

Standing midway between consuls and naval officers, diplomatic representatives were in a position to make allowance for the extreme views of either group. Their tendency, therefore, to take sides with consuls strengthens the case of these anxious and harassed functionaries. If the entreaties of diplomats were ineffectual, it is not surprising that ordinary consuls and their substitutes failed to command the armed backing required for satisfactory discharge of their obligation to protect American interests. That they should make extreme or uncomplimentary inferences and that these should reach the Secretary of the Navy was to be expected. It was suggested, for example, that naval vessels visited one port only when money was needed, and that in their neglect of important commercial interests they hovered about

Hongkong "under British guns and Laws, and for the avowed object of protecting three hundred dollars worth of U S Naval stores."¹⁵

Besides injury to property, loss of American lives was an added risk when naval support was insufficient. Early in 1859 the consular officer at Foochow found the local authorities feeble in the apprehension of the murderers of W C Knapp, an American, and the rescue of John Wood, a kidnap victim. He applied to the American Legation for help from the national forces, which had not visited the port for over eighteen months, and to the British consul for similar aid from His Majesty's forces. The latter rescued Wood.¹⁶

Difficulties of consuls in their relations with different legislative and executive branches of government in Washington showed an aggregate inability on the part of officials at home to visualize clearly the actual situation of consuls and other Americans in the Far East and to supply proper backing. The task was too great to be performed with the equipment available. Consular trials were among the growing pains of a new economic and political system. Attention to those departments which had representatives in the Orient has included special references to two groups of these—naval officers and diplomatic agents. These references are now extended, with only secondary attention to the departments in Washington. The inquiry continues with naval matters and consular (and occasionally diplomatic) dealings with various naval officers, and then turns to relations between consuls and diplomatic officers. In spite of many personal disagreements, consuls and their naval and diplomatic colleagues shared some satisfactory experiences. The abundance of troubles

¹³ 23-1, H Ex Doc 123, 98-99.

¹⁴ Ocenza, The Complete Journal, 577n.

¹⁵ See Shanghai CI, June 11, 1856, and 3 Shanghai CL, May, and Dec 31, 1856.

¹⁶ Marked hostility appeared in the difference between Captain Ringgold, in charge of a North Pacific surveying expedition, and Consul Keenan at Hongkong, who had either a genius for disputes or a special affliction by adverse circumstances. For Ringgold's serious problems and for related information, see 2 Hongkong CL, Sept 9, 1854, Hongkong CI, Nov 27 and Dec 16, 1854, Callahan, Amer Rels in the Pacific and the Far East, 58-59; Hasse, For Affs, I, 340, 33-1, H Ex Doc 123, 179-180, Proc of the U S Naval Inst, XXXVII, 415-414, 416, 32-1, S Ex Doc 38, 80-81, 90-91, 95, 36-2, S Ex Doc 1, III, 50-51 (useful scientific accomplishments of Ringgold and the Navy).

¹⁶ 2 Foochow CL, Jan 5, 1859.

requiring treatment in correspondence, however, left most consuls little time for special narration of their happier moments

Sect b--United States Naval Officers

Writes Townsend Harris, "Our men-of-war never hurry." This is an inaccurate statement by a careful and honest man, but it indicates a tendency and epitomizes the feeling of distraught consuls who had every reason to desire haste. Moreover, the occasional exercise by naval officers of diplomatic and consular functions was calculated to promote independence and a sense of equal authority on their part. These two groups of Americans, instead of being drawn together in genuinely cooperative action at points remote from their country, seem often to have fallen into a state of mind more characteristic of the relations between unfriendly foreigners. "An officer of this ship [the Mississippi] said to me 'that it had become so common, that it was a novelty not to have difficulty if the ship stops more than five or ten days!'"¹⁷ Provisions in the consular regulations regarding official intercourse between consular and naval officers were designed to "promote harmony and concert of action".¹⁸ The abnormal state of mind of men on shipboard for long periods, already suggested, and the annoying aspects of consular living doubtless offer a partial explanation of this psychological problem.

In Japan, complaints against naval officers were severe. Some of them speculated in currency in what was regarded as a flagrant manner, and others became involved in bitter personal controversy. The case of Captain Nicholson and other officers of the Mississippi at Hakodate possessed an unpleasant background. Officers of the Perry expedition had offended Japanese at that port by conduct "not at all calculated", in the words of Spalding, "to make 'our name great among the hea-

then!" Into this setting came the unfortunate E. E. Rice as Commercial Agent, in 1857. In 1859 the steam-frigate Mississippi--"the unhappy Mississippi"--arrived. Relations were pleasant at first, but Rice's failure to compel one of his employees to do Nicholson's bidding created a rift. He also refused to agree to the Japanese desire to locate Americans and other foreigners nearly two miles out of the town, as Captain Nicholson had urged. At the conclusion of the difficulty, however, Americans were free to place their buildings where they chose. Reference has been made to the language difficulty which created misunderstanding over Rice's military title. Naval officers also told the Japanese that he had no right to trade, but Harris verified this right and thereafter the local Japanese visited him regularly. In fact, he observed, they did no business under the new treaty without first consulting him--"which is of no small trouble to me."

For making other charges against him, "not to be written", Rice threatened to horse-whip the offending officer who had uttered them, once he discovered his identity. To the Department of State he defended himself with assertions of his careful conduct, insisting with much truth that his actions could easily be checked, since "nothing is done here but every one knows in twenty-four hours". Part of his trouble arose in connection with sale of liquor to sailors of the Mississippi and arrangement of their visits to "tea-houses". With all his problems, Rice was continued in office and was made a consul in 1865. In an extremely difficult situation at Hakodate, he doubtless contributed his share of the reasons for disputes, but that he was the complete rascal pictured by some of his critics is unlikely. Truth joins with charity in ascribing to sheer circumstance a measure of responsibility for much of the unpleasantness.¹⁹

Other naval men, such as Aulick and

¹⁷ 1 Rakodate CL, Aug 1, 1859. See Dennett, Amers in East Asia, 79, 83, and Williams, The Life and Letters, 223-224.

¹⁸ For formalities at the time of a ship's visit see Henshaw, Manual, 95-97, and the later regulations. The different volumes of naval regulations have an interesting history. See, for example, 27-3, H. Doc 148, and 35-2, S. Ex. Doc 1, 24-424.

¹⁹ Rice's explanation of his part in a difficulty relating to pilotage charges seems adequate.

A picture of the Mississippi faces page 81 of the first volume of Perry's Narrative. On problems at

Perry, were the objects of resentful criticism.²⁰ In contrast, Commodore Joel Abbot won marked admiration. The relationship between him and Consul Murphy reflected credit on both men. Impressed by existing abuses, Murphy recommended the

adoption by more naval officers of Abbot's attitude that national vessels were for national purposes rather than personal convenience. This experienced officer, who had been a valuable member of the Perry expedition, was equally successful.

Hakodate see Spalding, Japan and Around the World, 301, Hodgson (British consular officer), A Residence, 307n, 1 Hakodate CL, passim, 2 Japan Des., June 6, 1859, Vol. 9 of the Index to despatches from consuls, 1 Japan Inst., Feb 17, 1859, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 505, and 1 Ningpo CL, Oct 11, 1859.

²⁰Paullin, Dip Negots, 248, 33-1, H Ex Doc 123, 122; Wood, Fankwei, 309, Taylor, A Visit, 288, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 387-388, 2 Japan Des., July 31, 1858 and Jan 8, 1859, and 3 Japan Des., Nov 22, 1860 (Harris' difficulty with the Tattnalls)

There is a suggestion of dramatic contrast in the attitude exhibited toward naval men (and toward the British) by Perry's son, consul at Canton, as revealed in discussions relating to hostilities against Canton in December, 1856. The British admiral hoped to have the cooperation of the American squadron in levelling the remaining walls of Canton, a course which some Americans approved. As one correspondent wrote, however, "the Commodore has nothing to do with the 'Arrow embroilie', making war or forming alliances! Every American should feel this [avoiding embarrassment to the United States], however much they may wish for success to the British fleet."

"Consul Perry passed up in the Lily on the night of the 16th from Hong Kong (accompanied by Mr Parks & some Americans) & was informed in a private interview with the Commodore, by the latter personage, that 'there being no more Americans at Canton & the factories burnt down he had ordered the Levant to drop down to this anchorage' [] Mr Perry replied 'he should hoist his flag there again, if he had to do it with his own hands and go on board an English man-of-war to live' [] In reply to a question from Mr Spooner, I stated that the Commodore would not keep a vessel at Canton any longer, since the burning of the Factories—which were a British fortress at the time—and did not affect us directly—that the Commodore would enter into no alliances, but keep himself independent until he should hear from Washington' [] Having punished the affront offered us there he stops for the present[]

"Yesterday Mr Perry passed down for an interview with Dr Parker, visited the Commodore in passing, and bursquely [sic] remarked 'Mr Parks wants to know what your position is now' (after the burning of the Factories) [] The Commodore shortly replied 'It is none of his business—I have nothing to do with him' [] Mr Perry then said something about himself Dr Parker & the Commodore all three corresponding with Yeh without knowing anything of each other's correspondence[.] The old man answered that his is a distinct department from theirs & had nothing to do with them[.] The Consul thought they had 'for the honor of the flag' [] But there may be a difference of opinion, as to what is the honor of the flag, & I doubt not it is safe where the nation has placed it, in the hands of the Navy—and not in the hands of some foreign community []" (A H Foote Papers, H B Bell to Foote, Whampoa, December 18, 1856.)

Regarding the particular incident in question, which had produced "the first display of American force in China", reference may be made to Marcy's somewhat equivocal despatch No. 9 (February 2, 1857) to Peter Parker (citing the "unexceptionable" conduct of the Chinese Governor-General toward Americans during his difficulties with the British, noting the possible wisdom of having complied with his suggestion that Americans withdraw, and suggesting the provocativeness and indiscretion of sending an American naval force near the Forts), and to a letter from Foote to Senator Clayton relating Consul Perry's request to Foote (October 22, 1856, but given by Wood as October 21) for an American force to protect Americans in case of trouble following British negotiations concerning insults to the British flag. (A H. Foote Papers.) Defending his course against criticism, Foote wrote that if ever prompt use of force was justified, unprovoked firing on the American flag thrice justified it, "American merchants here, and missionaries too, unanimously regard our course as having been necessary." For opinions of Foote, including commendation by leading local Americans, see Wood, Fankwei, 421-426; note also 415-417 on "outrages" by Chinese, as well as Foote's letter of Nov 4, 1856 to Commodore Armstrong and the copy of Armstrong's despatch No. 37 to the Secretary of the Navy, in the Foote Papers. This military and diplomatic incident (mentioned by Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia, 282) merits longer treatment that can be given it here.

in making himself agreeable to the consul at Manila His death at Hongkong late in 1855 was a distinct loss to the nation.²¹

Since consuls were prone to discount the special or technical excuses offered by naval officers, it is only just to glance at the evidence of the despatches sent by those officers to the Navy Department. Immediate handicaps were sometimes real. In October, 1848 Commodore Geisinger wrote to Secretary Mason that the preceding two months on the China coast had witnessed several most violent and damaging hurricanes and typhoons. In the course of a few days numerous vessels between Hongkong and the North were dismasted. One naval vessel at Macao did rescue work among the twelve merchant ships there, of which four were dismasted, one foundered, and two went ashore, while, farther away, another was a complete wreck. An English ship in distress was protected against thousands of intending robbers,--for which service the American officer asked, and received, salvage for himself and his crew.

In view of the difficulties of navigation on the coast of China during the winter, Commodore Geisinger preferred to cruise about in the Philippine Islands, "to manifest the presence of the Squadron and to afford relief and protection to our Commerce." Later in the winter, however, this decision was modified to permit the

sending of one vessel to the more northerly open ports of China and another to Nagasaki.²²

Weather conditions and the state of the ships were hardly more important than the health of crews. The climate about Canton was particularly damaging. Change of scene and renewed activity improved the physical condition and attitude of seamen, and returning health had a beneficial effect on the poor morale of a squadron which was "all out of tune."²³

A group of Americans much in touch with consuls--the merchants--often shared their distrust of naval officers. While ready to express appreciation of any protection given them, or even in some cases to indulge in flattery, this body of men made vigorous representations against the policies of naval men, both directly and through diplomatic or consular authorities.²⁴ The wide range and diversity of their complaints suggests that the contest was not simply between merchants and naval commanders, but also between various groups of Americans in different ports for the limited amount of naval protection available. Americans at one place sometimes underestimated the concern felt by their countrymen at points hundreds of miles away, especially during years of rising competition between ports. To alter a familiar proverb, isolation bred contempt.

Members of the navy sometimes

Such cases as that involving Consul Perry suggest interesting considerations regarding the influence of naval attitudes on the oft-discussed question of the cooperative or the non-cooperative policy of the American government in relation to other foreign governments in the Orient, the effect of attention to specific matters (as distinguished from general policy), affronts, and "incidents", the attitude toward foreign nations induced by an isolating and competitive concern for protection of the interests of a rising nation, and the extent to which departmental suspicions and the presence of subjects of various foreign nations in Oriental ports led Navy men to regard consuls merely as troublesome members of essentially non-American communities.

²¹ 11 China DD, Sept 4, 1855, Shanghai CI, Sept. 5, 1855, 2 Shanghai CL, June 25, 1855, 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 169, 33-2, S Ex Doc 34, 70-71, Perry, Narr, Vol 2, 144, 3 Shanghai CI, Jly 30, 1855

²² East India Squadron, Com Geisinger--February 12th 1848 to June 19th 1850, Oct 25 and Dec 27, 1848, and Jan 27, 1849 (Navy Dep.), Perry, Narrative, Vol 2, 191-197, Wood, Fankwei, 373, 465. According to Sewall, the Saratoga (1851) "strode over to Manila and spent a lazy month amid its torrid luxuries" (The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk, 33). In 1860 Flag Officer Struble found Spanish protection adequate (36-2, S Ex Doc 1, III, 16 Cf Perry, op. cit., Vol 1, 501)

²³ G H Preble, Letters from Friends 1855-1862 (mss in Mass Hist Soc), Feb 6, 1855. The colorful and instructive Preble correspondence supplies much information on naval people and trade affairs in China. An expert's telling criticism of health conditions is given in Wood's Fankwei, 264, 465. Cf. 32-1, S Ex Doc 38, 90

²⁴ It was charged, for example, that American interests were left to British protection. See Paullin, Dip Negots, 187-185, East India Squadron Com F A Parker Feb 27, 1845 to Sept 25, 1845 (Navy

derided merchants One officer suggested that these "able business men" would find the best security for their local trading vessels in substituting European for Chinese crews, "though at some greater expense," and in "a more careful observance of that ordinary prudence, an entire neglect of which" had presumably brought on a recent disaster.²⁵ Another naval view of the Canton merchants is found in Spalding's Japan and Around the World (pp 177-178)

" But if one thinks of the un-American manner, and the cockneyism, which marks nearly all of the United States merchants near the walls of Canton, perhaps the protection, which an English flag would give, is more to their taste Should you be a merchant-man, and indebted to their brokerage for the purchase of tea and silk, or the sale of opium, their spacious-chambers are soon put at your disposal, but if unfortunately an officer from some national vessel, your way to the single China-hotel, with its pent-up rooms, infuriate mosquitoes, and pleasant fried-rat odors, will not be impeded by them "

This passage suggests an attitude of merchants in keeping with the evidence of other, independent sources The Navy was

often regarded as an agency for the extension of commerce In a day of widening opportunity the necessity of foreign trade was generally taken for granted It is not surprising, therefore, that merchants of substance should magnify their own importance and loftily assume the readiness of naval officers to act at their direction

Divergence of views on policy did not entirely prevent the growth of some warm personal friendships between particular naval officers and merchants and consuls It seems probable that these friendships more frequently included naval officers of intermediate and lower station than those of the highest rank Friendship was especially desirable Yet petty quarrels and occupational prejudices as well as larger issues bred distrust A stronger disposition to regard protection of American interests from a national point of view was needed to offset the ill-effects of inadequate knowledge, a faulty departmental cooperation, and Congressional preoccupation in Washington It is perhaps too much to expect that flesh-and-blood men of the period should have acted generally with an appreciation of the meaning of their joint activities which it has taken several decades to interpret²⁶

Dep), Mar 7, 1845, and Perry, Narr, Vol 2, 144-145 For a British request for American aid at Hongkong see Wood, Fankwei, 493-494, 499

Criticisms of the comparative inattentiveness of the Navy to the work of surveying the China Coast were probably justified, but they provide an unfair impression of the total scientific contribution of this service in Asiatic and Pacific regions Cf 52-2, S Ex Doc 1, 341-342, Perry, Narr, Vol 1, 501, 3 Shanghai CL, Dec 7, 1855, The North-China Herald, Nov 3, 1855, Mis Letters, Andros to Cass, and Paullin's remarks in Proc of the U S Naval Inst, XXXVII, 407ff

²⁵14 China DD, Mar 28, 1857, with encls Op Spalding's description of the Whampoa region (Japan and Around the World, 178) with the missionary contradiction suggested by Ibsen's Peer Gynt Note also Wood, op cit, 400-401, and 54-5, S Ex Doc 1, II (Report, Secretary of the Navy)

²⁶The subject may be examined further in Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, I, 42, 156, Taylor, A Visit, 429, 35-2, S Ex Doc 1, 38, 65, 84-4, H Ex Doc 115, Com Rels, 1861, 380, Paullin, Dir Negots, 7-9, 211-213, and remarks in Proc of the U S Naval Inst, XXXVII, 392, Wriston, Exec Agents in Amer For Rels, 351-361, 366, 659-660, 4 Shanghai CL, Dec 27, 1856

An excellent idea of occurrences on naval vessels may be gained from materials in the following items

(A) Abbreviated and edited selections from the Journal of L A Beardslee U S N (Essex Institute), of the U S S Plymouth (portions of 1852 and 1855), a sloop-of-war under Commander John Kelly at the time of the Perry expedition

- 1852 April 23, in Macao Roads, 25, assisted American bark Ohio aground in inner harbor,
- May 8, Comm Aulick visited ship, 11, sailed to Hongkong, "Colonel B Hungarian exile--passenger from Macao, left the ship", more men sick after shore leave at Hongkong [seldom were fewer than ten men sick],
- June 5, boat sent to assistance of American ship Far West, in distress, crew having refused to do duty, 6, sent over a guard, 14, sailed from Hongkong, 18, anchored, Amoy

Sect c--American Diplomatic Representatives

Consuls and ministers could not have achieved entire unity and consistency of policy even if there had been no personal differences or animosities. Most of the consuls readily identified themselves with their districts and looked on their diplomatic colleagues as outsiders. William B. Reed found that his British colleague, Bowring, was also concerned about the general relation of consuls to diplo-

matic representatives of the treaty powers in China. Reed was nettled to discover that consular reports to him were not made with sufficient promptness, frequency, and care, with the result that he heard news indirectly through officials of other nations, often in disparaging terms. The Department's instructions gave the diplomatic agent reason to feel that his position was one of superintendence over consuls in non-judicial matters. Even in judicial business he was in some degree a

harbor, Consul Bradley visited ship, salute of nine guns for him, 23, received on board a coast pilot and got under way,

July 6, stood up the Yang-tse-kiang, 7, entered Woosung river, twenty-one sick, 10, discharged Chinese pilot brought from Amoy, 18, anchored off Shanghai, Consul Cunningham visited ship, salute of nine guns on leaving, 15, the 3d Lieut left ship with 6 marines, the ship's corporal, and the U. S. Marshal upon special duty, 16, Lieut Guest returned from American bark Huntington with 6 prisoners arrested on a charge of murder, confined them in double irons, 18, delivered to Marshal of U. S. Consular Court the 6 prisoners and sent an officer and 4 men to assist the Huntington, 20, sent boatswain with 10 men to the assistance of the American ship Eclipse,

Aug 10, off Lucon-Kin-tang Island, 14, at sea, cruising,

Sept 1, in Hongkong harbor, 15, boarded American ship Sea Serpent from San Francisco via Sandwich Islands, 18, returned "a quantity of bread--which on inspection proved to be mixed with old, and weevily bread" [There is frequent mention of provisioning in the ports, a small form of commerce in itself], at harbor of Cumsingmoon,

Oct 1, confined 7 in irons for breaking liberty [Days on shipboard were long, men were put in the stocks for fighting, also], sent after a deserter too, 19, under way, 21, in Hongkong harbor, worked on ship, sails, etc ,

Nov 16, under way, 17, in Macao Roads,

Dec. 5, under way, 22, in Manila Bay, 28, Susquehanna arrived at Manila [In this journal and in the logs and journals kept on merchant ships, notes on arrivals of American vessels at Manila are numerous]

1853 Jan 12, still at Manila, 21, at sea, 26, in Hongkong harbor, 28, in Macao Roads, 30, in Hongkong harbor;

Feb 17, in Blenheim Reach,

Mar 2-3, in Canton River, 4, off Tiger Island, and various short shifts of position made, 7, in Hongkong harbor, 20, the Susquehanna left for Macao and Shanghai,

Ap 9, weighed anchor, 26, anchored by Saddle Islands, 28, off Gutzlaff Island, 30, at Woosung, May 1, anchored off American Consulate, Susquehanna arrived,

June 2, under way, and to sea, 15, standing along West coast of Great Loo-Choo for harbor of Napa Kiang, sent up 2 rockets as signal to ships in Napa Roads, Mississippi and Supply at anchor, anchored in Napa Roads, secured supplies, 24, exchanged numbers with Susquehanna and Saratoga, 25, American bark Caprice arrived and anchored (left for Shanghai July 1), 29, American schooner Brenda arrived and anchored,

July 2, left Napa Roads with the squadron, 9, in Yedo Bay, "at 3 40 a shell was fired from a battery on shore & exploded near the Susquehanna, 2 others were fired exploding in the air", 11, a cutter sent on surveying duty, 14, the "Susquehanna got under way, with a detachment of boats from Saratoga and this Ship, and stood in for the bay to Ouragawa, for the purpose of holding a conference, with the Authorities sent by the Emp'r of Japan", 16, Saratoga backed into us and carried away our flying jib boom, 18, at sea, 24, at sea, record ends

(B) Excerpts from the log of the Mississippi (May 17-20, 1853), in the archives of the Navy Department

superior Difficulties between the Legation and consuls appeared chiefly in China In Japan, Walsh and Rice seem to have got on well with Harris ²⁷

In China, trouble would almost certainly have been less had the commissioners or ministers remained for longer periods of service, and had the subordinate officers in whose hands the Legation sometimes was unavoidably left all possessed the gracious intelligence of S Wells Williams the most conspicuous subordinate, Peter Parker, long secretary of the Legation, succeeded in winning much enmity from consuls who might readily have cooperated with a better officer No factor exerted a more baneful influence over the consular service in China than the bumptious personality of this man, whose name appears with unpleasant frequency in disputes with consuls ²⁸

Reasonableness on the part of Commissioner Davis disposed of an early difference between the Legation and Consul

Griswold at Shanghai in 1849 The consul granted permission to fly the American flag to an American citizen who had purchased a British-built ship with the idea of taking it to San Francisco. Davis disagreed with the motives influencing the transaction, which included a desire to evade British passenger acts, and failed to find any American law authorizing the transfer of the American flag to a foreign bottom Learning, however, from the experienced consul at Canton that passports had been given to take foreign vessels to the United States in cases of bona fide purchase by Americans, he consented to the sailing of the vessel in question, under stringent regulation, and with warning that on arrival she would be treated as an alien craft. After forbidding consular sanction of any sale or transfer made to evade the laws of a friendly nation, and maintaining the justice of his decision, he admitted that it might be considered too rigid by many of his "commercial

"From 4 to 8 P M (May 17) at 4 the Master of the American Ship 'Vancouver' of Boston 1150 days from New York" came on board and reported his Ship wrecked on the South Spit yesterday ..at 4 P M whilst in charge of a Chinese Pilot, Gutsloff Sp^EE distant 8 miles at the time Detailed Midshipman Mills with a party of Launchers armed with Pistols and Cutlasses and a Corporal's Guard to proceed to the Wreck as soon as Junks could be hired for their transportation Served two days rations of Spirits & Provisions for One Officer and Twenty Men Also got Launches field piece in readiness and filled nine rounds of Ammunition for same Received on board and placed under care of the Surgeon 'John Clarke Cannon' a sick Seaman belonging to the 'Vancouver' "

"Commences with light ESE breezes and clear pleasant weather (May 18) Got the Light 12 Pd. Howitzer into a Chines[e] Junk, together with the Spare Articles, Provisions &c At 3 50 the Junk left the Ship with a party of Sailors & Marines in charge of Midshipman Mills, to proceed to the Wreck From 4 to 8 A M At 7 15 the American Schooner Wanderer anchored alongside Sent 14 men in charge of Mr Burneice (Gunner) to assist the wreck of Ship Vancouver At 7.45 the Wanderer in tow of Tug Boat got underway and proceeded down the River (Woosung) "

"From Meridian to 4 P M (May 20)... The American Clipper Ship 'Windward' passed up the River in tow of a Steamer At 3 the American Schooner 'Wanderer' anchored alongside having on board all the party composing the Expedition in charge of Midshipman Mills accompanied by Mr Burneice (Gunner) which went down to assist the 'Vancouver'. Principally by their exertions all the Spars and Rigging and a quantity of the Cargo was saved Hoisted on board the Howitzer Expend all the Ammunition of the Howitzer and most of the Ball Cartridges in driving off the Chinese Pirates who were endeavoring to seize the Wreck The Wreck was finally abandoned, she having sunk in the quicksands entirely beneath the surface of the water "

(See also the East India Squadron Letter Book, Feb. 1859 to Dec 1859.)

²⁷15 China DD, Jan 25, 1858, enc1 9, Henshaw, Manual, 128, 1 China DI, Apr 15, 1845, and Jan 18, 1853; 6 China DD, Oct 27, 1851, Moore, Digest, V, 93; Nagasaki Transcripts, Nov 22, 1860, Com Rels, 1859, 282

²⁸Williams, The Life and Letters, 235; 17 China DD, Sept 3, 1858; Hinckley, Amer Com Jur, 56, 1 China DI, Ap 10, 1855, 3 Shanghai CL, Jly 30, 1855

countrymen"²⁹ The precedent created by his avoidance of an open embarrassment with the consul was too little observed by his successors.

Interpretation of laws and instructions offered a fruitful source of dispute. In the question of Parker's right to extend judicial authority to acting consuls or vice consuls, the provision of the act of 1848 regarding consular assent to ministerial regulations opened the door to disagreement. Conflicting laws and opinions, greed for authority, and consular independence produced an argument which finally ended in acquiescence on the part of dissenting consuls. Since consuls as well as diplomatic officers received instructions directly from the Department of State, a triangular relationship existed. For this fact insufficient allowance was made in Washington.

Personal feelings and background, political or professional prejudices, and differences of opinion on methods provided other complications. These factors repeatedly prevented consideration of public questions solely on their merits and added to the consular venom to which Parker in particular was exposed. In the subordinate positions of secretary and chargé, this officer was long confronted with the prestige of the commissioner's office, and temporarily exercised its functions for extended periods before the prize became his.³⁰ Parker may deserve personally a larger measure of generous forgiveness for his attitudes than the exigencies of diplomatic and consular problems allowed. Back of the title in which this official rejoiced for several years—"Hon and Rev Peter Parker, M D, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States ad interim"—stood the "old Parker" to whom one of Townsend Harris' correspondents referred when speaking of the general dissatisfaction created by the appointment of Parker as commissioner.³¹ People think Marcy had much better made

you Commissioner to China¹¹³²

The physician-diplomat's chief antagonist was Robert C. Murphy, consul at Shanghai, an able man at an important post, and an officer who was distinctly Parker's superior in the discharge of public business, as Parker seemed to realize.³³ Murphy's crisp, direct style contrasts favorably with his superior's pompous, involved manner. Lesser figures in the series of controversies were Robert S. Sturgis at Canton, James Keenan at Hong-kong, and T. Hart Hyatt at Amoy. The vexatious correspondence between Parker and Murphy and between them and the Department of State is voluminous and pertinent to important issues, a few of which follow as indications of the existing tension.

Divided responsibility figured in a difficulty over unpaid duties at Shanghai. Parker received a copy of Departmental instructions (of November 8, 1854) to Murphy directing that obligations previously given by merchants as security for unpaid duties at Shanghai be cancelled. These instructions he conveyed to Murphy, who declined to move until he received the original, an act which disturbed the interested merchants. Parker then "officialized" a copy to the consul. To the Department he slyly attempted to place Murphy in the position of flouting its authority. Not content with this, he unwisely provided another consular officer en route to Shanghai with a sealed letter for Murphy, with the understanding that it was to be delivered unless Murphy was found to have carried out the instructions.³⁴

A further case of divided authority involving Parker related to the right of the consul at Shanghai to nominate an American citizen to the Chinese officials for appointment as a member of the foreign customs inspectorate, established in 1854, when the vicissitudes of rebellion, combined with corruption, had produced an intolerable situation for merchants who paid

²⁹ See China DD, June 19, 1849, cf. 3 China DD, Nov 1, 1846.

³⁰ Commissioner, Aug 16, 1855—Aug 25, 1857. As given in Couling's Enc Sinica, 24, Parker's periods as chargé were Apr. 15, 1846—Oct. 10, 1846, June 28, 1847—Aug 24, 1848, May 25, 1850—Jan 31, 1853; and Dec 12, 1854—May 10, 1855.

³¹ See 32-1, H Mis Doc 67, 2, and Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 166n.

³² Cf. 10 China DD, Jan. 14, 1856, and 3 Shanghai CI, July 30, 1855.

³³ 11 China DD, Mar 13, 1855, with encls. Of Shanghai CI, Apr 5, 1857.

The duty question is discussed fully in Chapter 12.

duties Honest merchants found themselves losing ground in comparison with their fellows who bribed Chinese customs officers Accordingly, it was arranged that the consuls of Great Britain, France, and the United States should each propose to the taotai one of his countrymen to serve on a board of inspectors, the nominations to be subject to the approval of the local Chinese authority The plan was approved by Commissioner McLane and the ministers of England and France, and was carried into effect It left the Legation without power successfully to interfere with nominations ³⁴

During the winter of 1855-1856, Dr Parker requested Murphy to nominate a young man whom he had brought out to China in order to obtain for him just such a place Although Murphy regarded the candidate as an intelligent man, he found him totally unacquainted with public business and declined to nominate him The consul discovered that Parker was determined to take the responsibility of making the nomination himself, a course which he was correctly warned would subject him, as minister, to the disgrace of a refusal ³⁵ Finally the taotai asked for Dr Fish, who, as vice consul during Murphy's absence, had discharged his duties faithfully and by his address and courtesy of manners had gained Chinese good will

When news of this suitable appointment reached Parker he revealed his general opposition to the new customhouse system He sympathized with the assertions of some merchants that it was inconvenient, and very properly pointed to the need of instituting the inspectorate at all ports if it was to be retained at one

In spite of much criticism this extension occurred Murphy's interpretation of the motives of the merchants amounted to a charge that, through use of Parker's vanity, they tried to draw attention away from their large profits made in manipulation of unsettled exchange, a problem to which the consul was then giving diligent consideration ³⁶

This controversy between two officers of the American government was viewed by the consul in its true character as an administrative problem

"I hope the Honorable Secretary will modify that portion of instructions given to the U S Commissioner which places this Office as a subordinate desk to the Commissioner It was issued under a misapprehension, and if allowed to remain, and especially if reaffirmed will be detrimental to the best interests of our Country in China The Consul is under bonds, is responsible to the President, and is by Treaty confined to his locality, while the United States Commissioner has a wide field If he is shut out from so fine a field by circumstances beyond his remedy, let him look to it, that it is not his fault" ³⁷

It is unfortunate that Parker's successor, William B Reed, should have been influenced by this affair in his ideas of consuls The resignation of Murphy in the following year drew from the Department more than a routine expression of regret His ability and judgment in action were commended ³⁸ Special attention given by the government to several of his despatches testifies to their value When all allowance is made for errors, Murphy's contributions to the promotion of American interests entitle him to an

³⁴ Shanghai Cl, Sept 24, 1856 (including the taotai's charges of bribery by merchants), Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia, 228

³⁵ Cf 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 630-631 Murphy obtained valuable information for his government from the inspectors, who served as a buffer between Chinese and foreign officials

³⁶ Shanghai Cl, Sept 24, 1856, encls 5 (important for the history of the Maritime Customs) and 8 (Parker to the merchants), and Dec 31, 1856 A less satisfactory document than Parker's letter to the merchants would be hard to imagine, except as one reason for consular insubordination

³⁷ Murphy, Sept 24, as cited above Cf 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 601, 1087

³⁸ Reed may not have been aware of Murphy's valid reasons for leaving See 15 China DD, Jan 14, 1858, and 14 China DD, May 22, 1857, exh 4a

It will be recalled that, shortly before, Parker (and Commodore Abbot) had been involved in a difficulty at Canton, with Vice Consul Sturgis, a critic of his superiors An able merchant acquainted with the traditions and self-reliance of pre-treaty days, Sturgis was no respector of persons He believed

honorable place in American history. His evident ambition took the form of good works and courageous service.

In a few instances it is particularly difficult to achieve satisfactory judgments concerning the merits of consular officers whom members of the Legation criticized. Some of the consuls in question were continued in office by the Department of State, and continuance suggests possible approval. The case of Consul Keenan at Hongkong is of this type. Prejudiced testimony has led to some belief in the charge that this officer carried the American flag at the assault on Canton by the British on October 29, 1856. There is little doubt that he was much given to drink. Yet his documentary defence of his conduct in this case and his continuance in office lend support to his assertion of innocence and to his charges that Peter Parker was leaving no stone unturned to gratify a personal dislike of him. It certainly cannot be concluded from the voluminous

evidence that Keenan was "guilty", as charged. Parker's vacillation between extremes of rancor and courtesy serves further to damage his allegations against the consul.³⁹ The writer's verdict would be "innocent".

As early as 1851 difficulty appeared in connection with approval by the Legation of consular nominees as vice consuls. In that year Parker disapproved Consul Bradley's nomination of a substitute at Amoy. The high praise subsequently given Bradley by Reed and his meritorious record suggest his sense of loyalty and propriety. Nevertheless the nomination was cancelled and Bradley nominated his own son, Charles W. Bradley, Jr., who was acceptable.⁴⁰ Some years later the consul at the same port was T. Hart Hyatt, who, like Bradley, was accompanied by a son, T. Hart Hyatt, Jr. Twice Parker advised the consul not to appoint a substitute during absence, but to deposit the consular equipment and archives with the Legation until his return, unless "the office be otherwise filled." In the



Charles William Bradley
Consul, Claims Commissioner,
and Bearer of Treaties

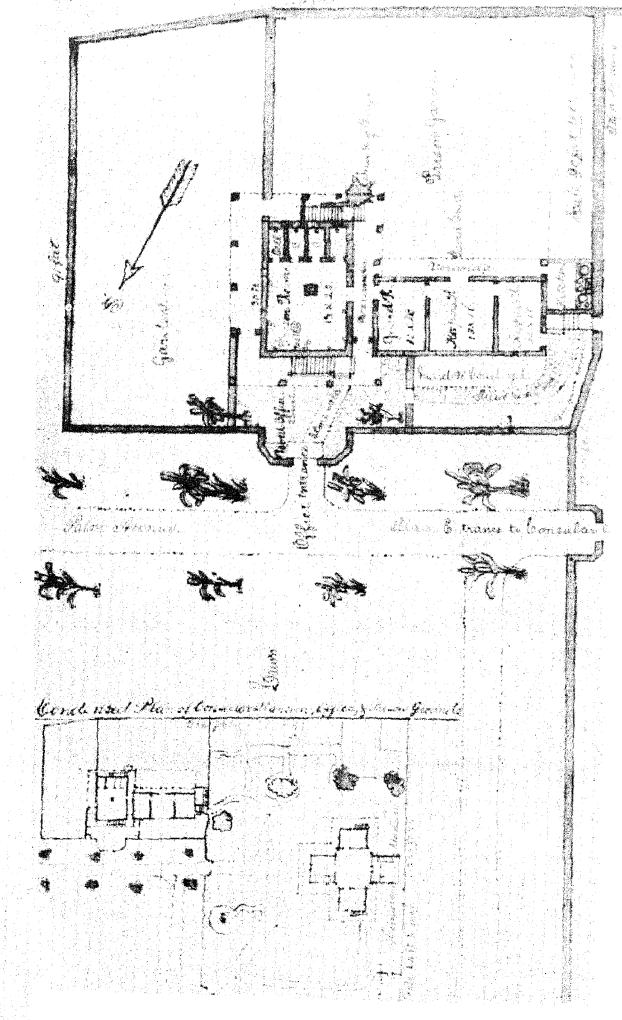
that, whereas Commissioner McLane on his departure from China had insisted on a neutral policy and cooperation with the British authorities, the senior American naval officer and the acting diplomatic agent endangered American interests by following the letter rather than the spirit of this counsel. (4 Canton CL, Feb. 13, 1855. The British diplomatic representative had retired to Hongkong, unable to act in the same matter because of differences with the British admiral.)

³⁹Keenan's position as consul at Hongkong was anomalous. He was stationed at a British port, where, however, the chief authority was also in charge of British interests in China. The American diplomatic officers in that locality were accredited to China, and not to Great Britain, and yet, apparently by custom rather than by law, these men came to exercise some authority over the consulate at Hongkong.

On the Parker-Keenan difficulty see 3 Hongkong CL, May 18, 1857; 1 China DJ, Feb. 2, 1857; The Overland Friend of China, May 9, 1857; A. H. Foote Papers, Foote to Armstrong, Nov. 26, 1856; Bennett, America in East Asia, 192; 35-2, S. Ex. Doc. 22, II, 758-759, 1819-1820, 1852-1859. In the unsatisfactory state of communications in the East unreliable rumors, based on scanty evidence, played a considerable part. Andrew H. Foote's original report (Canton, Nov. 4, 1856) to Commodore Armstrong, in the records of the Navy Department, contains no reference to Keenan. In the diary Seaweed (p. 62), by Marie Antoinette Kinney, General Keenan is referred to as "a fine, soldierly looking man", and a Mexican war hero.

This diary is useful for remarks on the second Anglo-Chinese War, and several events and personalities connected with the ports in South China.

⁴⁰6 China DD, Aug. 21, 1851.



"Diagram of Prison Buildings, Grounds, Office Entrance, etc., etc.
(From Amoy Consular Letters, Vol. 2.)

second instance Hyatt had nominated a British subject and then an American. Parker was not satisfied with their fitness and was nettled to find that, "in utter disregard" of his orders, the consul had actually left the British subject temporarily in charge during his own absence or until the further pleasure of the Department of State was expressed. Hyatt professed to regard Parker's "instruction" as merely advisory. The latter's clumsy disciplinary efforts revealed the old issue of divided responsibility. The Department confirmed one of Hyatt's nominees, but it appears that Parker adopted such an attitude that he departed at the first good opportunity.⁴¹

William B. Reed was shocked by the legacy of quarrels with consuls which attended his predecessor's final exit from the stage in China. He quickly appealed to the government for remedies, so that he might "look after" consuls and end the "open defiance" of control experienced by Parker, whose authority he optimistically believed had been properly applied. He disallowed the temporary appointment of a qualified man at Shanghai and enthusiastically made what proved to be a very unfortunate selection at Hongkong. Close study of Reed's own evidence and comparison of it with a wider range of facts show that he erred in his judgments and in the severity of his strictures on individual officers.⁴²

The minister placed his finger on a difficulty of great consequence, however, in noting the effect of non-performance by

the Chinese of some of their treaty obligations. His sweeping assertions placed him in a small but thoughtful company of Americans in Eastern Asia who were clearly critical of the treaty system.⁴³ To his mind, existing evils were worse than any which would appear if the treaty structure were entirely swept away. Some of the most plausible features of the treaty of 1844 were useless, "for the simple reason that no human being ever thinks of observing or enforcing them". Without new treaty arrangements and official restraint sufficient to teach foreign traders genuine respect for law, it would be better to renounce all compacts and "relieve the Governments of the West from the fearful responsibility of having treaties which cannot be enforced". It was better to end a discreditable extraterritoriality and leave the situation to "wandering adventurers boldly protected by the strong hand of adventure itself."⁴⁴

Reed believed that the function of diplomacy and "consular agency" was exhausted. This significant admission of the importance of circumstantial factors beyond the control of consuls and diplomats distinctly qualifies Reed's judgments of individuals, although the strength of his irritation apparently prevented his seeing the connection.

The years 1842-1844, which introduced the treaty system, were a turning-point. The sharp contrast to pre-treaty conditions is exhibited by the concluding case of consular-diplomatic conflict. It occurred near the end of the period, when

⁴¹ 14 China DD, May 22, 1857, exh 3c, 1 Amoy CI, correspondence of the spring of 1857, 2 Amoy CI, June 30, 1859, and Mar 1, 1856 (8)—cf Doty's letter of Jan 8, 1858.

Another serious issue existed between Parker and Hyatt, with reference to the withholding of duty payments at Amoy.

⁴² 1 China DL, Sept. 3, 1858, 17 China DD, Nov 5, 1858; 3 Shanghai CI, July 30, 1855; 15 China DP, Jan 14, 1858, with encls., 17 China DD, Sept 3, 1858, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 178n., Morse, Int. Rel., I, 554, Canton CI, *passim* (absences). Cf Appendix I.

⁴³ Besides the confusion existing in China, another consideration affected American attitudes: although American overseas policy and consular traditions were necessarily less aggressive and imperial than those of Great Britain, the two policies were related through American desire to preserve commercial opportunity. Had the United States independently withdrawn from the treaty system in 1858-1860, that system would have gone on; instead of finding themselves in the pre-treaty situation in all its aspects, individual Americans would have been at a disadvantage, and American consuls would have had some curious problems. Intervening economic readjustments had fortified political and diplomatic changes.

⁴⁴ 16 China DD, Apr 10 and 28, 1858.

Consul Gouverneur entered upon a stormy tenure of office at Foochow. Without evident previous contact or sympathy with the older class of China merchants, he displayed the proverbial stiffness of a new broom. He attacked the heads of local branches of Russell and Company and Olyphant and Company for acting as consuls for European states and for flying the flags of those nations over their (American) establishments. He implied that these firms were smugglers and filibusters, and reported the necessity of requiring the release of a Chinese customs officer taken prisoner by one of the smugglers' boats. Reed's successor as minister, John E. Ward, to whom the merchants appealed, disapproved the steps taken by the consul to remedy the alleged evil.⁴⁵

In his appeal to the Secretary of State, Gouverneur accused Ward of approving the conversion of the American flag by reckless adventurers into a "symbol of smuggling and piracy", language not calculated to endear him to powerful merchants, or to Ward, who was the guest of Russell and Company on his visit to Foochow. On receiving the minister's expression of disapproval the consul published a notification to the merchants in which they were told that in the presence of official disapproval they must use their discretion as to whom they would obey.⁴⁶

In asking that Gouverneur be removed, Ward charged him with acting regularly as if he were beyond the reach of his government. The minister appeared ready to rely on hearsay and the testimony of persons with vested interests which a new non-merchant consul was almost certain to disturb. On his visit to Foochow he did not even see Gouverneur. By letter this officer offered all the courtesies of

the consulate and made a personal call. His letter was unanswered, and his visit was met with the news that the minister was sick. The next morning from his window Gouverneur saw the minister's ship leave port.⁴⁷

In conclusion of difficulties involving diplomatic and consular officers, it is necessary to recognize that some members of both groups were guilty of improper or injudicious conduct. That cases of consular recalcitrance usually originated in something beside a spirit of insubordination is equally to be admitted. Both classes of officials were hampered by conditions unfavorable to harmonious cooperation. Shifting circumstances and inadequate guidance and support produced much unevenness of policy. Ministerial complaints about lack of continuity of service among consuls might well have been reversed. The national government created the system and chose the men who operated it. In some cases it got only the service it paid for. In others it commanded the labors of devoted and public-spirited consuls who during many years gave the citizens of their country more in the way of effort and self-denial than they were ever compensated for.

Historically considered, these years formed a period of transition in which the attempt to remedy the shortcomings of an informal and casual consular establishment gave place to the experimental mistakes and evils of a more systematic organization.⁴⁸ For an incredibly long time the reconstituted consular service was to suffer from the government's failure to carry through the experiment to a logical conclusion. This deficiency suggests that the early unpreparedness of China and Japan for foreign relations, in comparison with that of the growing republic which essayed to induct

⁴⁵⁴⁹ China DD, Nov 29, 1860 Lingering traditions of vigorous and once-dominant American commercial aristocracies in the ports were one of the obstacles to early efforts to provide a professional consular service.

⁴⁶² Foochow CL, Oct 13, Dec 1 (encls.) and 23, 1860 For an indication of the completeness and convenience of the hospitality dispensed at Russell and Company's splendid establishments see Perry's Narrative, Vol 1, 145-146, and Huysse de Kattendyke, Le Japon en 1857, 172-175. W. B. Reed once asked that he not be addressed in care of any mercantile firm. (15 China DD, Jan. 26, 1858, exh 5) Cf. 2 Foochow CL, Apr 12, 1860, and 1 Ningpo CL, Dec 31, 1860

⁴⁷² Foochow CL, Oct 13, 1860, encl of Oct. 9 In a private letter to Cass (Nov 29), Ward quoted a merchant's account of Gouverneur's remarks which, if correct, made him a mild "racketeer". After the end of our period he was recalled. On Ward see also 19 China DD, Sept 20, 1860; his service in China terminated at the end of 1860.

⁴⁸ For telling comment by Commodore Abbot see 3 Shanghai CL, July 30, 1855 At times the reader of correspondence is led to suspect that the more able the consul the greater was the likelihood of his encountering some kinds of trouble.

them into the "family of nations", was less than superficial differences would indicate

Sect d--Other American Consuls

The most marked feature of the attitude of consuls toward one another as revealed in their correspondence was their inclination to feel jealousy of the size and importance of one another's establishments and the amount of financial support provided. Even in Japan, where Consul-General Harris' position in this respect was clearly designed to be superior, there were murmurings of envy of his situation, insufficient knowledge of other consulates, and lack of a common point of view and professional consciousness, accounted in part for the tendency of each officer to regard his own yoke as peculiarly burdensome.⁴⁹

One might, nevertheless, expect to find evidence of sympathy and friendship among consuls, in the face of common problems, disabilities, and fears. While such relationships undoubtedly existed, especially in the period of merchant consuls, positive indications of them are disappointingly scarce. Independent promotion of self-interest was the keynote of most of the earlier activity of Americans in the Far East, without this incentive but few of them would have appeared there. For example, Harris' criticism of two consuls in China on charges of smuggling, some time before he secured his appointment in Japan, was accompanied by a request for one of the positions occupied by them.⁵⁰

Correspondence between consulates occasionally took place with reference to a few topics, e.g., the address of a ship's mate and facts regarding a vessel's registry. Papers circularized to different consulates were copied by hand, and few

consuls had adequate clerical assistance. This circumstance deterred indulgence in unnecessary correspondence.

Attitudes of consuls toward one another often added to the mental and nervous tension already shown to have been experienced by them in dealings with naval and diplomatic representatives of the United States. Relations between consuls and their agents have been described elsewhere.

Sect e--Use of the Flag, Registers, and the Coasting Trade

In China, the movements of local vessels granted the use of the national flag were hard to control, and yet in disturbed times permission to fly it seemed essential to the maintenance of lawful trade. For single short trips in a specific locality, therefore, British and American authorities allowed small vessels use of their flags, with a type of passport, to be returned immediately and filed at the issuing consulate.⁵¹

The problem of how to assist Americans to protect their local business in the midst of danger, and to take advantage of nearby commercial opportunities, early presented itself to consuls and commissioners. In 1848 John D. Sword and Company, American merchants of Philadelphia and Canton, desired to purchase two small boats in China to be used in the coasting trade and asked for sea-letters authorizing them to sail under the American flag. The request was denied and the question was left with the Department of State, which promptly said that no sea-letters or documents of like character could be used by Americans on foreign-built vessels purchased by them for the foreign coasting trade.⁵²

⁴⁹ As a small indication of ignorance, the consular officer at Bangkok (1858) seems to have been unaware that the officer at Whampoa in China, far from being a consul, was the agent of a nearby consul.

⁵⁰ See 5 Indexes Despatches from Consuls Great Britain (Hongkong), Oct 10 and Nov. 11, 1852; and Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 380n.

The majority of consuls whose opinions are recorded joined in suspicion of English policy, but at best this was no more than a negative bond of unity. Major Shaw, first American consul in China, in the late eighteenth century, took the same attitude (Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia, 55.)

⁵¹ 11 China DD, Mar 13, 1855; 4 Canton CL, Apr 10, 1855. For printed cases see 33-1, H Ex Doc 128, 227-230, and 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 428, and II, 1212. Cf 1 China DI, Feb 17, 1849. It is convenient to think of the multifaceted question of the flag with reference to problems on land and problems on the water.

⁵² 5 China DD, Oct 27, 1848, and 1 China DI, Feb 17, 1849. For numerous provisions and opinions concerning the confused matters of registers, sea-letters, passports, and the flag see Moore, Digest, II,

Uncertainty, and confusion of terms, continued In 1854 Spooner, the consular officer at Canton, asked the Department whether he might grant a "sea-letter" or "certificate of ownership" in the case of a foreign bottom purchased by an American resident abroad, or to one built within his consular jurisdiction for American account Spooner felt that the Department had tacitly sanctioned the granting of such certificates in an earlier case During long residence in China he had known of many instances of the issuing of such certificates These he used as precedents Merchants' eagerness was increased by the mounting trade with California and heavy emigration of Chinese Uncertainty held back the flow of capital which would otherwise have been offered for the building of American tonnage⁵³

The cases mentioned were only two of the many relating to papers for vessels of different descriptions Always before the authorities stood the obstacle of the law allowing registers only to vessels built in the United States The facility with which ship's registers could be obtained in the nearby British and Portuguese colonies was felt to operate prejudicially to the interests of Americans⁵⁴ Conditions had changed since the time when American navigation laws were framed In 1856 consuls were asked to ascertain and transmit the views entertained on this subject by interested Americans at their ports.

Exception was not taken ordinarily to the hoisting of a flag over pleasure boats or hired boats of Americans when moving about in waters of a port, the purpose was to indicate the nationality of the cit-

izen and the country that protected him as an individual rather than the nationality of the boat⁵⁵

Investigation of reported abuses of the right to carry the flag on vessels actually at sea revealed that ships sailing under it, but without a single American aboard, presented "consular certificates" (obtained under oath by persons in some cases falsely calling themselves Americans) Consuls were directed to report what papers had been granted at their offices to vessels not built in the United States, with the attendant circumstances, and to cancel all illegal documents Strong pressure was exerted in favor of liberal consular interpretations of regulations, especially as treaties introduced complicating provisions.⁵⁶

It cannot be stated with confidence that American consuls deliberately facilitated law-breaking in this complex issue There may have been misconduct, but the testimony of the ordinarily realistic and fair-minded S. Wells Williams discourages such a belief He attributed evil-doing on lorchas under American colors to foreign agency A critic of extraterritoriality, Williams emphasized the great dread among Chinese officials of implicating themselves in controversies by meddling with foreign vessels of any sort, after the affair of the lorchas Arrow This attitude emboldened the reckless⁵⁷ Thus, in the midst of foreign demands that Chinese authorities maintain order, a vicious circle of irresponsibility was created It is curious that the American government failed to work out a decisive and detailed policy for the guidance of consuls, they were still seeking specific directions at the end of the

1007-1009, 1027, 1029, 1039-1041, 1045-1055, and 1061-1064 These points commanded much legislative and judicial attention; terminology presented ambiguities Foreign-built vessels purchased by Americans were entitled to protection as property but not as part of the American merchant marine See also Con Regs, 1856, ch. XXXII, and Form No 101.

⁵³ ⁴ Canton CL, Apr 24 and 27, 1854 A vessel built at Whampoa under American superintendence, and apparently owned by Americans, was scheduled to sail for California under British colors The case of tacit sanction to which Spooner referred was that of the Martha, discussed in a letter of Apr. 5, 1853, in the same volume For the question of a fine at Hongkong against the Wanderer (originally American, then British, then bought by Americans and sailed locally under a bill of sale) see 4 Hongkong CL, May 20, 1858

⁵⁴ Morse writes instructively of the situation under different flags in China (Int Rels, I, 409-411) See also Brit and For State Papers, XLVII, 1856-1857, p 599 and 1 Macao CL, Sept 29, 1858

⁵⁵ ¹² China DD, Apr 10, 1856, excl.

⁵⁶ Ibid, Apr 10, 1856, and enclosed circular No 2, 1 China DI, Apr 9, 1856, 3 Shanghai CL, Dec 28, 1855, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 845.

⁵⁷ For Williams' possibly too optimistic remarks see 18 China DD, Mar 12, 1859, note also Fortune's A Residence .., 424-425

period ⁵⁸

Besides misuse of the flag and ship's documents in Chinese waters there was a related question involving operations at least partly on land, particularly near Shanghai. The foreign settlements there offered temptation to persons who saw opportunity for gain in the civil war. In spite of Chinese remonstrances, they advised combatants and supplied them with arms, only to "sneak back", in Fortune's language, to the settlements for the protection of the English and American flags⁵⁹. Consuls had often to be on guard against such violations of neutrality. In 1860 Consul Smith was obliged to issue a neutrality proclamation⁶⁰.

In addition to cases which had China and nearby points as a setting, others appeared in Japan and Siam. Of these, one from Hakodate is related.

The bark Burnham, of Portland, Maine, had been sold at Hongkong and manned by foreigners passing as Americans. The name of an American was used to designate the master, so that in case of search by an American warship he could assume charge temporarily. The operators (apparently from one of the German states) felt certain that they could not trade at Hakodate unless they posed as Americans. When the Japanese governor was told the facts, he replied that they carried the American flag, were from America (which was all the evidence available to him), and had goods which he wanted. These he bought, much to the detriment of an American merchantman in port. The commercial agent was con-

vinced that the papers had been falsely secured⁶¹.

As a symbol of strength and honor in lands remote from home the flag held the affections of law-abiding men, but it also was constantly in danger of being used as a screen for evil. The flag issue was linked with the question of suitable papers for ships and matters of citizenship. It was clouded by insufficient and ambiguous official rulings and by peculiar events. Abuses might be at the hands of American citizens entirely or at the hands of foreigners, either European or Asiatic. Offenders ranged all the way from profit-taxed and independent merchants to vagabond "evil-doers" and outright pirates. Merchants and seafarers, whom treaties had robbed of part of their freedom to make their own way as best they could in the Orient, required speed and certainty of direction under the new treaty arrangements. Otherwise they could not follow their profit in a time of commercial expansion and quick transfers of title to vessels of many types. The commercial impulse sometimes conquer'd respect for inconvenient law and rigid treaty. The particular interests injured and the national laws violated might be either American or foreign.

Some phases of the problem outlasted the period⁶². It complicated other tasks and problems of American officers. Among these were difficulties here presented in the Third Group of problems, relating primarily to American citizens in Eastern Asia.

⁵⁸ 4 Shanghai Cl, Sept 20, 1859, Shanghai CI, Nov 28, 1859, Dennett, America in East Asia, 167-168 (this writer calls the Cushing treaty "the smugglers' delight"), Nagasaki Transcripts, May 17, 1860, Moore, Digest, II, 1056-1066

On the American flag in Eastern waters about the beginning of the century see Paullin, Dip. Negots., 216-217, Callahan, Amer. Rel., 73n., and S. Kobayashi, in Bakumatsu-shi (History of the End of the Bakufu) (Tokyo, 1927, Shōwa 2)

⁵⁹ A Residence, 128, for other trenchant comment see p. 126. Abuses in civil war, piracy, and convoying are considered by Morse, Int. Rel., I, ch. XV

⁶⁰ 5 Shanghai Cl, Nov 5, 1860

⁶¹ 1 Hakodate Cl, May 20, 1857, cf. Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 376

With the arrival at Hakodate of the English consul in October, 1859, the house of Charles A. Fletcher threw off "the mask of Americanism" and openly became "what they always have been at heart and interest, English" (1 Hakodate Cl, Oct 17, 1859)

A complicated case (the lorchas Speed, or Arrow) appeared at Bangkok, involving, among other things, proof of citizenship, the status of a vessel, inter-consular and inter-port proceedings, and a diversity of nationalities (Bangkok Transcripts, 1859)

⁶² See 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 70, 126, 166. The estimated number of lorcha under the American flag at Ningpo about 1865 was at least sixty. For appearance of this problem elsewhere see Moore, Digest, II, 134ff

Chapter 9

THIRD GROUP PROBLEMS CONCERNING AMERICANS IN EASTERN ASIA

Sect a--General Protection of Interests of Americans, Piracy and Wrecks

In conjunction with the naval forces, consuls and diplomatic agents of the United States were charged with the manifold task of protecting and advancing individual and group interests of citizens and some other persons under the American flag in the Far East. In occupation, character, and attitude these people were diverse--merchants, missionaries, seamen, and others, substantial men of affairs, drifters, and interstitial persons of miscellaneous kinds, law-abiding citizens, lawless ruffians, and doubtful gentry with shadowy claim on American citizenship.¹

Most of the prominent American residents had decided ideas on the proper conduct of general relations with Oriental nations, often intertwined with considerations of self-interest, and freely interpreted the various duties of their government's representatives in the ports to suit themselves. Some of them, of course, relied on a maximum of self-protection, but others expected their officers to take almost complete care of them. Amid the venturesome activities and interracial adjustments of pioneer communities, the protective obligation was unpredictable in its manifestations and unremitting in its tax upon official skill and patience. It involved consuls in dealings not only with fellow Americans, but also with native peoples and officials and with other foreigners.

Several problems of protection admitted of direct and definite solution, with or without the aid of naval officers, while others (such as the confusion found in the currency situation in China) called for indirect and tortuous treatment. Assistance in certain cases was remedial, while in others it was preventive. Often

it became a broad defence of treaty rights, as distinguished from specific defence of an individual American, and required much effort to induce local authorities to live up to their obligations under the treaties. It necessitated the enforcement of regulations designed to protect the rights of native peoples, as well as to preserve order in the communities of resident Americans, whose good name suffered from the indiscretion of their more ebullient members. In relations with local authorities, persuasion sometimes gave place to intimidation or compulsion.

The presence of members of other Occidental races in the countries of Eastern Asia added to the complexity of the consular duty of guarding American rights and interests, whether of person or of property. Some of these people were constrained to cooperate because of occasional identity of interest, similarity of treaty status, or personal feeling; others were motivated by dissimilar purposes and status. In many cases, cooperation with consular officers and subjects of other nations was indicated as the most effective procedure. In others, opposition to misbehaving foreigners, especially subjects of non-treaty states, was the only possible attitude. It tended to line up American consuls with native authorities rather than against them.

Consuls found their work complicated by the numerous groupings of persons facing them--foreigners against local authorities, Americans as a unit against these authorities or other foreigners, one section of the Americans against another section. Litigation in consular courts, arbitrations and claims settlements, and stoppage of customs duties were some of the by-products of such relationships.

Protection of the interests of Americans against the workings of human

¹Of 55-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 848

agency unquestionably constituted the larger part of the problem, but prevention or control of the damage threatened by natural forces also commanded attention. Savages, robbers, pirates, or those engaged in civil war often occupied the stage, but earthquakes, shoals and rocks on uncharted coasts, terrifying storms, the making of surveys and placing of markers, and heroic rescues supplied their share of drama.

Occasionally the circumstances of a case prevented consular action, particularly during the operation of the earlier treaties. Accordingly, discussion of treaty revision was sustained during many years. Locally the question was one of the first magnitude. Pervading the history of the period were the deep effects of intermittent and apathetic attention of the government of the United States to the urgent appeals of consuls for support.

Treaty rights in China were acquired at a price. The easy informal reliance upon practicality and personal give-and-take which had existed in pre-treaty days was lost, and some of the privileges gained were imperfectly realized. Of more than financial or commercial significance was the decline in the general responsibility of Chinese merchants, no longer limited to a select group with a practical monopoly. The correspondence of Russell and Company shows complaint after complaint about the quality of silk supplied. Enmity and suspicion replaced the old friendly relations and placed a premium upon sharp dealing.² The formalities of the consular court, with its alien legal and social concepts, were never to achieve the spectacular justice associated with the old Co-hong.

The contrast is seen in a case involving a claim of Wetmore and Company against a Chinese merchant, which Commissioner Davis continued to press on the Chinese authorities, in spite of its unpromising aspect. A member of a Chinese tea firm apparently had substituted inferior

teas after inspection, a trick not detected until the goods arrived at a foreign port. The Chinese governor-general pointed out that, without a Co-hong, matters were unsettled, and asked how he could hold responsible a Chinese merchant with "no settled residence", in other words, one who had no property and no hong to be responsible for him. Referring to the obligation of Chinese officials under Article XVI of the treaty, Davis proposed a joint commission. His Chinese correspondent noted the two years which had elapsed since the occurrence in question and concluded that the case did not correspond to the kind specified in the treaty (which definitely excepted cases in which offenders were without property). He saw no reason for a commission, which would have no evidence, and, after an appeal to "reason", asked why there should be any further correspondence concerning the matter.³ The treaty had thus opened the door to delay and the conflicting interpretations of different authorities. On the Chinese side, closely regulated monopoly had yielded to imperfectly regulated competition, and foreign subjection had been replaced by a difficult and sometimes unmanageable status of equality.

Diffusion of responsibility after the disappearance of the Co-hong increased the difficulties of foreign merchants in other ways, for example, in the matter of native strikes and delay in fulfillment of contracts.⁴ New Chinese officials became connected with foreign intercourse at the added ports. The likelihood of disputes with the Chinese populace increased, as is shown by many problems relative to securing land for foreign dwellings. Missionaries were prominent among those who lost financially by what was termed Chinese self-interest, prejudice, or desire for "squeeze". Even when a mission sustained loss, it was found difficult to compel the Chinese to live up to the treaty. Nor does

² BBHS, Nov., 1929 (art. "China and the Foreign Devils"), pp. 9-19. In the sources of the period appear expressions of regret at the passing of the old order—too soon after the change to be set down as the reminiscent romancing of declining old men. For earlier evidence see Latourette, Early Relations, 21.

³ 5 China DD, Nov. 24, 1848, with enclosures.

⁴ Silk weavers in South China struck twice in 1850 and 1851. For a workmen's placard and the ceremonies after settlement see Chin Repos., XX (1851), 506-507.

it appear that missionaries were uniformly satisfactory in their conduct in these matters⁵

The number and diversity of Americans seeking official protection of their interests increased, as did the official personnel itself, the number of missionaries grew, and a new type of person still well known to American consuls appeared, namely, "the would-be world traveller at someone else's expense, as a stowaway, on charity, etc."⁶ Besides large firms with several branches and a home office there were smaller concerns without special connections.⁷ Americans entered several occupations

One of their activities requiring consular attention in South China was the operation of a number of river steamers. Manned mostly by Chinese and "Manilamen", these vessels ran between Hongkong, Canton, and Macao three times a week. Such craft were severely taxed by the necessity of paying tonnage fees under each of the three jurisdictions, and the consular office at Hongkong endeavored to secure for them "the fostering care" of the American government in their competition with Brit-

ish steamers in the local traffic.⁸

Farther north, at Shanghai, arose a "traffic" problem. Only a few years after the port was opened, the limited extent of the anchorage allotted to foreign shipping accounted for numerous collisions and difficulty in finding berths. Ships anchoring first did so at irregular distances and occupied unnecessary space.⁹ Six years later the United States consul was asked by American merchants to cooperate with the British authorities in persuading the Chinese officials to contract for the maintenance of beacons at the entrance to the river, in an effort to end alarming losses from accidents there.¹⁰

In at least six different instances Secretaries of State instructed newly-appointed commissioners or ministers to China to aid Americans having claims for damages against the Chinese government.¹¹ The basis of such claims was found mainly in the obligation of local authorities in that country to heed consuls' requisitions for aid in cases of disturbance, and in the theory stated by Buchanan that, in the event of failure to comply, "the Chinese Government would be responsible for all

⁵ 1 Foochow CL, Oct 7, 1852 (loss by the Methodist mission), Dennett, America in East Asia, 561 (missionaries, claims, and the treaty), 19 China DD, Oct 4, 1860 (comment on missionary attitudes toward the war in China)

⁶ Singapore Transcripts, from the consulate to the U S consul at Calcutta, Mar 27, 1851

⁷ 15 China DD, Dec 15, 1859 (Hunt and Co claim)

⁸ Cf. 18 China DD, Jan 14, 1859, Arts XXIX and XXXI of Brit Tr of Tientsin, 4 Hongkong CL, Apr 10, 1858. The Willamette (414), the Spark (127), and the Cumfa (80) were American steamers. As early as 1855 two native firms had an interest in steamers on the Canton river; eight steamers were then plying on it, with five more to be added shortly (3 Hongkong CL, Apr 14, 1855). On fees and tonnage duties see 1 China DI, Feb 10, 1848, and 42-2, H Ex Doc 517, 23. For a meeting of consuls and merchants at Amoy in 1859 to consider special privileges of non-treaty vessels, note Com Rels, 1859, 374.

⁹ Consular discussion led to the proposal (by the British consul) that an American be made harbormaster, with the right to make rules (5 China DD, Jan 27, 1849, encl of Dec 11, 1848)

¹⁰ 11 China DD, Apr 9, 1855, encl of Mar. 31

¹¹ 1 China DI. The tediousness of initial claims negotiations may be studied in correspondence regarding the claim of Nye, Parkin, and Company (1847-1848) against the "Tuh Ke Hong", for losses on teas. This disagreement was characterized by shifting of position, extremely uncomplimentary references to Chinese actions, hostile Chinese publicity, and failure of a joint commission to reach an agreement. The Chinese authorities finally admitted the validity of the claim. The Legation reluctantly recognized the likelihood that treaty provisions objectionable to the Chinese would become dead letters (4 China DD, Oct 27, 1847, Jan 25 with encl, Feb 25, Mar 22, Apr 21, and June 22, 1848)

For American claims in China and Japan see Dennett, America in East Asia, 526ff., 599, and 432-433. Consular breaking off of local relations or withholding of duties supplied coercive means of securing redress. American claims continued to be a problem until after the second treaty with China, for the American government wished to avoid complicating treaty revision by pushing them too vigorously. Details of claims, some of them very large, appear in 35-2, S Ex Doc 18 (Report of the Secretary of State),

the injuries resulting.¹²

As claims accumulated, the idea of securing payment by withholding customs duties became increasingly attractive.¹³ Use of such procedure was discouraged on the ground that each government was bound to live up to its treaty obligations. During the exciting civil strife at Shanghai in 1853, American officers made an attempt to keep distinct the question of claims and the payment of duties. After the breakdown of local customs machinery, British and American merchants gave promissory notes for duties payable. In addition, American authorities required their countrymen to deposit duties in specie at the consulate. The promissory notes accepted by the British consulate were later cancelled by the British government. This act worked a hardship on the Americans, and they were temporarily freed by their officers from any obligation with respect to duties. For them, Shanghai became a

free port. Early in 1854 the Imperial government was able to resume collection of duties, and in June the foreign inspectorate was created.

Merchants at Shanghai had claims against the Chinese for losses sustained through disturbance of trade, and the Chinese authorities had a claim for back duties. The matter was settled after serious complications, in which Commissioner McLane acted as mediator and Consul Murphy subsequently ignored the authority of Dr Parker of the Legation when the latter directed him to carry out premature and uninformed orders of the Department of State for cancellation of the American liabilities.¹⁴ In 1855 Murphy was able to report the disposition of all claims against the Imperial government at Shanghai. "In justice to the government to which I am accredited, I feel it my duty to mention that they have acted in these matters with a promptness and generosity most commendable."¹⁵

¹² 55-2, S Ex Doc 1, Dennett, *op cit*, 530n (disposition of surplus payments), 18 China DD, Mar 12, 1859 (debenture certificates), 1 Macao Cl, Feb 22, 1859 (case of the *Emma*). In Hasse's *Foreign Affairs* there are references to much data on claims, complaints concerning religious persecutions, and similar topics. Note, for example, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 1159ff and 1298 (killing of a boat keeper), 1160-1161, 1224ff, 1254, 1298 (Hunt and Company's lighter, 1857), and 1177-1178.

The case of the *Caldera*, involving a delicate question of the responsibility of the Chinese government, gave rise to more discussion than any other matter before the claims commissioners. Their general principle was to allow claims only for actual property loss and not for injury to business during hostilities or for constructive and speculative damage. The *Caldera* case, prolonged for many years, presents interesting aspects. Cf 10 China DD, No 25, Dec, 1854, encls., and 55-2, H Ms Doc 212 (*History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party*, by John Bassett Moore), Vol V, App I, ch J, 4628ff. Of similar interest is the claim of Nott and Company, also considered by Moore. Much circumstantial information on individual losses and claims appears in a convenient *conspicuum* and review in 40-8, H Ex Doc 29 (*Settlement of Claims—1869*).

¹³ 1 China DI, Jan 28, 1847, cf 3 China DD, Aug 26, 1846.

¹⁴ For instances of such coercion see Dennett, *op cit*, 327-328.

¹⁵ One-third (116,125 taels) was allowed the Chinese government, another third was credited, as a sort of commercial or pecuniary indemnity, to losses of Americans in trade and the intervening increase in the value of specie, and the final third was deducted on account of the saving effected for the Chinese authorities by consular administration of customs (5 Shanghai Cl, and John King Fairbank, in *Chin Soc and Pol Sci Rev*, XX, 82-84, rendering more accurate the statement in Dennett, *Amer in East Asia*, 261.) Since in 1854 interior customhouses for a time had exacted some charges on goods, McLane was willing to make further deductions on receipt of documentary evidence thereof.

Fairbank recalls (p 85) that in an attempt to secure cancellation Parker expected merchants to agree to any modifications specified by the Department after receiving news of McLane's award.

¹⁶ 2 Shanghai Cl, Feb 20, 1855, for a similar sentiment see 17 China DD, Nov 5, 1858. Complications, overestimate of damages, and procedure in the case of the *Mermaid* are related in 55-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 795-797, 903-904, 1237-1239, 1315-1318, 1372. To American missionaries, payment was generously made by the Chinese Governor Kei when he used their property at Shanghai for military purposes, he subsequently presented to them outright the material on the ground (Cf Sewall, *The Logbook*, 188-190, and 3 Shanghai Cl, Dec 31, 1855.)

An opposite sentiment was created by friction between American authorities and their own citizens in connection with official assistance with claims. Less inclined than Parker to court the favor of merchants, W B Reed administered a sharp reproof to Russell and Company, which, he felt, had attributed wrong motives to him. He accused these "intelligent gentlemen" of bad taste, and drew attention to a "well known fact that there are reputed to be large Chinese interests in the house which makes them less urgent than others who have not the advantage of such a connexion."¹⁶

Support of American claims, and attention to other claims affecting Americans, presented to consuls some of their most important, complex, and baffling problems. These provide a cross-section view of less pleasant phases of international relations, ranging from deceit to violence. They indicate the difficulties of establishing relations on the basis of treaties, as well as the uncertainties incident to

interpretation and application of these documents. Protection of existing treaty rights provided valuable background for treaty revision, for attempts to settle specific problems revealed new needs. Foreign opinion in China on the importance of strengthening and improving the early treaties was duplicated among Westerners in Japan. Consuls were obliged, of course, to proceed on the unsatisfactory basis of existing fact. Besides securing conformity to the specific terms of international agreements, they had also to guard against the irregular introduction of special practices or orders likely to modify these terms.¹⁷

Unforeseen aspects of protection called for special consular measures. One problem of regulation was created by the annoying omission of prescribed fees to cover the extensive labor required in handling the frequently prolix complaints of Americans against the Chinese.¹⁸ Again, the consul at Hongkong claimed recompense from his government for loss of over seven

¹⁶ China DD, Apr 10, 1858, and Apr 28, 1858, with encls.

While larger claims resulted chiefly from warfare and generally disturbed conditions, others were caused by detached cases of disagreement and violence. Note, for instance, the seizure by local authorities of an American mail boat at Foochow and subsequent offences against person and property, the consulate managed to secure an apology, but no damages (1 Foochow CL, Nov 3, 1857)

Quite in accord with his character was the payment by Townsend Harris of the claim of Japanese authorities against American debtors, W C Reed and T T Dougherty. The claimants were much pleased by his high sense of honor. The details of this involved matter show that Harris protected the good name of Americans generally, the interests of the Japanese authorities, and the purse of the Americans who caused the difficulty (Parry, Narrative, Vol 1, 390n, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 237n, 328-329, Murdoch, A Hist of Japan, III, 614, 1 Japan Des, Sept 6, 1855, Mis Letters, Oct 19, 1855, protest of Reed and Dougherty, and June 5, 1855, Bidleman and Doty, 1 Japan Inst, Aug 19, 1856, and Oct 4, 1855, 2 Japan Des, Jly 31, 1858, and Aug 22, 1859. Cf 1 Japan Inst, Nov 22, 1860, and 3 Japan Des, Jly 5, 1860 for another case of Japanese gratitude.)

In Japan, a claim arising out of restriction of commercial activity was presented by the commercial agent at Hakodate on his own behalf. It was supported by Harris and the Russian consul at the port (1 Hakodate CL, Jan (?) 12, 1860, and copy of Harris to Race, Aug 17, 1859)

For damage to the interests of American merchants and whalers in the Fiji Islands and the comparative helplessness of the consular officer, see Com Rels, III, 595-596. On American claims there see ibid., I, 555, 35-2, S Ex Doc 18, 53-54, Scholefield, The Pacific, 76, of Moore, Digest, VII, 112

The Miscellaneous Letters are, among other things, an interesting storehouse of complaints and, on the seamy side, present the less courageous and independent aspects of what is currently described as "rugged individualism."

¹⁷ For opposition to a plan (1850) of Chinese merchants to arrange a special export tax on tea as a means of liquidating an old military debt to the Imperial treasury, see 6 China DD, Jly 19, Aug 22, and Sept 27, 1850. On an arbitrary regulation at Canton of 19 China DD, Oct 28, 1860. A currency difficulty at Nagasaki and a question concerning export of rice from Siam are related, respectively, in Nagasaki Transcripts, Walsh to Harris, Nov 22, 1860, and Bangkok Transcripts, Sept 3, 1856

¹⁸ 4 Shanghai CL, June 21, 1859

hundred dollars incurred in the case of a wrecked American vessel. The master had left the salvaged cargo for this officer to dispose of on behalf of the persons concerned; certain Chinese who were interested as salvors claimed it all, and a British court ruling against the consul recognized their application and awarded costs as well.¹⁹

Mention has been made of difficulties arising from the presence in China of subjects of non-treaty nations. At Nagasaki, the same circumstance, in conjunction with a lack of public spirit among certain Americans and others, produced a curious complication. Chinese merchants and their employees, like the Dutch, were confined to a special quarter. As the number of Westerners increased in the late fifties, it became the practice of subjects of non-treaty states to place themselves under the protection of a treaty consul in order to secure admission to the port. Chinese merchants in particular saw in this arrangement a commercial opportunity well worth paying for; the adventurer class among Americans and Europeans found in it, and in the situation of the Chinese, a chance to reap a harvest of profit. Some

of them made a living by posing as the employers of Chinese merchants, outside the regular, privileged gild, and, thus, extending to them the protection of their own consuls. Their actions caused these officers and the local authorities much trouble.²⁰ In spite of attempts to control the evil, it persisted until China and Japan signed a treaty (1871).²¹

Not only were local authorities in Japan embarrassed by the novelty of their problems. They were also handicapped by domestic political ideas and the prevailing economic and administrative system, which required much discussion and reliance upon detailed directions from superior officers. Consequent delays irked foreign representatives, themselves troubled by insufficient or tardy guidance from their governments.²² American consuls and local authorities occupied opposite horns of one dilemma--the problem of instructions. Moreover, it was not generally realized how seriously the stability of the shogunate and its officers was threatened by rival forces in the Empire.²³ To Americans, protection of their interests was an urgent and paramount question, for they were in haste to make profits. To subjects and officers

¹⁹ 3 Hongkong CL, Feb. 14, 1857; 38-1, H. Rep. 49 (James Keenan), favoring the claim. For the special case of the Valparaiso, with freight belonging to A. A. Ritchie and Company of Canton, see 5 China DD, June 19, 1849. The status and protection of Americans employed in the Chinese customhouses are dealt with in 1 China DI, Aug. 22, 1860, and 19 China DD, May 29, 1860; cf. C. A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Shanghai (Shanghai, 1909), 127, and 3 Shanghai CL, Dec. 31, 1855. Losses by King and Company and others are considered in 1 Foochow CL, June 20, 1855. For the unusual question of protecting the American food supply at Hakodate, note 1 Hakodate CL, May 29, 1857, encl.

²⁰ Native authorities in general were troubled by abuses and unpredictable situations. Without exculpating them entirely from charges of deceit, it is often necessary to question the ready assumption that they deliberately acted in bad faith. For there were Asiatic officials who were disposed to follow the treaties faithfully.

For Secretary Cass' opinion regarding bad faith and insecurity, see 1 China DI, May 30, 1857; cf. Fortune, A Residence..., 380ff., 5 Canton CL, Sept. 1, 1858, and 2 Foochow CL, Jan. 5, 1859 (non-fulfillment of a treaty obligation by a Chinese prefect as a cause of the death of W. C. Knapp, an American). For consular efforts to prevent discontinuance of the Japanese night-watches at Nagasaki and for alarmingly frequent robberies there, consult Nagasaki Transcripts, June 28, 1860, and Paske-Smith, West Barbarians, 253, 598.

²¹ Paske-Smith, op. cit., 241-242; Nagasaki Transcripts, passim. For the overbearing attitude attached to Occidental mercantile houses at Yokohama, and an example of linguistic problems, see George Smith, Ten Weeks in Japan (London, 1861), 259-260.

²² The number of instances in which American consular officers in Japan asked Harris for counsel in puzzling situations robs the Japanese practice of any inexcusable peculiarity.

²³ The killing of foreigners, as related by various writers, was not simply an exhibition of xenophobia. It was also a phase of domestic troubles which resulted in the taking of Japanese lives by inflamed patriots. See, for example, various passages in Treat's Early Diplomatic Relations.

of a self-contained nation such as Japan, this attitude, ordinarily, was almost past understanding. When Perry and Harris made a breach in the economic and social wall of the Empire, they exercised an agency of greater significance than is suggested by such motives as the safeguarding of the interests of whalers and shipwrecked seamen and the promotion of the welfare of merchants engaged in trans-Pacific trade. Its meaning is suggested by such momentous results as the confusion of native currency and disturbance of the commodity market.²⁴

Optimistic activity of traders, "push" exhibited by Americans in the Far East, and general national admiration of their successes made it almost inevitable that consuls should feel obliged to aid and indulge them, even when they rushed to places where American facilities for protection were inadequate.²⁵ In 1855 Secretary Marcy stated that in such circumstances they could hardly be restrained if they wanted to take their chances.²⁶ As new ports were added to the treaty list, merchants and missionaries at times began their activities before official represen-

tatives of the American government arrived. Indeed, as at Swatow, traders did not always wait even for the signing of a treaty.²⁷

Since protection of Americans in the East included certain safeguards against the selfishness, recklessness, or lawlessness of some of their own number, it was necessary for consuls to issue special notifications and regulations.²⁸ The first treaties with China forbade foreigners to go more than short distances into the country adjacent to open ports, these distances to be determined by consuls and local authorities. Variations in rules established at different places caused complaint and argument among Americans. Bridgeman, the well-known missionary, took the extreme view that a foreigner should have the same protection in China as was afforded him at home.²⁹ Although there were many violations of regulations, the policy of restraint seems generally to have justified itself.

The reckless and overbearing attitude of foreigners in Japan and their resort to "direct action" against inhabitants and officials were ordinarily unjustified.

²⁴ Note such comments as that by Hodgson, A Residence, 8

On the "Yedo monopolies" see Goro Ishibashi, "Ishin Zengo ni okeru Gaikokuboki ni Tsuite" (On Foreign Trade before and after the Restoration), in Shirin (History), Vol. 8, Nos. 2-3 (Taishō 12-1923--), Apr. and Jly.), cf. 3 Japan Des., Jan 16, 1860. These monopolies covered commodities prohibited to private interests as articles of direct sale, including miscellaneous grains, oil, tallow, dry goods, and raw silk. Before exportation these had to go by way of Yedo, on the principle that only those goods should be sold to foreigners which represented a surplus above domestic demand. This arrangement created difficulties at Nagasaki. Japanese restrictions on exports were gradually relaxed.

²⁵ George Francis Train, An American Merchant in Europe, Asia, and Australia (New York, 1857), "Introduction," vi.

²⁶ 1 China DI, Oct 5, 1855, cf. 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 898

²⁷ Cf. instances in Couling, Enc Sumac, 16, and Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 248, 370, (and 418). Regarding aid by the Legation in China in the remote case of alleged injustice at the customhouse in Manila, in connection with a camphor shipment by Wetmore and Company, see 4 China DD, Jly 18, 1848, cf. Callahan, Amer Rels, 60-61.

²⁸ For a desire to arrange cooperative control of foreigners in Japan note 1 Japan Inst., Apr 2, 1860 Cf. Lyman, Around the Horn, 151, 179, and Hongkong consular ordinances in Brit and For State Papers, XXIV, XXXVIII, and XLVII.

Tilley charged that in Japan Americans were hated as much as other foreigners (Japan, etc., 175-176) In contrast to consular protection stands a charge of consular imposition on helpless Americans in the distant Navigators' Islands, contained in D'Ewes' China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, 170-172, for a less damning account of the officer in question see George Herbert Ryden's The Foreign Policy of the United States in Relation to Samoa (New Haven, etc., 1933), cf. 35-2, H Rep 212

²⁹ Chin Repos., XVII (1846), 432, 651, and XVIII (1848), 386. In the latter volume, pp. 181-186, appears an account of one of the twenty-four hour trips

In some instances, nevertheless, force seemed to be the only means of self-defence for persons, beyond the reach of official protection, who sought to guard their own interests. In other circumstances, in which consuls could not command sufficient assistance from naval vessels, additional protective measures were adopted by citizens, under the authority of the consuls. Such was the situation at Shanghai in early April, 1854, during Commodore Perry's second absence in Japan, when forcible resistance was offered by the foreign community, in conjunction with official action, to attacking Chinese. During the battle of Muddy Flat (April 3) the foreigners sustained some casualties. Although aid was secured from warships in the harbor, the military action was largely a community affair.³⁰

Illegal during most of the period, the opium traffic which flourished in Chinese waters offered an example of self-protection more or less outside the law. This business was so close to the borderline of accepted commerce that it provided American officers with a difficult problem in granting protection. Traders were practical and guarded their own safety with cannon and competent Lascar crews. The receiving ships stationed at different coast-

al points were equipped to defend their treasures of opium and silver against the attacks of Chinese pirates.³¹

Even better known were the frequent attacks made by pirates on legitimate commerce, often beyond the reach of consular and naval assistance. For example, the ship John N. Gosslen, approaching Hongkong from San Francisco late in 1853, was obliged to repel Chinese boats with lively fighting.³² As late as 1860 the plundering of an American vessel and the murder of the crew by pirates near the north entrance of the Yangtze River were reported.³³ Such operations extended beyond Chinese waters; pirates in the vicinity of Sumatra and Borneo were especially dangerous.³⁴

Pirate attacks were favored by frequent storms. Scarcely a week passed without news of loss of life and property from this natural cause. National vessels were not exempt. In the 1854-1855 season, a naval surveying expedition from Hongkong lost one of its ships, the Porpoise, which parted company with the Vincennes in mid-channel between Formosa and the mainland and was not seen again. The story of numerous tragedies is found in such items as the loss of a boat carrying women and children, discovery of a tell-tale telescope in

³⁰This action occasioned some criticism of the quality of judgment used by foreigners, whose emotions were heightened by pent-up hostility toward native troops. On the incident, see Paullin's statement in Proc. of the U. S. Naval Inst., XXXVII, 389, Taylor, A Visit, 512 (the unanimity of British action and the diversity of American ideas), Sewall, The Logbook, 101-102, 141, 199-202, Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, *passim*, 2 Shanghai CL, Apr 10, 1854, The China Mail, Nov 23, 1854 (editorial), Morse, Int. Rels, I, 459-460, Fetter, Memoir, 11-13 (vivid account by a participant). For another difficulty, in 1860, see 5 Shanghai CL, Nov 3, 1860 Cf remarks (on mercantile adventures in the interior) by Rodolphe Lindau, in Revue des Deux Mondes, Ser 2, XXVI (Oct 1, 1861), 771-772. Another example of American self-defence is described, in a naive, but spirited, journal kept on the merchant ship Yumchi (1844-1846), now in the Essex Institute.

³¹La Gravière, Voyage en Chine, I, 256, for the military arrangements of the British merchant Jardine, see Moses, Recollections, 75

³²Described in realistic detail in an anonymous journal of the voyage (Essex Institute). Five years later a scribe on the Falcon found conditions no better

The growth and abuse of convoying of native shipping by foreign vessels, especially those of the Portuguese, may be followed in Morse, Int. Rels, I, 406-407, and Cooke, China, 150-154, 151-152 (presenting an extraordinary array of nationalities in conflict). Chinese as well as foreign merchants benefited by foreign attacks on pirates, for substantial indications of Chinese appreciation see Train, An American Merchant, etc., 105-106, and Fortune, A Residence, 404. Cf 34-5, S. Rep. 370, La Gravière, op. cit., II, ch. XV, and the excellent references and brief abstracts relating to piracy in Hesse's Foreign Affairs, Vol 1, 348-350

³³China DD, Oct 4, 1860, see also Couling, Enc. Simca, 517

³⁴Singapore Transcripts (plunder of the bark Missouri, Jan 10, 1851, and material on Sir James Brooke, Nov 19, 1861)

the hands of savages, and bits of wreckage. The consular letters provide a record of almost unremitting catastrophe.³⁵

The general problem of protection had two parts, one within the competence of representatives of the government, the other beyond their power and, therefore, a direct responsibility of the Americans immediately concerned. There were, however, forms of relief by which consuls eased the effects of misfortunes visited on their countrymen by the hand of man and the fury of nature.

Indirect aid was given by paying persons who had helped Americans in distress. This practice created a further problem for consuls, as the following occurrence indicates. The crew of a boat belonging to the whaler *Copia* had been driven ashore and plundered by natives. A Chinese rescuer had been paid fifty dollars for his services. This item in the accounts of the consul at Hongkong was disallowed by the government. The consul complained bitterly of the dilemma thus created for him and emphasized the risks

faced by shipwrecked men who were thrown among hostile or barbarous natives. "It is the custom of the officials of other nations here to ransom their seamen or citizens without any objection."³⁶

American consuls owed a debt to consuls of other nations, particularly those of Great Britain, for help in the protection of American interests and for the fear of foreign action inspired by these officers. It is related that a Chinese insurgent leader who had stolen silk boasted, "My no fear that American consul", but that when joint action of the different consuls was mentioned he handed over the missing goods.³⁷ As some of their complaints have shown, American officers felt that British military strength betrayed naval commanders of United States vessels into an attitude of irresponsibility and a willingness to let British protection stand alone, even in very perilous situations. Fortunately, American forces were able occasionally to render service to the English.³⁸

It is easy to recognize the arduousness of the protective duties shared by

³⁵ China DD, Jan 27, 1848, Sewall, *The Logbook, passim* (superior accounts of the twin problems of storms and piracy), Hasse, *op. cit.*, Vol 1, 340, Perry, *Narr.*, Vol 1, 471-472, 509-510 (effect of earthquake), Taylor, *A Visit, 340-342, Gravière, op. cit.*, I, 245-246 (excellent description of the débris carried by the sea), Samuels, from the *From the Forecastle to the Cabin*, 10, *Chin Repos*, XVII, 432, 541, and consular reports from numerous places.

³⁶ Hongkong CI, Apr 14, 1855, of 38-1, H Rep 49, and 46-3, S Ms Doc 14 (*Private Claims*), I, 977. Note 6 China DD, Jly 22, 1851, with enccls., and Sept 21, 1851 (losses on the Formosan coast). On the brig *India* see Hongkong CI, May 12, 1853.

Continuance of the need of rescue payments is observed in the case (1858) of the unfortunate crew of the bark *Matilda*, taken to Macao by a Chinese vessel, for the moderate sum of three hundred dollars. On the way, the Chinese commander was arrested by mandarins for rescuing "Europeans" in wartime. Exhibition of the American flag failed to prevent exaction of a two hundred dollar ransom. All seamen, though naturalized, spoke German to one another. A German firm at Macao finally paid part of the costs of the case. The American consul exerted himself to protect the interests of the junk owner, who, he felt, merited a mark of favor from the President. (1 Macao CI, Dec. 29, 1858)

³⁷ Quoted in Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Shanghai*, 127.

³⁸ Examples of reciprocity are given in 2 Foochow CI, Jan 1, 1859, and Jly 4, 1860. One of these follows, in the language of Consul Gouverneur's letter from Foochow, to the Secretary of State, Jly 4, 1860, Gouverneur, who on one occasion wrote confidently of sole reliance upon the treaty for safety, provides an impressive account of more tangible measures adopted to protect American, and British, interests. (See also 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 627, and II, 1048.)

"Nothing occurred from that period until the morning of the 25 June, when at 3 a m., I was informed that a battle was to take place in the harbor between the two rival factions having Lorchas then in the port, known as the *Canton* and the *Chin Chew* men. I immediately despatched a letter to Lieut Berrien requesting him to send up a small force of men to be prepared in the event of the riot extending, to protect foreign lives and property. I should remark that these Lorchas, *Canton* and *Chin Chew*, are all heavily armed vessels from three to five hundred tons, carrying from four to six or eight 24 or 32 pounders, and in fact are pirates. They act as convoy to large fleets of junks on the coast, the owners of whom sometimes refuse to employ them as such, when they follow them out, capture them and claim ransom money, the Chinese Government being utterly powerless to prevent the wrong, if many of its officials are not

consuls, the hopelessness of their giving full satisfaction, and the creditable way in which obligations were ordinarily met. The inquirer has only to consider the semi-belligerent condition of several regions in Eastern Asia, as well as the actual hostilities sometimes carried on, to recall the shortcomings of treaties and basic objections advanced against any treaty system yoking two very different groups of civilizations, and to remember the many natural risks and the uneven character of

naval aid supplied Americans Lacking colonial interests to give a sharp edge to its foreign policy in the East, the government of the United States, like that of China, failed to follow consistently the political and social implications of its treaties. Worried by governmental delay in heeding their demands for adequate protection, most Americans there at the time supported their representatives' reiterations of their "just claims" and the "extraordinary exigencies" of their

interested in the transaction themselves. Everything remained quiet until about 11 o'clock a.m., when a slow and desultory firing from heavy guns and small arms began. At 12 the firing became louder and sharper. All eyes were strained down the river for the boat from the Adams. All sorts of rumors were spread abroad, the merchants having large amounts of treasure (1 e.) dollars ready to pay for the incoming tea crop became fearfully alarmed, and flocked to the Consulate asking protection and when the boats would be up. Many armed their Cantonese servants, yet fearing as they did so, to trust them with the arms they gave—the balls large and small began to fly fast and thick through the Settlement. Several Chinese spectators at a distance were killed, and some wounded—round shot entering several houses. This continued amid the wildest state of excitement, many believing that the whole thing was but the commencement of a rebel movement, in which the lives of the few foreigners and their treasure was the main object sought. About 4 p.m., a boat from the John Adams greeted the gaze of the anxious watchers, and as with steady strokes she pulled with the crew of armed men towards the jetty [the fire] gradually ceased and the lorcha-men evidently waited before they renewed hostilities to see what would be done. On the arrival of the boat understanding that several Americans were engaged on the lorchas, I requested the officer in command to board them all in a friendly way, and if he found any such on board, to read to them the paper herewith enclosed. H. B. M. Consul, Mr. Medhurst, also addressed a letter similar in purport to be read to any subjects of H. B. M. found on board.

"The effect of this was tranquilizing for the time, but as night set in, I learned that preparations were being made for a renewal of the contest on the morrow. I then wrote to Lieut. Berrien requesting him to send up all the men he could spare from the ship. At daylight on the 26th the firing recommenced quick, heavy, and continued, but fortunately as it commenced the three large boats of the Adams filled with men came in sight. At this, the firing again ceased. At 12 o'clock this day a letter from the Canton men was sent me asking my mediation in their quarrel, and stating that they would abide by my decision. To this I replied as per my No. 3, herewith enclosed, in the English and the Chinese. This was received with favor, and the officer in the meantime having distributed his force, in all say 75 men in a position to show to the greatest advantage, and for the protection of foreign property. I awaited their reply. This I received on the 27th saying that the firing should cease, and that there should [be] no further trouble. On the receipt of this I would have requested Lieut. Berrien to withdraw the forces, but the board of foreign Consuls in the meantime having met, by a resolution requested him to retain them here until Monday July 2d. To this he consented and on that day all except 13 marines on guard at my Consulate (which had previously been designated as a rallying point for all foreigners in case of danger) and one boat's crew on the jetty were withdrawn. On the following day all continuing quiet, these men also returned to the ship. My own opinion and reflections in relation to this difficulty, and the measures it seemed to me the Government should take to protect its citizens and property here, I shall forward at another opportunity."

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("United States sailors landed here today to protect American lives and property in disorders accompanying the evacuation of this fallen rebel capital by the retreating 19th Route Army

"At the request of Gordon Burke, vice consul in charge of the United States consular district, a naval party came ashore from the American gunboat Tulsa and immediately went on guard in the quarter

"The United States naval landing party consists of thirty bluejackets—the same number as was sent ashore by the British" News item, Foochow, January 15, 1934)

"commercial and national interests" Many of them were skeptical whether "anything short of the annihilation of trade, of private and public rights, and of all national influence and respect" would secure prompt and effective action by Congress.³⁹

Besides exercising a general protective oversight, consuls also looked after the welfare and discipline of particular groups or classes of American residents and travellers. For convenience, these may be placed here in three partly overlapping divisions--resident Americans (chiefly commercial people of different kinds, and missionaries), seamen, and persons requiring legal discipline.

Sect b--Resident Americans, the Consul as a Member of the Foreign Community, His Social Position

As long as merchants made up nearly all the population of foreign communities in the Orient, consuls (ordinarily merchants) fitted very naturally into the prevailing scheme. At most a consul was primus inter pares. In some cases he was subject to the rivalry and suspicion of his fellows and carried an added measure of prestige, but he was not a different order of being. When foreign populations became diversified and non-merchant consuls appeared, lines of distinction gradually emerged which weakened the influence of merchants and gave consuls a new position in relation to other Americans.

If a trading consul made a mistake, he was still of the class of merchants. If a non-trading consul's act ran counter to the interests of this class, he was viewed as an outsider. Although it was conceivable that through pressure on the government he might ultimately be displaced, the process was tedious. He was the appointee of a government far removed from the East and was not nearly as directly dependent on popular opinion in his local community as

the average public officer in the home land.

Treaties initiated the growth of a definite system, in place of informal relationships. Consuls who were strangers to those relationships naturally thought in terms of the system of which they were a part. They were frequently involved in the inevitable conflicts of interest among foreign groups in the port communities--little "self-governing and self-taxing republics",⁴⁰ as some of them have been called. What from the consular standpoint was regarded as an attempt to mete out justice fairly, according to prevailing regulations, sometimes appeared to merchants or other interested groups as sheer contrariness or prejudice. The consul necessarily became an increasingly distinct figure in the foreign communities.

There is a temptation to generalize regarding the attitudes and interests of different groups such as merchants and missionaries. Individual occurrence, however, show that within groups there were those whose independence and lack of bias led them into agreement with persons in other circles than their own. Such agreement contributed a measure of objectivity to public opinion, which would otherwise have been little more than the sum of special interests.

Disinterested views could not be expected uniformly from active men of a probable average age of not over thirty years--subject to the psychological peculiarities of their relatively small communities, hampered by slow outside communications, and a prey to rumor.⁴¹ Contradictions exhibited by carefully written letters of disputants, and frequent professions of unselfish patriotism on their part, suggest the presence of a strong tendency to rationalize. Partisanship was prominent in some of the Far Eastern newspapers of the day and in the "communications" printed by them.⁴²

Consular officers were not a

³⁹ 14 China DD, Mar 22, 1857. As a contrast to post-treaty reliance on naval force, in the midst of far-flung and diverse relations, note the refusal of the homogeneous body of American merchants at Canton in 1820 to accept the offer of a naval convoy (Paullin, in Proc of the U S Naval Inst, XXXVI, 454).

⁴⁰ Morse, Trade and Admin, 207.

⁴¹ Michie, The Englishman in China, I, 260, 6 China DD, Dec 26, encl of Dec 2, 1850, J H Dunne, From Calcutta to Pekin (London, 1861), 63.

⁴² In the case of the failure of the firm of Nye, the following comment was communicated to The Overland Friend of China for Jly 10, 1856. "For some time we have been anxiously looking for that promised exposé

definite and homogeneous group, for they possessed dissimilar backgrounds Controversy continued for many years regarding the merits of merchant consuls, missionary consuls, and service consuls (more often regarded as political consuls) It has been seen that the first group suffered from the suspicion of their fellow merchants As early as 1847 official notice was taken of the frequent incompatibility of mercantile and consular interests when united in the person of one man The difficulty was exhibited in a suit of Nye, Parkin and Company against a Chinese firm, for debt The American house believed that competitors, Russell and Company, of which Consul Forbes was senior partner and manager, were interested in the defending Chinese firm, and persuaded the Legation to take over the case⁴³ The jealousy and secretiveness of "large houses and monopolists and magnificent contrabandists" later made a deep impression on W B Reed⁴⁴

Occasionally the traditions of individual ports differed Such restraint as trading consuls in China inherited from the time of the Co-hong affected early for-

eign relations with Japanese at Shimoda and Nagasaki The different origin and the migratory character of commerce at Hakodate and at some Pacific island ports left small place for this type of influence Lacking the benefit of constructive thought by his government on his work at the Japanese outpost, the incumbent let his commercial interests lead him into difficulties which at least bore the appearance of evil⁴⁵

Persons who generalized on the merits and demerits of trading and non-trading consuls often forgot that both classes could produce unpleasant history, and that, in either class, personal capacity and integrity were decisive In the time and place, no officer could escape some suspicion of mercenary motives or avoid irritating an individual or a group sufficiently to elicit a condemnation of the class of consuls to which he belonged

At no time was the personnel of the service in the East drawn from the ranks of missionaries as largely as from the body of merchants Preoccupied with religious duties and personal financial problems, and frequently hostile to features

of Mr Hunter's, respecting the Affidavits in Mr Nye's case, wherein such a particularly disinterested affection appeared to exist for the Chinese and their claims on the part of some individual or individuals "The delay of this exposition betrays a sensitiveness which would seem to intimate that all was not exactly *coeur de rose*, or in other plainer words that a little dirty work was mixed up in the affair It affords a small matter for speculation to know how these same affidavits were procured, what reasons were assigned to induce the Chinese creditors to certify to them, and for what use or purpose they were ultimately to be put" "One can hardly be so uncharitable as to suppose they were procured to militate against Mr Nye's future prospects, by injuring him in the eyes of his creditors and correspondents, but yet, through all, there appears to run some covert design, which does not appear very healthy or very honourable However, Mr Hunter's well known integrity in the mercantile world, is of itself a sufficient guarantee that he will render a faithful and just representation, alike without concealment, fear, or partiality" "Few men in China have ever commanded so just and well merited a respect as Mr Nye He has enjoyed more than any other man the perfect confidence of the Chinese merchants, and now, in his hour of trouble, he retains their warmest sympathies" (Gideon Nye, Jr , was for a time the consular officer at Macao)

⁴³ 4 China DD, Sept 24, 1847, with encls Cf 6 China DD, Sept 24, 1851, Encl G , 2 Shanghai CL, Mar 4, 1854, The Nation (New York), I, 551, 2 Foochow CL, Oct 3, 1859, 33-1, H Ex Doc 128, 262, and 42-2, H Ex Doc 517, 69

⁴⁴ For an interesting account of their measures to secure advance news, see Reed's Private Diary of Mission to China 1857-1859 (Two manuscript volumes, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), Vol 2, 502 Cf Com Rels , 1858, 56

⁴⁵ For his defense see 1 Hakodate CL, May 22, 1859 On the shortcomings of consuls and merchants note Samuels, From the Forecastle to the Cabin, 135, William Blakeney, On the Coasts of Cathay and Cipango Forty Years Ago (London, 1902), and Tilley, Japan, the Amcor, and the Pacific, 119-120 Cf De Bow's The Commercial Review of the South and West, I, 57-61, and Moore, Digest, V, 9 On the financial question of inadequate pay for non-trading consuls there is a useful statement in 3 Hongkong CL, Jan 15, 1856

of commercial life, this group were no better qualified than any other class to man consular establishments. In a few instances, however, missionaries with marked individual ability and public spirit, combined with special linguistic knowledge, added bright pages to the consular story. Their connections were chiefly with minor offices.⁴⁶ Any misstep made by a missionary was exposed to the risk of special criticism because of the high ethical level which his countrymen expected his acts to attain and on account of the missionaries' disapproval of some of the deeds of merchants, who often disliked the Christian propaganda.⁴⁷

Regardless of their own origin, consuls often found that a barrier between traders and themselves was created by mercantile impatience and insistence on partisan interpretations of treaties. The mercantile calling placed a premium on decisive self-confidence and pride. "But, being a pioneer in these wilds in the shape of a live Yankee, I had, of course, to meet with many difficulties, as all western men who have blazed the first trail in a new country know by experience."⁴⁸ Secretary Marcy referred to the

premature and regrettable appearance of American merchants in Japan as a manifestation of "characteristic enterprise".⁴⁹ In spite of the occasional attractiveness of the spirit of enterprise, it had very unpleasant aspects. References to the "dollar-hunting community of the Bund at Shanghai", the cavils and criticism of querulous merchants, and "money making as the chief end and object" of such persons point to their characteristic spirit.⁵⁰

There are many examples of the incautiousness of traders for which consuls sometimes suffered. From the Amur River, for example, came word of unjustified American optimism regarding trade in that region.⁵¹ The freedom with which the terms of Commodore Perry's treaty with Japan were interpreted was unwarranted, particularly when the rigid traditions of the Japanese officials are taken into account.⁵² Townsend Harris, a former merchant, wrote regarding his convention of 1857 that he knew his "dear countrymen but too well" to feel otherwise than lucky if he was not removed from office for failing to make a commercial treaty opening Japan as freely as England was open to Americans.⁵³

Notable cases in China involving

⁴⁶ For support of their suitability in such cases see 3 Shanghai CL, Oct 19, 1855 Cf 1 Ningpo CL, Mar 4, 1858, Enc Sinica, 404, and The Nation (New York), I, 551

⁴⁷ L N Wheeler, The Foreigner in China (Chicago, 1881), 247, W B Reed, Private Diary, Vol I, 167. For curious reasoning on the ethics of smuggling see 6 China DD, Parker to Webster, No 20, Enc G, cf 1 Foochow CL, Jan 1, 1856, and Com Rels, 1860, 426. Even political consuls were not free from embarrassment in associating with merchants suspected of smuggling or bribery, note also early comment regarding impositions on the Chinese, in 3 Canton CL, Dec 1, 1845

⁴⁸ 55-1, H Ex Doc 98, 50

⁴⁹ 1 Japan Inst, Oct 4, 1855, cf Tilley, Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific, 121-122. For the hesitancy of the Department of State to give preliminary advice to traders, note Mis Let, Oct 5, 1860 (Bacon), and 52 Domestic Letters, Oct 8, 1860 (p 168), Trescott to Bacon

⁵⁰ Dunn, From Calcutta to Pekin, 56, Blakeney, On the Coasts of Cathay and Cipango Forty Years Ago, 87, 16 China DD, Feb 13, 1858 (note also the impatience of military men), Anon., De Zieke Reiziger, or, Rambles in Java and the Straits in 1852 (London, etc., 1853), 13-14. See the last-named work concerning lack of amusements and the limited range of merchants' conversation at Singapore. Note Graves, Forty Years in China, 311-312, and Gally and Ivan, History of the Insurrection in China, 242. For a more favorable impression of merchants see Michie, The Englishman in China, I, ch XIII

⁵¹ 1 Amoor River CL, Feb 20/Mar 3, 1860

⁵² E.g., the cases of Reed and Dougherty (calling themselves "the American Pioneers of Japan"), Bidleman and Doty, and the disappointed shipmaster Brown (on the Wilmingston), who vented his spleen against Perry in a sarcastic attack, quoted in 3 Shanghai CL, Nov 1, 1855 Cf Murdoch, A History of Japan, III, 613-614 (the Lady Pierce at Uraga), arguments favoring support of American trade and features of commercial philosophy, in Mis Let, Sept 19, 1850 (merchants of Baltimore to the President), and Jan 26 and Feb. 20, 1860 (commercial organizations of large American cities), and Cass' subsequent comments in 1 China DI, Dec 30, 1859, Boston Daily Advertiser, Jan 27, 1857 (on Reed's treaty)

⁵³ Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 374. For an indication that his fear was well-grounded see Alcock's The Capital of the Tycoon, II, 354, this writer often refers to unpleasant mercantile characteristics

Russell and Company and Wetmore, Williams, and Company were created by merchants' insistence upon their own interpretations of treaty provisions and, even, their right to go beyond the law. In both instances the point of dispute concerned control of rice cargoes in the harbor of Shanghai. To protect the national food supply, the policy of the Chinese authorities was exceedingly firm upon the subject of exportation of grain.⁵⁴ Moreover, no transhipment of any kind in port was allowed without a permit from the customhouse, which at the time was served by foreign inspectors. Bitter and tangled conflict between these proper restrictions and the American houses' desire for gain illustrated the hostility of the older commercial individualism to official regulation. In each case the Legation upheld the consular officer in his adverse ruling against the merchants.⁵⁵

Merchants were inclined to impose on their nation's representatives concerning "the varied and multiplied correspondence which this [Shanghai] office is subjected to from the Merchants", Consul Murphy wrote that great care was essential,

"as the slightest inconsistency" was "availed of to embarrass [sic] and take advantage of the officer."⁵⁶ Further embarrassment was produced by the freedom of commercial houses to reject consular drafts for salary. Close alliance between merchants and shipmasters indirectly tended toward a widening rift between merchants and consuls when the latter, in obedience to law, upheld the rights of American seamen. As newspapers sprang up, consuls were exposed to comment which reflected mercantile ideas.⁵⁷

There is little evidence regarding the purely social relations of consuls, which extended beyond the circle of their countrymen. Non-trading officers were overshadowed by prosperous merchants. All consuls enjoyed occasional relaxation from the severity of routine and the monotony of customary associations on holidays and during visits of vessels of war and official dignitaries. There were also exchanges of calls with consuls of other nations. For some, the swifter and ever-present resort to drink provided escape. At a few points games, racing, and other diversions were available.⁵⁸

Harris was fortunate at the outset in having no foreign community to complicate his delicate problems. For Williams' temperate review of economic prospects in Japan see Richard Hildreth, Japan As It Was and Is (Boston and New York, 1855), 558-562. Of Perry's Narrative, Vol. 2, 186, Sewall, The Logbook, 150, and Albert Smith, To China and Back Being a Diary Kept, Out and Home, 42 (an amusing point of view).

⁵⁴ For Consul Griswold's earlier reasoning on exports see 15 China DD, Oct 13, 1857, cf. 19 China DD, May 29, 1860.

⁵⁵ The Russell and Company case (1857) involved the American bark Quickstep, the brig Spec (under the Tahitian Protectorate French flag), amazing uncertainty regarding the origin of the cargo in dispute, action by the American and French consulates and the customhouse officials, use of a private force against Dr. Fish (the American inspector), and indirect intimidation of the Chinese authorities. But for the haste and violence of their procedure, Russell and Company would have had some support by their consulate. On this occurrence and related issues there is material in 4 Shanghai CL, Sept 16, 1857, with encls (note also a memorandum bound in therewith), 15 China DD, Oct 13, 1857, with encls, and 33-1, H Ex Doc 123, 257-263. Of Moore, Digest, II, 658-659. For a probable result of the Quickstep case note Article XXI of the American Treaty of Tientsin.

The case of Wetmore, Williams, and Company is related in 19 China DD, May 29, 1860.

⁵⁶ 5 Shanghai CL, Oct 19, 1855, cf. Chin Repos, XIX (1850), 55, and 6 China DD, No. 25, 1851, with encls.

⁵⁷ For a critical and comparative view of mercantile ethics and the actions of some East India merchants in American cities, note Gustavus Myers' Great American Fortunes, I (Chicago, 1911), pp. 62, 66-67, 71-72, 186, and 194-195.

⁵⁸ Diverse conditions in some of the ports are mentioned in Tronson, Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, 169, Tilley, Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific, 226, Wood, Fankwei, 125, Couling, Enc Sinica, 461 (the short-lived The Shanghai Chronicle of Fun, Fact, and Fiction), Huyssen de Kattendyke, Le Japon en 1857, 147, Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, II, 303-304, 1 Hakodate CL, Dec 31, 1859 (Rice's pleasant New Year's ball in trouble-ridden Hakodate), and Morse, Int. Rels, I, 346 and 558 (statistics of foreign populations).

The place of women and children in the open ports seems to have been a minor one. Those who were present faced disadvantages, particularly in relation to health. This abnormal situation is pertinent to any consideration of the lives of consuls.

Regarding relations of consular officers with other Americans it may be said, in general, that much depended on the temper and the connections of the man in question, and that his contacts were so largely official or administrative as to set him somewhat apart individually, often with no assurance of backing or encouragement from an allied social or professional group. In this last circumstance may be found some excuse for consuls who turned their backs on office, and some reason for praise of those who persisted in service in an abnormal atmosphere.

Sect. 2--Seamen

It is a difficult and complex task to assess fairly the merits of conflicting claims of shipmasters and seamen, as presented to consuls, and to determine whether consuls or their critics had the correct view regarding the numerous maritime controversies.⁵⁹ Some of the severest stric-

tures of consular officers contain inconsistent admissions which weaken or destroy their conclusiveness.⁶⁰ To an unsettling disagreement of standards in the Far East were added violent differences of opinion within the small international communities and a degree of secretiveness which impeded fair and well-informed judgments at the time. Subsequent interpretation of many related facts modifies some inherited opinions.

W B Reed's comment on puzzling judgments and criteria⁶¹ is especially applicable to difficulties relating to seamen. They were almost at the bottom of the social pyramid and were often uninhabited by cultural scruples in their myriad social and racial contacts. Consuls of the period were in no position to deal with seamen's problems from the standpoint of social evolution. The frequency and insistence of these difficulties tempted officials to treat them in the manner most likely to avoid trouble and inconvenience. In many cases, moreover, consuls were bound by definite legal prescriptions. These circumstances, joined with charges of personal greed among consuls, give special importance to occasional evidence that they were influenced by such additional considerations as

⁵⁹The life of seamen has been described in Part I, and different portions of Part II deal with functions affecting them. Note also the following section:

⁶⁰E.g., 42-2, H Ex Doc 317. This important document (Examination of Accounts of Consular Officers of the United States) unfortunately was prepared too quickly and too long after the period 1845-1860 to enable Inspector Keim, the reporting officer, to ascertain precisely what conditions had been then. Even with respect to the following decade of the sixties (under the administrations of Lincoln, Johnson, and Grant), to which he gave greater attention, he was frequently dependent upon hearsay and hasty investigation. Readily admitting the shortcomings of some consuls during the period of the present study, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that had Keim known more of individuals of merit serving in this period he would have said somewhat less of unsatisfactory personnel and would have emphasized more his objections to the American government's manner of administering consular affairs. (For comment on the shortcomings of the act of 1856 see his report, p 18.) Close reading of his remarks on consular history in the years just before his trip to Eastern Asia indeed reveals a surprising amount of commendation of individual officers, and among those officers who actually faced him during that visit there were relatively few whom he condemned. He did not visit most of the consulates at islands in the Pacific Ocean. He discovered that a consul might draw criticism from Americans and others not merely because of turpitude but also on account of efforts to increase the rigor of enforcement of laws and regulations. Not possessing all the necessary documentary and statistical evidence to confirm his suspicions, in some instances, he naturally placed a degree of reliance upon persistent rumors, when it is remembered that the ranks of critics of consuls contained many who were ready to take financial advantage of official malfeasance, the significance of their strictures, while not destroyed, is modified. Of the two chief sources of unlawful pecuniary gain by which Keim says consuls benefited—fees and charges in relation to seamen—the second is noted in the present chapter.

⁶¹Cf 15 China DD, Jan 23, 1858, and Morse, op cit, I, 554 (over severe).

regard for the rights of native peoples and a jealous concern for the honor of the American name and flag

This inquiry into problems relating to seamen takes into account causes of the trouble, rapidly mounting relief expenditures, the trying conduct of many sailors and shipmasters, regulations made by local officials, and consular dealings with seamen at some ports, notably at Canton and Shanghai

"There is now no jail or place where American seamen can be lodged for safe keeping, and in case of difficulties, which are constantly occurring, the only place of confinement is on board ships taking in or discharging cargo I would therefore suggest that authority be given to this Consulate to hire a chop boat or other suitable place for a prison and to appropriate a small sum to maintain the same--otherwise criminals may have to be put into Chinese prisons, which are not fit to put christians into"⁶²

Occurrences referred to in this statement (1850) by Consul Forbes at Canton were a menace calling for better arrangements for control of seamen at the Whampoa anchorage, where the consul wished to have a consular agent appointed, with a United States marshal's authority to arrest deserters. Forbes also wished men-of-war to be required to assist in maintaining order on merchant ships in port, and even to take mutinous men into temporary custody at the request of the consul. The need was again presented three years later. Although a marshal was then stationed at Whampoa, there were many cases of escape from his

residence, a floating hulk, in which offenders were confined. Disorder at this focal point indicated the continuing inadequacy of American laws for control of seamen, nearly a decade after the first treaty with China. It showed the difficulty of providing for all special situations by general legislation.⁶³

During the fifties, extension of commerce, the unsettling influence of the gold rush, and other factors enlarged the sailor problem and increased expenses for relief. Before the opening of Japan, seamen cast ashore there had to be brought away and supported at some consulate until they could be reemployed or sent home.⁶⁴

The consulate at Canton refused to discharge sailors from ships arriving at the Whampoa anchorage, under its jurisdiction. Most of its growing expense for destitute seamen was for relief of men who, after discharge or desertion from vessels arriving at Hongkong from California, had found temporary employment in Portuguese lorchas or other local craft. The effects of the climate upon systems already enfeebled forced these men to seek official assistance at Whampoa, in the midst of this traffic. As the consular officer there had been in no position to exact the usual three months' extra pay for them at the time of discharge, the size of his accounts gave him much concern. They included bills for medical aid to seamen sent from the inadequate floating hospital at Whampoa to the better facilities at Macao and Hongkong. The government gave little effective help.⁶⁵

This unfortunate condition adversely affected the nearby consulate at Hongkong.

⁶² 4 Canton CL, Aug 28, 1850, cf Bangkok Transcripts, Mattoon to Robert Schomburgk, Nov 1, 1858

⁶³ 4 Canton CL, Apr 6, 1853, 6 China DD, Feb 24, 1851 Seamen were not allowed to go to Canton (4 Canton CL, Jly 14, 1856) On measures to control them see the corresponding section in Part II, of 32-1, S Ex Doc 43, and 32-2, S Ex Doc 1, 321-313 (Sec of the Navy). The legal requirement (1803) of three months' extra pay, modified in 1840 to permit exercise of consular discretion (or joint application of master and seaman), was restored in 1856, after the experiment had proven too costly (Manual, Hist Sketch, 11, cf Jones, Con Serv, 9-10, Hongkong CI, Mar 18, 1852, and Nagasaki Transcripts, No 10, Feb 4, 1860) For a brief conspectus of laws see 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 35-42, and later portions of the different volumes of consular regulations

⁶⁴ See, for example, 51-1, H Ex Doc 84

⁶⁵ 4 Canton CL, Apr 1, 1854, and Jly 14, 1856 (for later information on this locality, including the hardships of the useful marshal, reliance on a British jail, and dissatisfaction of masters, who occasionally took the law into their own hands) Regarding comment in the second letter on racial difficulties see also the A H Foote Papers (Foote's letter of Nov 8, 1856)

Although Whampoa, some fifteen miles from Canton, was the anchorage for vessels in the Canton trade, the consul was required by law and treaty to reside at the latter place Daily trips to Whampoa to handle

Many vessels arrived there from the United States, but in earlier years few sailed direct for home Subsequent movements of arriving vessels were determined at Whampoa, in case they were despatched directly to the United States, all available room on them was required by the consular officer for seamen from that anchorage. Lack of a satisfactory hospital there made it undesirable that the consul at Hongkong should send seamen thrown on his hands to that place to wait for berths.⁶⁵ At the British colony there were many special cases of need, including crews of shipwrecked vessels and other strays Numerous seamen from refitting whalers congregated there The attendant problems are considered after brief reference to the general questions of fraud and cruelty in treatment of seamen⁶⁶

The unpredictability of expenses for the relief of seamen gave consuls and the Treasury Department much concern That padding of accounts and sheer graft were carried on in some cases cannot be doubted

The Fifth Auditor of the Treasury held that, as a result of the temptations and facilities for procuring fictitious vouchers in remote Pacific consulates, the apparent correctness of papers was "generally in proportion to the enormity of the frauds" which they covered⁶⁷ In spite of his advantageous position, this official's knowledge was unsatisfactory The general character of diverse information here employed gives only limited support to his conclusion regarding the localities in question, or to its applicability elsewhere Tangled motives in any particular case were not understood by a study of statistics alone It is improbable that consuls who often rendered sacrificial service, regularly combined with their unmistakable virtues a dramatic ability to conceal peculations under a show of honest poverty Variations in the size of the whaling fleet must also be taken into account, as well as the ratio between increases in fee collections and the growth of relief expenditures⁶⁸

the affairs of seamen could have been made only in an open boat and would have required the consul to neglect consular court cases and the prescribed office hours

⁶⁵ A suitable hospital was then lacking at Shanghai also

A circular of Sept 1, 1848 advised that seamen should be sent to intermediate ports where opportunities to ship home might occur (Hongkong CL, and Index, Feb 26, 1850)

⁶⁷ On problems relating to seamen in Australasia (discharge, inducements to desert, vagrants, illness, British regulations, and the open buying and selling of documents called "protections" in relation to the requirement that two-thirds of crews be American) see Com Rels, 1857, 18-19, Com Rels, 1858, 44, 54, 60-61, Com Rels, 1860, 46, 58-60, and Com Rels, III, 665-666

Outgoing correspondence of the Singapore consulate consisted largely of references to seamen on American vessels (e.g., 2 Singapore CL, Oct 20, 1851) Some correspondence was carried on with local authorities in Western Australia

Regarding "Batavia fever", and use of local police at Singapore and Bangkok, there is information in Singapore Transcripts and Bangkok Transcripts, *passim* In the same material is an account of the extraordinarily involved case of the American whaler Ansell Gibbs, relating to use of Manila seamen (Spanish subjects) It is contained in a letter of November 10, 1852 from the English merchant then acting as United States consul at Singapore to the acting consul of Spain (apparently a Frenchman or a Belgian), with information for presentation by the latter to the Governor-General at Manila The only American citizen mentioned in the entire case was the master of the whaler See also Com Rels, III, 157

⁶⁸ 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 19 Until 1855 consuls were allowed a small percentage of the money involved in paying off seamen

⁶⁹ Of 33-2, 8 Mis Doc 16, for example During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1859, consuls spent \$254,572 51 for destitute seamen, while extra wages received amounted to only \$22,102 19, leaving what was termed an "outrageous expense" to be paid by the Treasury As the appropriation for this account was but \$150,000, a deficiency of \$72,469 32 existed Figures have been cited (42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 34-35) to show that marked improvement occurred by 1871, but, in spite of some allowance for actual gains, such argument is largely vitiated by the enormous decrease in registered tonnage Also, it is a question whether consular organization and personnel were improved sufficiently by the later date to account for financial improvement For many figures see the same work, p 33, 30-2, H Ex Doc 60, 15-17, and 35-1, H Ex Doc 5, 2, cf Gong Globe, 36-1, 2162-2164

One of the points often mentioned in connection with charges relating to seamen and desertions is that masters were accustomed callously to use any method in personal dealings that would cut expenses. To this it has been responded that they were merely prudent stewards of commercial interests, who found that the only way to control rebellious and often depraved men was to cow them and to disregard their rights. The argument will probably never be settled, except in occasional specific instances, for there was sufficient evidence on either side to satisfy persons determined to generalize hastily or in self-interest. The pot called the kettle black. At the time, it was considered no great shame for a good sailor to avoid the great dangers confronting him on clipper ships--sailed by masterful captains for whom the extraordinary zest of a sporting competition for speed records was the spice of an already keen commercial and financial competition.

Crews of the fine opium vessels (generally Lascars or Manilamen) have been described as much better behaved than Europeans and less subject to drunkenness, undoubtedly a major cause of woe, commanders of these vessels were men far above the average.⁷⁰ In contrast stands a consular characterization of many of the merchant clippers as little better than floating prisons, to get "the ship along is the uppermost idea and the sacred rights of humanity are sacrificed by men whose appearance would lead me to expect better

things."⁷¹

The more general the discussion of relations between masters and seamen, the greater was the tendency to make allowance for the latter. The more specific and routine the attention to their difficulties, the greater was the inclination (of most consuls) to make allowance for the captains, particularly in view of the widespread faith in the national importance of giving every aid to American shipping and foreign trade.⁷² This contrast of views is reflected in a report of the commercial agent at Hakodate.⁷³ Strongly in favor of the "much abused sailors" when he left home, he experienced a change of attitude after dealing with crews--"a more vicious, abandoned set of men I never saw", what with plunder, rowdyism, and drunkenness. These men stole to get liquor and beat owners of stores and dwellings who resisted their invasions. Local authorities complained but did not interfere.

"Their forbearance was astonishing to me. I ex-postulated with the Capts and men until I found it was of no use. They went so far as to deny my authority to interfere and defied me to arrest any one. I then made short work of it and with one or two exceptions, I have had little or no disturbance."

Abundant indications of the annoyance caused consular officers by the misdeeds of sailors appear in the history of this problem at Hongkong. At this port, moreover, the consulate had to reckon with

⁷⁰ W. Tyrone Power, Recollections of a Three Years' Residence in China (London, 1853), 111.

⁷¹ 4 Hongkong CL, Sept 23, 1858, this volume contains numerous entries regarding cruelty and illegal conduct toward seamen. Hongkong newspapers carried much pertinent news of trials. In Oct 1858, great excitement was created when the British authorities made arrests in connection with cruelty charges against captains.

Well-informed remarks appear in R. B. Forbes' An Appeal to Merchants and Ship Owners on the Subject to Seamen (1854), which refers to the relaxed state of discipline, the scarcity of seamen and the inadequacy of existing laws, the seaman's many disabilities, and the government's obvious ability to pay for better treatment of him. Forbes, a leading commercial and maritime figure, attacked masters' honesty, the economic understanding and judgment of shipowners, and governmental apathy. He commented on the use of liquor as a reward for seamen, Cf. Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, XIII, 141-142, Samuels, From the Forecastle to the Cabin, 135, and Lyman, Around the Horn, 50.

⁷² At Hongkong, as at some other ports, earlier statements were less hostile to seamen than most later accounts. Cf. 2 Hongkong CL, Mar 29, 1852.

⁷³ 1 Hakodate CL, June 30, 1858. Tilley states that officers of American whalers had difficulty in recovering deserters, and that the scarcity of men led to the custom of delivering up each other's seamen when they were located. Some deserters used a rock as a fortress for protection against seizure (Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific, 108-110.)

the firm authority of British law rather than with the extraterritorial conditions existing in Japan and in China Officers became involved in troublesome litigation⁷⁴

In consular correspondence of the port there was increasingly abundant complaint Seamen were sent to Hongkong from the South Sea Islands, India, the East Indies, Manila, and Japan⁷⁵ The total number was increased by many men who had shipped from San Francisco under special circumstances or had been discharged from

whalers without extra pay⁷⁶ There were troublesome cases of broken-down seamen whom the consulate had little chance to send home

Direct application to the Hongkong police by masters wishing deserters reclaimed had unsatisfactory results, which would have been avoided by proper report of cases to the consulate, ready to apply to the local authorities for the arrest of deserters As a possible cause of such action by whaling masters, Vice Consul Anthon gave their dislike of an official who

⁷⁴ Hongkong CL, *passim* It should be recalled that in court seamen's oaths were suspect See, for example, remarks in 4 Hongkong CL, Mar 12, 1859, on the trial of seamen from the Mastiff, who had induced a Chinese servant to rob the captain and then had murdered their tool Cf 2 Hongkong CL, July 20, 1852, and 1 Amoy CL, Feb 4 and Mar 1, 1854 (the alleged wreck of the fictitious Orleome, with interesting racial and linguistic aspects and a case of reward of Chinese rescuers), and Cutler, Greyhounds of the Sea, 188-190

Harking back faintly to the early issue of impressment, the presence of Englishmen in American crews in the Orient created difficulty, e.g., in the case of the Mandarin (1 Foochow CL, June 20, 1855), cf 35-2, H Ex Doc 113, 46-47 In general, foreigners in the American service were a source of perplexities

⁷⁵ Many vessels brought as passengers distressed seamen who had deserted or had been put ashore at such points as the Ascension and the Bonin Islands (Walpole, Four Years in the Pacific, II, 586-587, and 2 Hongkong CL, Jan 29, 1852) The consulate wrote sharply of shipmasters who cut expenses by leaving sick and helpless men in isolated places Some of them probably had been stolen for the voyage (Note depressing information in Com Rels, 1858, 431-432)

⁷⁶ Shipping from San Francisco "by the run", with high pay, began about the middle of 1850 The colony of Hongkong required a guarantee that seamen left there would not come upon the government for support (Brit and For State Papers, XLVII, 588-590) Under pressure from all sides, the consulate risked the adoption of a special method of handling problem cases (For this scheme see 2 Hongkong CL, Aug 21, 1851) Almost every master arriving from San Francisco complained of disciplinary difficulties, attributed to the system of advance wages, termination of duty on anchoring, and seamen's insistence on exemption from non-sailing duties, such as scrubbing An account of the case (1852) of the Challenge is illuminating (Ibid, Feb 27, 1852)

With reference to whalers at Hongkong, the case of the recalcitrant master of the Massachusetts is revealing (2 Hongkong CL, Dec 23, 1852) This captain admitted that it was a customary expectation to make something out of discharges abroad

"Respectable" boarding houses in ports seem to have been few "Shipping offices" for seamen bore a uniformly bad reputation, being "synonymous with rascality" (Cf Keim, in 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 85, 130-131) In 1856 Consul Murphy at Shanghai discussed the practice of stealing sailors from the merchantmen of all nations, which resulted in many suits in the different consular courts Murphy found that testimony for conviction of offenders was not forthcoming until, by entering a "nolle prosequi" against one of a band, he managed to convict a certain Kimball of stealing and harboring thirty sailors, Kimball was fined five hundred dollars and, as he had been keeper of a sailors' boarding house under the license and seals of the American, British, and French consulates, his license was withdrawn and his establishment was closed He had taken advantage of the custom of masters of dropping down on favorable tides fourteen miles from Shanghai to sail from Woosung at the mouth of the river, where he would put on board men who had been stolen at Shanghai

The receipts of the consulate had not enabled Murphy to station an agent at Woosung, and although he had arrested seamen there he had been unable to learn who induced them to leave their ships Relieved by the new consular legislation of the risk of charges of seeking personal gain through fees, he resolved to act vigorously to protect the public revenue, as well as the interests of sailors Jointly with the British and French consuls he appointed a well-to-do American, Frederick Pearson, as sole shipping agent,

rigidly investigated all complaints by mariners. He felt obliged to defend himself against possible charges of neglect of duty, and accounted for certain desertions from whalers as a consequence of the prevalence of smallpox on board, indebtedness of crews to their vessels, frequent sailings for San Francisco, and attractive competitive terms offered seamen on tea ships at Whampoa.⁷⁷

In spite of the mischief with which many seamen at Hongkong may fairly be charged during the earlier half of our period, important responsibility for their misdeeds must be assigned to acts of masters of various kinds of vessels, and to the accepted attitudes of the age which these acts reflected. Numerous commercial changes and vicissitudes during the fifties increased the evils and vexations experienced by the consulate in relation to seamen. A number of controversies centered about Consul James Keenan.

Keenan entered upon his duties early in 1854. The following year is notable for a cause célèbre based on the "alleged outrage committed by British officials on E. N. Nichols of the Reindeer, in the arrest, and abduction of one of his crew", whom Captain Nichols was accused of having assaulted on shipboard.⁷⁸ In the course of the dispute, local magistrates

unceremoniously arrested Keenan on a charge of "unlawful rescue" (of Nichols). After long argument the consul was able finally to report the quashing of proceedings as he had refused to compromise with the authorities and they had become sensible "of the indignities that had been directed against the American flag". Keenan contended that American merchant ships were American territory, even in port, and that only American officials had jurisdiction over their internal discipline, unless the "peace of the community" was affected. This officer and members of the American Legation in China engaged in discussion with leading British authorities which led after a time to the practical, if not the theoretical, discontinuance of the searching of American ships and removal of persons in cases involving no clear offence against British law. The Reindeer affair generated much hostility between Keenan and certain local officials of the colony. It was colored throughout by personal and national emotions, and by apparent conflict, on the British side, between higher authorities' discretionary regard for policy and lower officials' insistence upon strict observance of administrative routine. The President and the Department of State failed to give Keenan as vigorous backing as he had anticipated.⁷⁹

under a recognizance of three thousand dollars, and with no perquisites beside the usual charge of five dollars apiece for putting men on board. Pearson was not to furnish any seamen to a ship until his name was entered upon the articles and attested before a consul, nor might he receive into his boarding house any seaman without consular permission. He was required to keep detailed records of seamen dealt with and report any vagrant seamen about the settlement. (3 Shanghai Cl., Murphy to Marcy, No. 4, Sept 17, 1856.) Generally, consuls guarded the observance of their national shipping laws.

Earlier information on the seaman problem at Shanghai is supplied (1849) by Consul Griswold most of the seamen then applying for relief deserted at Woosung, "the opium station," just as their vessels were going to sea. Such men put the consulate to an expense of about four dollars a week. At that time the evil apparently was not so great as to justify the consul's imprisoning them in the Chinese jail, which he regarded as the only way to stop such desertions. (1 Shanghai Cl., Griswold to Buchanan, Mar 15, 1849.)

⁷⁷ 2 Hongkong Cl., Sept 29, 1852, a letter of Nov 28 relates successful consultation between the consul and the Legislative Council at Hongkong for the purpose of harmonizing American law and a local ordinance regarding the shipping of all seamen before the British harbormaster. For an acute manifestation of the same issue at Lahaina, in the Sandwich Islands, see 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 190.

⁷⁸ This case may be examined in various letters in 3 Hongkong Cl., including Nos. 22, 25, 27, 31, and 34, from Nov., 1855 to Oct., 1856, the New York Herald of Jan 21, 1856, Norton-Kyshe, The History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong, I, 363, and Etel, Europe in China, 334 Cf Con Regs, 1856, ch XXIII, and 35-1, H Rep 49.

⁷⁹ Cf Moore, Digest, II, 287-290, and V, 70, and 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 623-624. For some similarities in the case of the Annie Bucknam, in the next year, see The Overland Friend of China, July 10, 1856.

Into this lively consulate in 1858 came Vice Consul O E Roberts, whose differences with Keenan regarding pay and management of the office have already been noted. He failed to prove his charge of corruption in Keenan's handling of moneys relating to seamen.⁸⁰ Roberts' show of virtue and his exacting (and vigorously resisted) enforcement of marine laws are robbed of part of their significance by collateral uncertainty as to Roberts' own commercial morality and his disinterestedness and good sense. On assuming his temporary duties he found that captains of American vessels uniformly remonstrated with such vigor against taking destitute or invalid seamen from his care that he was obliged to exercise the compulsion of consular authority. Otherwise he would soon have had on his hands many men not entitled to relief. He held the customary treatment of American mariners to be a cause of the increasingly bad reputation of the nation's merchant marine, and urged remedial legislation. Noting the existence of a great prejudice against American captains, he concluded that the "violent and ungovernable temper of the culprits" in his presence was good proof of their tyranny on shipboard. Roberts issued a public Notification Regarding Desertions (June 11, 1858), in which he

drew attention correctively to the action of captains in encouraging their men to desert, under the mistaken impression that a consular certificate of desertion would eliminate certain financial charges against the owners.⁸¹

It is known that, after resuming office at Hongkong, Consul Keenan differed sharply with Roberts on policies affecting seamen and shipmasters, but in a qualified way he upheld Roberts' restraint of captains. In this particular problem clarity suffers because relations between the two men were confused by other considerations. It may be repeated, however, that much of the responsibility for difficulties relating to seamen rested with masters. Regrettable traditions, occupational vicissitudes, and economic tension created a vicious circle of violence from which few, if any, masters or men could entirely escape. Nature provided a hostile sea, man's ambitions and desire for profit led him to challenge this element, often with inadequate equipment and scanty official or social oversight and regulation. Consequently, the ship became a battle ground between man and man as well as between man and Nature. At Hongkong, local rules opened the door to other complications.⁸² For the rest, seamen themselves must be taxed with responsibility for many of their troubles.

Sometime later, the strong-minded consul made another appearance in court, on this occasion not in defense of a shipmaster, but in response to a charge of having assaulted one who had abused seamen on the Spitfire (4 Hongkong CL, Sept 16, 1858, and Jly 21, 1858, the second a letter from the master to the Secretary of State.)

⁸⁰ Ibid., Feb 13, 1858

⁸¹ The cases of the Live Yankee and the Messenger illustrate the vigor of Roberts' attempts to end the extensive evil of sending men ashore from American ships. (See 4 Hongkong CL, June 29, 1858, of the letter of Sept 10, 1858, and 42-2, H Ex Doc 317, 85, 89, 179-180.) The case of the Staghound suggests the prominence of cruelty. Commendation of Roberts was printed in The China Mail for Sept 30, 1858.

⁸² In contrast to Hongkong, mainland ports in China witnessed complications arising from the apprehensive disinclination of Chinese local authorities to restrain offending foreign mariners. Study of abuses of the American flag have indicated the seriousness of seamen's impositions upon natives, which threatened all Americans in less frequented spots with retaliatory action by exasperated Chinese. Consular courts at Ningpo abounded in crimes of violence committed by members of the two Anglo-Saxon nations as well as by foreigners unrepresented by consuls. Discharged sailors and deserters participated in petty lorchia warfare and entered the Rebel and Imperialist armies, to which offers of enormous wages attracted them. Merely amnying at Shanghai before 1850, the problem of seamen assumed major importance there by the middle of the following decade, for reasons similar to those which figured at Hongkong. The physical force at the consul's disposal could not control sailor brawls with Chinese. Native soldiers and policemen were useless against the much-feared and reckless foreigners. In 1856 Consul Murphy took vigorous action to control the situation. (See 1 Ningpo CL, Sept 23, 1857, Williams, The Chinese Commercial Guide, 158-159, 2 Shanghai CL, Apr 20, 1854, 1 Shanghai CL, Dec 1, 1851, and Tronson, A Voyage to Japan, 80-81)

Most consuls seem to have exhibited at least an ordinary degree of fairness in dealing with the problems of seamen. A few were conspicuous for their effective action. Those who yielded to insistent temptations to serve their own convenience or advantage experienced much provocation and hardly violated ethical standards more than did their colorful and much-praised countrymen of quarter-deck and counting-house. Their government's policy was inadequate. A great deal has been said, properly, on the shortcomings of consuls. Much that is unfavorable to them may justly be called a general feature of conduct of the times.

Sect. d--Care of Criminals and Prisoners

Restraint of unruly seamen again and again drew the attention of consuls to the need of proper jails and services of marshals. It complicated consular relations with receiving governments allowing extraterritorial privileges, as well as

the handling of judicial questions generally. Further notice is now given to special problems incident to the care of criminals and prisoners, regardless of occupation.

Where might such persons be confined? At most ports there was no American jail. Often, vessels in port might offer a precarious and temporary place of detention--national vessels of war, English warships, or American merchant vessels. Floating hulks, or adapted buildings near a consulate might be used, or even native jails, as a last resort. British jails offered the best relief, when they were available.

Reference has been made to cases in which some of these different makeshifts demonstrated their inadequacy. Often out of sympathy with consuls and usually inconsistent upon the special needs of their own service, naval commanders could not be depended on uniformly to cooperate when in port. Although English vessels of war were more frequently in port, the same difficulties regarding restraint of offenders which

A different approach to difficulties of seamen from that employed in this section is supplied by law reports, a type of source to which S. E. Morrison has drawn attention. Many of these have been consulted for the present study.

Note, for example, Decisions of Hon. Peleg Sprague in Admiralty and Maritime Causes, in the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts, I, 1841-1861 (Philadelphia, 1861), under such cases as Cunningham et al vs Hall, and Shorey et al vs Kemell (pp 404-416), and such headings as "Master", "Seaman", and "Consul". Among other sources are Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York (New York, 1857), by Edward R. Olcott, covering the years 1843 to 1847 and followed by a volume by Abbott for the years 1847-1850, Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the District Court of the United States, for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1853), by William H. Crabbé, covering 1838-1846, Reports of Cases Determined in the District Court of the United States for the District of Maine and Massachusetts By Ashur Ware, Vol 3 (Portland, 1874), by Geo F. Emery, covering 1853-1865 (e.g., Roberts vs Skolfield, pp 184-195), Reports of Admiralty Cases Argued and Adjudged in the District Courts of the United States for the Eastern District of Louisiana, from 1842 to 1857, Vol I (New York, 1857), by John S. Newberry. Study of decisions leads to many references to books such as that by Curtis on masters and seamen. For general comment on reports and for description of the convenient Digest of Decisions and The Federal Digest see section B VI of the Bibliography at the end of the present study. Cf §§ n, above.

American reports, furthermore, might answer an interesting question as to whether cases involving Asiatic matters, but tried in American courts, felt the influence of any legal, social, or economic ideas from Oriental localities; it is well known that Western ideas left their impress on Far Eastern law. Cases appealed to the circuit court for the district of California from China and Japan, under a law of 1870, would probably be even more to the point. At least one case, tried in a California state court, has been encountered which related to matters in China.

Charles C. Soule's The Lawyer's Reference Manual of Law Books and Citations (Boston, 1885) mentions some reports and related works from non-American jurisdictions. Hawaiian Reports, in three volumes, covering the years 1856-1877 (The Constitution and Laws, known as the "Blue Book", in one volume, 1842, and the Civil Code, 1859, cover most of the period of this study), The Ordinances of Hong-Kong, 1866, for the years 1844 to 1865, and certain titles inadequately covering Australasia, British India, and British Pacific possessions (pp 142-148, 154-156).

affected national ships were reinforced in their case by the disadvantage and embarrassment of relying on the navy of a rival power Floating hulks and miscellaneous buildings involved expense and supervision and provided no effective barrier to escape Even more unsatisfactory were unhealthy native jails ⁸³

"The consul is a judge, a sheriff He daily makes arrests, holds court, and is sustained with great physical ability by a stout marshal The theatre of all these dignified doings is a little out-building just ten feet square, and alongside the door the eagle, with outstretched wings, is painted on a sign in the most ferocious attitude But when the consul has tried his culprits and condemned them, what is he to do with them to meet the ends of justice? The consul's culprits are not much encumbered with scrip, lands or houses, and having probably been, at the last event, kicked out of some loafering refuge, for want of financial resources, they are not amenable to fine, and what is he to do with them? He has no jail, the British consul has If the British consul were a crusty official there would be an end to the matter

.⁸⁴

This comment by Wood on the situation at Shanghai might well have included reference to the disadvantages of frequent reliance upon British jails, especially in the cases of men under long sentence Sudden British need of all their own facilities sometimes obliged American officers to remove or release prisoners prematurely ⁸⁵

The problem of physical support of consular acts of restraint and discipline was of general incidence, and long standing. It was attended by real danger to officers Consul Jones at Foochow complained that he had to ask protection from a British warship while arresting an American

"who had threatened to kill anyone who should attempt to execute the Warrant against him "⁸⁶ Judgments of the legal work of consular and diplomatic officials must also take into account serious maladjustment between offences and consequent punishments, as well as the demoralizing abbreviation of jail sentences Without proper machinery and equipment, the most elaborate and legally impeccable regulations could not have removed the prevailing sense of the futility of arrests and prosecutions Even local American public opinion and readiness to cooperate left much to be desired ⁸⁷

In 1860 the minister complained of the way evils increased ⁸⁸ The lawless were emboldened to a degree which left little reason for the Chinese and the Japanese to feel that the United States really cared for the sacredness of treaties which that nation expected local populations to observe faithfully Congressional inattentiveness produced frequent nullification of treaty provisions and the act of 1848 At last, in 1860, Congress acted, although even then it delayed the appropriation necessary to permit the expenditures specified for jails and the salaries of marshals ⁸⁹

Problems created for consuls by the necessity of caring for criminals and prisoners incidentally exhibit the acuteness of embarrassment suffered by these officers in connection with groups of problems previously traced—maintenance and routine, and dealings with the home government or its agents They also draw attention to the seriousness of consular relations with officers and other subjects of receiving governments

⁸³Taylor gives a description of the "loathesome dens" (A Visit, 335)

⁸⁴Fankwei, 378-379

⁸⁵Shanghai CL, Feb 1, 1857, 2 Amoy CL, Aug 1, 1859, and 19 China DD, Feb 22, 1860, cf 54-1, H Jcl [Pt 1], 622

⁸⁶1 Foochow CL, June 24, 1856

⁸⁷For the unreliability of a shipmaster at Foochow, note the suit of a Chinese against seamen of the Pampero (2 Foochow CL, Apr 1, 1858) Shipmasters often suffered from the inadequacy of facilities for confinement of offending members of their crews

⁸⁸19 China DD, Feb 22, 1860, cf E C Wines, A Peep at China (Philadelphia, 1839), on xenophobia

⁸⁹35-2, H Ex Doc 68, 2

Chapter 10

FOURTH GROUP: RELATIONS WITH RECEIVING GOVERNMENTS

Sect. a--Contacts with Local Officials and Customs Officers, Obligations to Them and to Natives, Instructions, Titles and Forms

In dealing with non-Americans in Eastern Asia, no consul might safely assume that a simple duty could be discharged in a simple fashion, so many were the variations of law, tradition, interest, and temperament involved¹.

It is useful to recall that, at several ports, consulates came into being only after commerce or other forms of contact had commenced. Even merchant consuls were at a disadvantage as they began the application of treaty provisions in the face of existing practices and problems. Official services to local authorities and other native persons were complicated by annoying attitudes and practices of Americans whose interests consuls were generally bound to cherish. Much of the time these officers were faced with selfish men in highly competitive situations, exhibiting rivalry between members of different races and groups and also within a single race or group.

The present treatment of ensuing conflicts relies somewhat on information presented in earlier chapters. It includes (1) the technique of relations, (2) attitudes of various participants therein, with particular reference to (3) the importance of form and ceremonial, (4) relevant economic and financial interests of native peoples, (5) security of native governments, (6) damage to rights of local peoples or flouting of local laws and customs, and (7) injury to the persons of native subjects.

(1) The Technique of Relations

Cultural and political backgrounds and special circumstances gave a marked variety to consular relations with Chinese, Japanese, English, Portuguese, Hawaiian, and other local authorities. In the first two cases, and in Siam, the greater familiarity of consuls with customary international usage, fortified by advantageous treaties, placed them in the position of teachers of the elements of foreign relations to local officers. It gave them a theoretical superiority over native authorities which reversed the earlier relationship of subjection of foreigners. This circumstance produced a transitional conflict and adjustment, traced in the study of attitudes. In the Sandwich Islands, in Russian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese territory, and in Dutch and British possessions, American consuls usually found themselves in a situation more nearly resembling that of similar officers in the Occident. This resemblance was only partial, for in all of the places mentioned, except the Sandwich Islands, colonial administration of one form or another prevailed.

These variations in government, in addition to differences in treaties, explain the unevenness of consular methods at ports of Eastern Asia. At most places official calls and correspondence figured, but ways of conducting them and the degree of facility with which they were accomplished showed marked diversity.²

Treaties with China attempted to pair consuls with native officials of corresponding rank and prestige, but no general uniformity can be observed, in different countries, in the grade of those with whom

¹The next section considers specifically one set of difficulties, those bearing on land and buildings, and another detaches for separate treatment those secondary contacts of consuls which brought them into touch with consuls and subjects of other Western nations. For the relation between these contacts and problems involving local authorities, see 3 China DD, Apr 9, 1846, enc1. of Mar 17. Discussions of coolies and opium logically form part of this chapter, but on account of their conspicuous and composite nature they are placed with topics in the fifth and final group, Special Problems.

²See Minges, Recollections . , 182, Wood, Fankwei, 554-555, Perry, Narrative, Vol. 1, 147, Paske-Smith,

consuls communicated In Siam the consul had access to the sovereign In Japan, for special reasons, Harris was received by the Shogun During earlier contacts in China, consuls sometimes received messages from or through persons of low station Direct exchanges between consuls and local officers ordinarily sufficed When local functionaries were ineffective or powerless, it was necessary to introduce the pressure of superior native or American officials³ Indirect action was occasionally taken through arbitration by consuls of other nations or other third parties The American consul sometimes proceeded alone or jointly with other Western consuls A proclamation issued during difficulties at Shanghai on April 15, 1864 indicates joint consular use of a Chinese publicity method Quoting Chinese history in most approved fashion, the notice denied foreign motives of retribution, emphasized the need for security, and gave warning of firm action in future.⁴

The diplomatic aspect of a colonial question was now and then so pronounced as to require that it be referred to the Department of State at Washington or to a ministry of foreign affairs in a European capital The local authorities and the native subjects involved were of different races In independent countries, the Asiatic persons concerned were usually of the same race as the local officials⁵

A given problem called for selection of a particular technique in accordance with relations existing between the consulate and local government offices—coercive or persuasive; hostile, reserved, or officially (or personally) cordial Difficulties taken up fell into numerous

classes These included routine, delicate social or economic policies of significance, claims, judicial matters, and breach of contract Other points were adjustment of land holdings or arrangement of local regulations, and relations between American sailors and different classes of persons in the local population Whether the specific matter in question was the inconsiderate dumping of ballast from ships into the channel of a harbor, control of the export of rice from China or Siam, or the loan of a diplomatic or consular book, the consular technique employed was of genuine moment For it affected the precedents established in novel circumstances, in which first impressions possessed social and psychological importance⁶ Relations were more tedious, if not more offensive, in countries lacking a background of equal and formal intercourse with foreigners Particularly trying were lingering attitudes created by native traditions of superiority and overlordship, and originally featured by the presentation of gifts and by degrading obeisances on the part of foreigners⁷

Much that was commendable is uncronicled Since problems were compounded largely of vexatious and discordant elements continually arising to plague consuls, succeeding pages emphasize friction The numerous attitudes displayed by different kinds and grades of persons form a subject which is a veritable Medusa

(2) Attitudes Frequent foreign comment on the old exclusiveness of policy of leading Far Eastern peoples has conveyed an impression of their unreasonableness There has been insufficient emphasis upon the fact that intrushing foreigners,

Western Barbarians in Japan, 236, Morse, Int Rels, I, App S, Hodgson, A Residence, 1, 22-24, and 4 Shanghai Cl, Feb 1, 1857 (conversation in connection with a consul's attendance at a trial by a Chinese officer, see Appendix 8 of the present work) Usually consuls were better situated than diplomatic agents as far as the proximity and accessibility of corresponding native authorities were concerned For an interesting sidelight see Taylor, A Visit, 60-61 For Harris' experience consult Treat, Early Dip Rels, 58

³Greater severity of punishment awaited a Chinese or a Japanese local official who incurred the displeasure of his superiors Of Wood, Fankwei, 500-501

⁴2 Shanghai Cl, Apr 20, 1854

⁵Note, however, such cases as consular consideration with Japanese officials of actions of local Chinese at Nagasaki

⁶For an interesting early contact, see the account of Collins' visit to a Manchu city, in his Overland Explorations, 209-212, 216

⁷Com Rels, I, 504 Cf portions of the second volume of Murdoch's A History of Japan

bringing Western commerce and "civilization," seemed equally unreasonable, naive, and arrogant to Asiatic races, to whom they sometimes also appeared amusing. Eastern attitudes toward external relations were the product of special technological, economic, and social systems.⁸ Too little has been known generally of day-by-day dealings of foreigners with lower local officials and unofficial native persons. Different specific ideas and feelings brought to bear were phases of a struggle between two systems or organisms, precipitated into intimate contact with very insufficient preparation and adjustment of mind or will.

The surprising thing is not that so many problems arose, but that, happily, a number of individuals of different races often combined sufficient courage, insight, basic human kindness, and restraint to create a cornerstone for the somewhat precarious edifice of international coop-

eration which slowly took shape.⁹ Occasionally, individual persons at great personal risk set themselves against the tides of prejudice. A few consuls took seriously the instructional task which forced itself on them, discharging it faithfully by preparatory teaching or, more often, by drawing trial-and-error lessons from mistakes of the native officials who were their pupils. Less striking, but no less real, was the complementary instruction received by some consuls and other Americans from these same pupils. In the absence of correct information, mistaken assumptions and inferences were made by both sides.¹⁰ The work of instruction was little helped by occasional American use of condescending or even childish language in official address, and a feeling that Asiatic "barbarians" might not be subject to "the motives that govern the civilized portion of mankind."¹¹ Many less educated foreign residents in the Orient, in trade,

⁸See, for example, Wood, Fankwei, 327.

There were, of course, differences within any one race. In fact, many bits of evidence throw into relief, against an Asiatic background, certain disagreements also exhibited by Americans in the United States, notably in connection with regard for law and established authority.

For a translation of an account of the Perry Expedition by an intelligent Chinese who accompanied it, see the Narrative, Vol. 2, 395-409. A description of foreign buying in Tokyo and an account of a well-known Japanese fighting man's disdain of merchants of his race who were willing to "pander" to foreign buyers (persons ready to pounce on Japan) appear in B. Saito's article, "Bakumatsu ni okeru Joi-shiso" (Xenophobia in Later Bakufu Days), in Chūō Shidai (Central Historical Review), I, No. 2 (June 1, 1920—Taishō 9). From this article it appears that Japanese literature, diaries, and other evidence to Ansei 5 (1859) show a different emphasis in attitudes from those beginning with Ansei 6—the former being somewhat theoretical and largely concerned with national defence, the latter exhibiting a marked xenophobia which caused the government much trouble. As power reverted to the Emperor, popular reconciliation with Imperial cooperation with foreigners became more noticeable. Readers not familiar with Japanese history should note that many expressions of hostility to foreigners were a product not merely of special Japanese political thought and the kind of patriotic *idée fixe* which may afflict zealots in any country but also of earlier and very trying experience with overweening foreigners.

Some foreign merchants, of course, made important concessions to Eastern attitudes. Smooth functioning of the mechanism of trade at Canton owed much to the practice of leaving many arrangements to the practical-minded Chinese. Especially conspicuous was the system centering about the native compradore, who was at first a combination of steward and purser for the foreign merchant. The compradore was usually connected with a native mercantile and banking firm and employed a shroff for the physical management of moneys.

⁹ Cf. Shimada, Agitated Japan, 111 and 25.

¹⁰ For example, the foreign idea that the real Emperor of Japan was but a sort of pope, and some remarkable notions entertained by Japanese concerning America and Americans. Cf. Shimada, Kaikoku Shimatsu (Summary of the Opening of the Country, or The Biography of Ii Kamon-no-Kami Naosuké), 85-87, 330-331, and Sewall, The Logbook, 143-144.

Appendix 10 of the present work discusses cooperation and mutual instruction.

¹¹ Gong Globe (52-1), Apr. 1, 1852 (Senate) Abroad, a cocky American independence and an assurance of the suitability of American institutions for all races tended to defeat their own purpose. In Asia, they must be bracketed with the generalized Chinese notion of the superiority of Imperial rule, and the exclusive Japanese idea of superior origin. See also Fussell, Cushing, I, 419, correction should be made,

looked on natives as beasts and scorned missionaries for regarding them as human beings¹²

From the first, American consular officers found it necessary to differentiate between the races of the East, particularly between the Chinese and the Japanese. The term "Oriental" often possessed no uniform meaning, and the racial and geographical terminology employed by well-informed foreigners became very specific.¹³ Consuls in Japan realized more than merchants that the Japanese were faced with genuine innovations and were sorely tried by rude and unfamiliar demands of impatient foreigners.¹⁴

In China, Americans and other foreigners were quick to resent flagrant cases of native avoidance of responsibility. They failed, however, to see the advantageous aspects of the Chinese idea of responsibility.¹⁵ Strict adherence by Chinese to prevalent mass notions of economics, as in the case of native preference for the Carolus dollar, was often regarded by merchants as mere obstinacy, rather than as a form of self-protection. A broad-minded consul who viewed the currency question from a fresh angle was criticized by American merchants for falling into an opinion previously "entertained only by the Chinese Officials, accounted for in them by their want of practical acquaintance with everything connected with

the science of commerce". Since consuls themselves occasionally felt obliged to warn native officers of the possibility of "stronger measures", it is easy to understand their anxiety to emphasize their pacific intentions whenever they could, as a counterweight to the attitudes of some of their own countrymen.¹⁶

Charges of dishonesty and unfair dealing are not surprising. Nor is it peculiar that the apparent justification for these charges often vanished as more information became available. In some instances the reasons were real, but in other cases friction and intolerance or ignorance of alien standards of value darkly imparted to unfamiliar motives an aspect of wilful ethical misconduct. Moreover, the state of honor and integrity among many Americans in the Orient was unsatisfactory. It is doubtful whether superficial honesty was a veneer sufficient to hide an unpleasant grasping quality from the eyes of Chinese and Japanese. Even in the affairs of greater and better-established firms, charges of dishonesty are not lacking. Reports of disinterested observers whitewash no race or class, they suggest the need of closest scrutiny of charges involving ethical matters.¹⁷

Foreign desire for too thoroughgoing an application or too rigorous an interpretation of treaty provisions required constant watchfulness, particularly as their

however, of the assertion that the government's letter explaining the Cushing mission contained the words "send to you Count Caleb Cushing", for the record in the Department of State reads "send to your Court, Caleb Cushing". Dennett comments on the probable composition of the letter in Americans in Eastern Asia, 141.

Different races employed obnoxious words for foreigners. On the less offensive interpretations of Chinese terms, see Williams, The Middle Kingdom, II, 461-482. Unpleasant reactions abound in Taylor's A Visit, 285, 299-300, 319, 353-354, 466-467.

¹² Wood, Frankel, 290, cf. G Pauthier, Histoire des Relations Politiques de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales (Paris, 1859), xv-xvi; Cooke, China, 183-184, 151-152, and Perry, Narrative, Vol. I, 380.

¹³ Cf. Lord Redesdale (A B Mitford), Memories (Two vols., New York, 1915), I, 356, and Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, II, ch. XXIV.

¹⁴ For striking observations consult Hodgson, A Residence, xxix, and 33-1, H Ex Doc 123, 265, 289. In Henry Satoh's Lord Hotta, the Pioneer Diplomat of Japan (Tokyo, 1908), 35-41, appears an instructive and--from a Japanese angle--liberal view of the way to deal with foreign demands.

¹⁵ 2 Shanghai CL, Apr 20, 1854, 3 Shanghai CL, Jly 28, 1855, and Oct 30, 1856, encl 6.

¹⁶ Cf. 1 Japan Inst, Oct 4, 1855. For John Rodgers' account of the use of force when Loo Choo officers were "inclined to take good nature for imbecility" see Preble's (ms.) Letters from Friends 1855-1862 (Feb 6, 1855) in Mass Hist Soc.

¹⁷ An example of discriminating comment appears in Williams' The Chinese Commercial Guide, fifth ed., 178-179.

"Since the difficulties which occurred at Canton in 1856, and resulted in the destruction of the old Thirteen Factories and the extensive hongs or warehouses near them, there has been less merchandise stored there than previously. The character and honesty of the natives in whose hands large amounts of goods owned by foreigners were left was shown by the returns of sales made from time to time during the ensuing months, and though there were some exceptions, the general trustworthiness of these agents at a time when hundreds of natives lost their lives from connection with foreigners, was highly creditable, and deserves to be recorded."

weaknesses and their occasional unfairness to local populations became manifest At the same time, consuls were obliged to temper their policy with caution in order to avoid apparent legal concessions predicated on generous precedents This caution is evident in the case of prohibition by Chinese authorities of the export of grains at Shanghai in 1851 The consul was concerned lest recognition of the embargo and Chinese arguments of economic necessity facilitate subsequent limitation of trade in a more important article "As a matter of Policy however, the Export of Bread Stuff being unpopular in this district and unquestionably restricted as regards Native crafts and the English having agreed to this prohibition it may be well for us to do likewise"¹⁸

Careful observers entertained opposing views regarding the question, first, whether treaties should be made at all, and second, whether, once made, they were to be regarded merely as enlarged and improved "Deshimas" for foreigners or as freely-swinging gateways through which business enterprise might pass at will Differences between loose and strict constructions of treaties explain many of the vexatious details and sanguinary occurrences of the period Some features of the issue were more clear-cut in Japan than in China

The traditional policy of exclusion affected the positions taken by Japanese authorities in regard to the Perry treaty of peace and amity It has been

seen that American merchants who sought to trade in Japan read into that document generous trade privileges consistent with the growing freedom of commerce in the Occident They found that "opening this Japanese Oyster", to use a figure then current, was a tedious task¹⁹ Negative attitudes persisted Even after the commercial concessions secured by Harris the Japanese sought to yield as little as possible²⁰ The speed at which Japanese were obliged to make superficial adjustments was far too great to permit well-considered management of the fundamental changes in economic structure which alone could have prevented numerous mistakes

Differences between foreign and Japanese interpretations of treaties were accompanied by important dissimilarities in the technique of trade The dominance of individual commercial initiative to which the American government gave its approval stood in contrast to the strict official supervision, if not monopoly, of trade carried on in Japan To the Japanese official mind, commercial policy was not readily separable from the suspicions and fears of political and diplomatic situations²¹ In native eyes, foreigners were united in the fact that they were not native, and as such were felt to act with solidarity Only gradually did less obvious variations between different outside races and occupational groups become clear These variations were largely nullified by the most-favored-nation clause in treaties²²

¹⁸Transhipping goods at Whampoa was formerly done stealthily, or attended with great expense, for whatever merchandise was thus transferred was charged with the same duties as if it had been brought to Canton, the Chinese government looking upon the transaction in the light of a sale by one ship to another, such a rule brought about its own violation, and was easily evaded by feigning the Whampoa tidewaiters

"The rules, forms, and details here given for the business of a ship at Canton include many which are also applicable to other open ports in China, and in truth the comparative honesty and activity of the native merchants of Canton have been felt in the management and modeling of the foreign commerce at all those places"

¹⁹China DD, Sept 24, 1851, with encls (note G, in particular), of Art V of the Treaty of Wanghia and Art XV of the Treaty of Tientsin)

²⁰George Henry Preble's manuscript Diary of a Cruise to China & Japan 1853-56 (Mass Hist Soc), p 298 This source deserves the attention of students

²¹Japan Des, Dec 10, 1857, Collins, Overland Explor 522-524

²²For concurrent domestic developments in Japan see Gubbins, Prog of Japan, 30, 34-35, and Treat, Early Dip Rel, ch IV and parts of ch V The present work contains a Note on Domestic Chronology (below, 324-325) Alcock (The Capital of the Tycoon, I, 82) gives a mild defence of Japanese espionage, which often irritated foreigners

²³Ample testimony indicates the naturalness of the rapid rise in prices charged foreigners and includes emphatic praise of aspects of Japanese honesty (Tronson, A Voyage to Japan, 260, Wood, Fankwei, 304-308, 319 For an excellent exposition see Treat, op cit, 152-153)

Japanese authorities naturally attempted to send Harris away almost as soon as he arrived at his post (August 21, 1856), "they did not regard him as a very acceptable addition to the empire, yet we left him and his flag successfully planted on the beach at Shimoda."²³ Time and usage, however, gradually replaced outright objections by hesitation and delay. At Nagasaki, for example, the Governor's remark that he would have to consult the Edo government assumed the character of a refrain to consular complaints regarding inconvenient arrangements and annoying requirements. In regard to the necessity of consular purchase of Japanese weapons and armor desired by Americans as curiosities, Walsh pointed to the absence of treaty restrictions and asserted that "Chinese who have no treaty rights here, can get them without difficulty."²⁴

Japanese officials were obliged quickly to recognize the formidable nature of the foreign tide which swept to Asiatic shores. Chinese in positions of authority were slower to appraise it. China offered great stimulus to commercial zeal, which found intemperate expressions requiring

consular restraint, on behalf of Chinese rights. Some of the resulting conflicts and antipathies have been described. They explain the two-sided nature of consular correspondence with local officials—the friendly regard for Chinese welfare, and, at other times, the severe criticism of Chinese misdeeds and treaty violations. As in Japan, there existed a determination among native officials to hold foreigners at arm's length and to restrict the range of their activities. This attitude was shared by the populace in South China, but showed decreasing strength farther north.²⁵

Consular officers in Pacific islands and in Australasia at times were occupied so much with trade and so little with official matters that there was not much to differentiate their acts from those of other traders. In dealings with local authorities in British possessions, American consular officers were freed from anxiety concerning punishment of Americans guilty of misdeeds ashore. Troublesome Americans contributed their full share to the crudeness and violence of frontier communities in Australasia.²⁶

In spite of the unpleasant features

²³Wood, the observant surgeon of the East India Squadron, was present at important conferences held by Harris. See his Fankwei further—pp 312-317. The Japanese tried to persuade Commodore Armstrong not to leave Harris. Gubbins offers relevant comment (op cit, 68-69). Question arose also concerning assignment of quarters, length of residence, and the subsequent matter of appointment of a consular officer at Hakodate (1 Japan Des, Sept 3, 1856, and June 18, 1857, cf pp 84-85 of Edward Barrington De Fonblanque's Niphon and Pe-che-la, London, 1862.) For an example of Japanese self-sufficiency see 3 Japan Des, Nov 19, 1860, and 1 Japan Inst, June 26, 1860.

Similar hesitancy in accepting foreigners appeared in the Loo Choo Islands.

²⁴Nagasaki Transcripts, Dec 27, 1859, and Jan 7, 1860. The consular officer suspected that the burning of his establishment on December 26, 1859 was of incendiary origin, in the absence of sufficient protection much of his property was stolen. In his official capacity he was embarrassed by the fact that, as a merchant, he had lost about fifty thousand dollars' worth of goods. His letter of January 7 (to the Governor) makes very specific complaint regarding official interference with trade and presents difficulties in the articulation of arrangements between local officers and their superiors. Apparently the letter was written at the request of members of the Governor's office.

Information from the Historiographical Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo suggests that essential Japanese official papers, now inaccessible to students, will later be edited and published, as circumstances permit.

²⁵Moges, Recollections, 272-274, 10 China DD, Dec 1854, encl of Dec 9, 1854, 6 China DD, Oct 27, 1851, encl No 5, 1 Foochow CL, June 20, 1855, 4 Hongkong CL, Feb 27, 1856, 4 China DD, Jan 27, 1848, Overland China Mail, Mar 30, 1849, p 59; Robert Fortune, Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China (London, 1847), 18-19; A H Foote Papers, letter from H H Bell, Jan 26, 1857, Wood, Fankwei, 424; Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, p 147. Cf S R Wagel, Finance in China (Shanghai, 1914), Introduction, and pp 105-106.

²⁶On this subject, and on the spotty character of the activities of American consular officers in small Pacific islands, contrasting personalities, and terrible practices of miscellaneous foreigners, including Americans, see D'Eves, China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, 44, 46, 89, 150ff, 164, 190-197; Walpole, Four Years in the Pacific, 373; Moore, Digest, I, 636n, Scholefield, The Pacific, 14, Com Relns, 1857, 203-204, and 6 China DD, Sept 26, 1851.

of relations with local authorities and populations in the Far East, there were unifying forces and signs of a desire to ameliorate the situation.²⁷ Humorous incidents mutually enjoyed were not lacking. Improvement of attitude among Chinese was not confined to Shanghai, but that port early took a position which it has held to the present day as a center for the exchange of ideas. It was there that the foreign inspectorate of customs, retaining American and other foreign employees as officers of the Chinese government, came into being. It was there that a Chinese officer familiar to residents as Hienling steadily encouraged a new and more liberal policy toward foreigners. Besides liberality of mind, such a position required fortitude, as late as 1856 a Chinese officer was degraded and sent away partly for the reason that he had held intercourse with "members of a barbarian mercantile house [i.e., mere merchants] to the excitement of scandal against him."²⁸ The particular "barbarian" in question was at the time acting American consul at Shanghai, and the house mentioned was that in which the United States commissioners resided when visiting Shanghai.²⁹

Less than two years after serious tension at Shanghai, Commissioner Marshall

gave a Chinese dinner at the consulate (1853), "not only the Taoue-tai's silver cups and chopsticks, but even his cook" were borrowed for the occasion.³⁰ Toward the end of the decade the consul reported "a disposition on the part of the Chinese Authorities to act justly and cultivate the friendship of the Government of the United States."³¹ During the same year the consulate at Foochow, farther south, observed a modification of the system of exclusiveness of local authorities, the superintendent of foreign affairs at that place was described as a man of great energy, with little of "that national conceit" so much to be avoided during the application of a new treaty.³² Even at Canton there were signs of improvement after hostilities there.³³

In Japan also, signs of improvement gave encouragement to consuls. Few native officials can be imagined as sharing the enthusiasm of one of their number who regretted that he could not give Mount Fuji to Harris as a present.³⁴ Harris, nevertheless, began very early to receive tokens of personal regard and Japanese willingness to grant reasonable requests.³⁵ In 1860 Rice reported from Hakodate that relations with the Japanese authorities were excellent. "Our Japanese friends seem anxious

²⁷ One of these was the publication of periodicals, in Chinese, under foreign editors.

²⁸ Chin. Repos., XVI, 544; 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 840-843. Inasmuch as some contacts were unavoidable, consuls were obliged to view the risks run by native officials as a matter of course and, indeed, to adopt a firm attitude toward hesitant (or hostile) authorities. For one of the instances see 5 China DD, Oct 27, 1851, encl 5.

²⁹ Taylor, A Visit, 358, cf. Moges, Recollections, 360.

³⁰ 4 Shanghai CL, Apr 20, 1859, relating a case of highly satisfactory Chinese action after molestation of an American, and including a translation of an unequivocal proclamation by a magistrate.

³¹ 2 Foochow CL, Jan 1, 1859.

³² 18 China DD, Apr 12, 1859. The collector at Canton (or hoppo, as he was called there) was of much higher grade than collectors at other ports, being a Manchu appointed directly by the Emperor, usually from the membership of his household, he made visits in company with the governor of the province and the Commander-in-Chief of the Manchus. At the time, this officer was experiencing financial difficulties.

³³ Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 236n, cf. ibid., 310n, and Charles W. Stewart's remarks in Proc. of the U.S. Naval Inst., XXXI (1905), 946ff.

³⁴ On Japanese reasoning used to justify concessions in principle note an officer's letter to his superior or regarding Harris' request for small coins, in Bakumatsu Gaikō Kankei Bunsho (Documents on Foreign Relations in the Final Period of the [Tokugawa] Shogunate) (Twenty vols., 1853-1858, and four supplementary vols., thus far, Tokyo, 1910-19--), XV, 104-106 (Sept 28, 1856), see also Vol XIX, 185-189, 303-306. Harris' own journal differs in dates and kinds of items introduced. Miss S. Sakanishi of the Library of Congress plans a documented biography of Harris which should clear up discrepancies.

to carry the letter of the Treaty in effect." Early in the following year the agency described a notable case of Japanese official cooperation and individual courage. The bark Tinos of New York was totally wrecked on January 10, fifteen miles off Hakodate.

"The Japanese Government here, rendered every assistance at the wreck, that they could, they furnished over one hundred men, and a number of boats to aid the vessel. They also took every care of the poor seamen after getting them on shore. I cannot refrain from making particular mention of one Japanese official, a young man named Sac-me-tah,--to whose personal courage and bravery, the most of the crew owe their lives."³⁵

At Nagasaki the end of the period witnessed a welcome accompaniment to increasing and profitable demand for foreign goods in the form of anxiety among Japanese to learn specifications for exports and to execute orders satisfactorily.³⁶

Improvements in relations in different countries pleased merchants and suggested to consuls that their efforts were not barren of immediate practical results. At different stages, however, consular officers of various nations indulged in apprehensive reflections on the probable effects of their work on future history.³⁷ Their concern was matched by that of local authorities. In brief, some of those charged with responsibility on both sides were not fully convinced of the correctness of the steps which the march of events compelled them to take. Even when they were able to feel a moderate degree of genuine confidence, they were confronted by the calamitous excesses of extremists.

(3) The Importance of Form and Ceremonial. Form and ceremonial possessed particular significance in relations between foreign representatives and Asiatic officials. They call for attention as an offshoot of the question of attitudes. Many Americans regarded such matters as stupid or insincere trumpery.

When Townsend Harris went to Siam in 1856 one of the first questions asked by the minister of foreign affairs related to the reason for the disappointingly small number of officers present in the staff.³⁸ The great effect produced on the Japanese by naval salutes and the large number of officers with Perry is common knowledge. When Consul Williams entered upon his duties in the Samoan Islands his installation with military salutes and music created a respectful attitude among natives.³⁹

The title of consul-general which Harris bore had been recommended generally by Secretary Buchanan in 1846 and had been created in 1855 as a designation of form, implying no supervision over other officers, which the President might bestow upon any consul in Asia or Africa when it would promote the public interest.⁴⁰ Harris took an additional mark of rank when, reluctantly, he adopted the title of Excellency in order to maintain equality with Japanese officers.⁴¹ Appointees who paid attention to official dress were repaid for their pains. An especially well-informed and adaptable American missionary, who also served his government well, wrote instructively on the need of holding the Chinese to a respectful attitude, as manifested by use of official dress.

"We expect the Chinese to observe a suitable degree of formality and etiquette, and would justly resent

³⁵ Hakodate CL, Jly 1, 1860, and Jan 22, 1861, Com Rels, 1860, 404 Cf Collins, Overland Explorers, 325, 350-351 (servants provided Rice by the governor), Bakumatsu Gaikō Kankei Bunsho, XIX, 6-13 (provision of a "tea-house" girl for the commercial agent), and Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 503

³⁶ Com Rels, 1860, 405

³⁷ See Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, I, 591, 1 Japan Des, Dec 10, 1857, and Hodgson, A Residence, xxxi-xxxxii Cf also 1 Japan Des, Mar 4, 1858, Gubbins, The Progress of Japan, 285-288, and the fifth edition of Basil Hall Chamberlain's Things Japanese (London, etc., 1905), 364-365

³⁸ Wood, Fenkwei, 175 Amusing incidents are related in Taylor's A Visit, 434, 480

³⁹ Walpole, Four Years in the Pacific, II, 373

⁴⁰ Jones, Com Serv, 40.

⁴¹ 1 Japan Des, June 18, 1857 For a problem at Shanghai see 1 Shanghai CL, two letters of Mar 5, 1852

as disrespectful if they omitted anything in their intercourse with us which is considered essential in their intercourse with their own officers—Chinese Persons of inferior rank should be kept at the same distance and required to show the same respect as to their own Mandarins. They should not be allowed to appear before the Consul without an official dress and official cap—or if too poor to afford these, should be required to appear without anything upon their heads and with their queues hanging down—not tied around their heads—Consular servants and subordinates should be required to observe these rules particularly "⁴²

With the everpresent example of large expenditures on the English consular service and its individual establishments, American consular officers found themselves at some initial disadvantage in dealing with local officials. In cases of merchant consuls who used their counting-houses and residences for official purposes, the gain in appearance was offset by an impression created among native officials that American public service and private business were identical. The non-merchant consul was embarrassed by his much more humble living accommodations, particularly in China.⁴³

A striking picture is drawn by Wood to show the ceremonial handicap fastened on the consul at Shanghai by the miserable nature of his establishment, in a "shackling" building of seven small rooms off an alley in a swamp at the edge of the community, with coal sheds, a sailors' boarding-house, and a dockyard as neighbors. To this place all callers must go. It was to some extent a charity, having been built by "the wealthy American house of Russell & Co., as a refuge for the American consul". The observer noted the large grounds, brick wall, consular residence and courthouse, post office, and jail of the English establishment—"Is it any wonder that ..[the Chinese] regard Americans as second class Englishmen? It is scarce a wonder that Americans regard themselves as such." Unable to read and to grasp political relationships, the

"wonder-seeking" populace regarded "an absence of state and display as the confession of imbecility and humility."⁴⁴

(4) Economic and Financial Interests of Native Peoples Americans possessed a livelier interest in profit than in a form and ceremonial which many of them regarded as alien to their simple republicanism. In fact, this profit motive was so strong that use of consular tact and thoughtfulness became necessary to insure the safety of the economic and financial interests of native peoples against it. Difficult cases relating to debt in Japan and attempted export of rice from Shanghai illustrate the tenacity with which American merchants sometimes held to their own views of their rights, and the consular vigor required to protect the legal and economic position of local populations.

Misunderstandings regarding "business ethics" arose easily. Consul Forbes testified that Chinese willingness to endure wrongs rather than apply to their own officials often rendered nugatory the treaty provision for settlement of disputes between natives and foreigners, and inadequacy of arrangements for collection of debts due by Americans led to unpunished breaking of contracts. British subjects were compelled to observe "the principles of law and justice as understood in England", "something seems wanting on the part of our Government to place us on equally respectable footing with the Chinese."⁴⁵ One of the earliest judicial regulations in China was a response to the need of reports from masters of vessels concerning collisions between their seamen and Chinese, and the desirability of liquidation of proper Chinese claims resulting from such encounters.

Consular officers were occasionally uncertain as to the correct course to follow with reference to native interests, when these exhibited internal conflict—either of one group against another group or of government policy against private commercial gain. In the important matter

⁴² McCarter Memorandum, as described above, p 113, cf 5 Shanghai CL, Nov 3, 1860

⁴³ Consul Jones asserted that the important "show of English supremacy" in consular prestige could be offset only "by superior energy and enterprise of American over British Merchants" (1 Foochow CL, June 20, 1856)

⁴⁴ Fankwei, 376-379, 382

⁴⁵ 5 Canton CL, Dec 1, 1845. The American Treaty of Tientsin (Art XXIV) added to the right (Tr of Wangchia, Art XVI) of Chinese subjects to seek redress from debtor Americans "through the Consul", the specific right to sue them in consular court

of importation of sugar in foreign vessels at Shanghai in 1848 this problem of internal conflict nearly produced a state of revolution, as it set a group of Chinese sugar importers against Chinese junk operators.⁴⁶

(5) Security of Native Governments

During many years consular officers were concerned with the uncertainties of very momentous conflicts involving the continuance of existing governments, threatened by the violence of domestic factions and foreign pressure. Important reductions of Chinese sovereignty occurred in the South and along the Amur. Disputes arose over control of territory in the Sandwich Islands and other Pacific localities.⁴⁷

Consuls in Japan were confronted with differences of native opinion on public policy which were to lead to the overthrow of the Shogunate, with the officers of which consuls and diplomats had originally dealt in the belief that they represented the ultimate authority in the nation. In China, growth of the spirit of rebellion, chiefly in the great Taiping movement, reached a point where it affected the policy of foreign representatives and threatened to end the Manchu dynasty.⁴⁸ In both countries the question of direct foreign dealings with the opposition elicited much discussion. The possible effect of foreign support of the Chinese rebels put consuls on guard lest acts of Americans, such as the supplying of arms, create legitimate grievances on the part of the Imperial authorities.⁴⁹

(6) Local Rights, Laws, and Customs More definite were problems obliging consular officers to observe certain native laws, regulations, and accepted customs, or to safeguard these against the acts of their countrymen. Some rights of receiving governments or populations, stipulated by treaty, have received consideration in the complementary study of protection of American rights and in remarks on problems relating to seamen. There was much variation from place to place, conspicuously at Hongkong.

Consuls were themselves instruments of change as they labored to secure observance of treaties subversive of some former native practices and ideas. In other matters not specified by treaty, they insisted on modification of local customs and notions, as in a case of Japanese compliance with procedure followed at ports in other countries frequented by whalers, and Harris' refusal to transact business on Sunday.⁵⁰

On other occasions consuls qualified their readiness to require conformity to native laws or customs by reminding local officials that they must assume corresponding obligations implied by the arrangement. For example, in agreeing to enforce any regulation which the Siamese government might make to prevent the throwing of ballast into a river channel, Consul Mattoon insisted that a sufficient number of suitable boats be provided at reasonable rates for the reception and transportation of ballast.⁵¹ Consular efforts to block

⁴⁶ See China DD, Sept 26, 1848, enclos. In this case, the Chinese authorities regarded use of foreign agency and facilities by Chinese sugar importers as a screen for defrauding the revenues, which presumably derived a greater income from duties on sugar shipped by junk. American officers supported the Chinese authorities.

Incidental modification should be made of the foreign idea that popular manifestations in China were always politically "inspired" by clever officials. Economic self-interest offers at least partial explanation of them, cf. 13 China DD, Jan 15, 1857, Exh F, the "Monthly Circular" of Gideon Nye, Jr., for June 7, 1857 (employed indirectly), and Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, 360, n 7.

⁴⁷ See Moore, Digest, I, 475ff., 542, and V, 886. The smaller factionalism of tribes in Pacific islands and the less convulsive difference of views (on foreign relations) of conservatives and liberals, so-called, in Siam may be passed by.

⁴⁸ The "Restoration" in Japan occurred in 1868 and the reduction of the last Tokugawa opposition in 1869, the collapse of the Taiping Rebellion came in 1865.

⁴⁹ Earlier examples have indicated the existing confusion. See also Taylor, A Visit, 314. The difficulty in laying down any precise rule in Washington is seen in Marcy's uncertain instruction of October 5, 1855, in 1 China DI.

⁵⁰ Arguments between Harris and Japanese officials appear in Bakumatsu Ginkō Kankei Bunsho and The Complete Journal. For this American's offenses see, for example, the latter work, 465-466, and Huysse de Kattendyke, Le Japon en 1857, 193-195.

⁵¹ Bangkok Transcripts, May 20, 1857, cf. also items of May 3 and July 8, 1858.

smuggling in China were sometimes complicated by strong suspicion of the connivance of local officials⁵²

The task of consuls was clear-cut in cases requiring little or no dependence on obligations of native authorities. Such was the matter of inattention of consignees of vessels under the American flag when making their entries and clearances at Shanghai. Before the creation of the foreign inspectorate, Chinese authorities were troubled by frequent amendments of manifests. Consul Griswold addressed a communication to American citizens and other foreigners in which he emphasized the inconvenience to himself of explaining to the taotal that errors arose from inadvertence rather than from an intention to smuggle. His notice set a fee for all future amendments to manifests once despatched to the Chinese officers and for all formal investigations proving carelessness.⁵³

The most striking controversy involving local authority was that in which a consular officer was the central figure--James Keenan, at Hongkong. Acrimony was characteristic of early Hongkong history. Keenan's difficulties in connection with the assumption of authority by local magistrates over American seamen have been sketched. The British desired to have some other person substituted for this officer, who cherished an equally strong desire to see certain local authorities removed. After unpleasant exchanges, Keenan went to the United States and managed to save his

place. Strong representations of Napier, British minister in Washington, failed to shake Secretary Cass' belief that the consul had justified himself sufficiently. Certainly the attitude of the Hongkong authorities had left something to be desired. To the disgust of the British Colonial Office the matter was dropped. Keenan remained in office several years.⁵⁴

(7) Injury to the Persons of Native Subjects The small island of Hongkong was under stable, and usually self-sufficient, authority. Of many other parts of Eastern Asia the same cannot be said. In these parts, more importance attached to the action of American consuls, or of other available officials of the United States, in protecting local rights and interests, particularly in regard to misfortunes to individuals, and affronts or injuries for which Americans were responsible. From the Pacific islands to Penang and on through China and Japan to the Sea of Okhotsk aid was given by consuls or other Americans to Asiatic persons in distress. Many cases falling outside the effective authority of any active consular officer illustrate the nature of the consular problem and the need of extensions of the service as a safeguard against offences by Americans lacking regard for the national reputation.⁵⁵

In handling the several kinds of problems affecting local authorities and populations, conscientious consuls were men of two minds. The government in

⁵² On smuggling, and the customhouse, see 6 China DD, Sept 24, 1851, encl G, Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia, 167-168; Com Rels, III, 375, and 5 China DD, Aug 26, 1849. For Chinese rules against illicit exports see the penal code—Ta Tsing Lee Lee (George Thomas Staunton, tr., London, 1810)—, 238-239.

⁵³ For this and related cases see The North-China Herald, II, No 53, and VIII, No 385, 5 China DD, June 19, 1849, 6 China DD, Sept 24, 1851, and Jan 27, 1852, encl 11, and Spalding, Japan and Around the World, 276-277 and 280-285.

⁵⁴ For some other British possessions consider remarks in Com Rels, 1860, 46, and Com Rels, III, 29-30.

⁵⁵ Hongkong CI, May 29, 1857, 46-3, S Mis Doc 14, I, 977, Cong Globe, 38-1, p 2437, 38-1, H Rep 49, F O 5/71, Feb 26, 1859, and 5/712, Mar 2, 1859, Napier to Malmesbury, F O 5/728, Mar 16, 22 and 31, 1859, and Norton-Kyshe, The History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong, I, 536.

⁵⁶ For cases of aid to natives in distress note Wood, Fankwei, 295-298; Hildreth, Japan As It Was and Is, 494-495; Chin Repos, XV, 172-180 (esp 176), and Taylor, A Visit, 289, 298.

Offences by Americans included such things as abuse of native officers at Papeete, quarrels in the Spice Islands, rowdyism in China, firing on Japanese, and abduction of women from Russian territory (Wood, Fankwei, 141, 383, 19 China DD, Oct 28, 1860, D'Eves, China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, 281-284, Nagasaki Transcripts, Aug 18, 1859, to Crosby, 1 Nagasaki CH, Jan 2, 1860, and Moore, Digest, I, 874-875.)

Washington expected them to protect the rights and interests of Americans in the East. At the same time, through specification and implication of treaties and instructions, it made them defenders of some of the concerns of native governments and races which were often entirely strange to them. The frequency of kindly solicitude and tolerant understanding is impressive. They bridged gaps between widely differing races, attitudes, and interests, and opened a highway for amicable and mutually valuable international intercourse. With reference to numerous native officials and other individuals with whom consuls dealt, especially in China and in Japan, it must be repeated that the force of their favorable influence was repeatedly felt.

The number of troublesome Americans and other foreigners in the Orient was such as to require that consular officers provide local regulations. Both consuls and local authorities were affected by problems connected with securing land for the newcomers and in arranging satisfactory rules.

Sect. b--Land and Buildings

Early Asiatic immigration into the United States witnessed many regrettable incidents, but it created relatively unimportant social problems as long as there appeared only a limited number of male workers or students, without families or great means, in interstitial positions not requiring a fixed location or the acquisition of property,--so long, in other words, as their situation seemed to be primarily a transient one. The question has become more acute in its social, political, and legal phases as larger numbers have appeared and as families, prolonged or permanent residence, and considerable use or ownership of property have figured. Even though extraterritorial jurisdiction has been lacking in the Asiatic communities and "quarters" in the United States, these groups have become distinctive if not disruptive factors. They have sometimes been aided by their consuls, but not by demonstrations of the armed forces of their own governments. They have appeared chiefly in newer American communities familiar with heavy infiltrations of gain-seeking foreigners and aware of the elementary technique of relations between nations.

If serious problems arose in such circumstances, it is not surprising that in the very different countries of the Far East the growing alien-community problem early developed an acute character. Furthermore, prior to the appearance of legal foreign settlements in certain ports, many foreigners had by their misdeeds made an evil name for their nations. Foreign gun-boats sometimes provided an element of hasty compulsion. Aggressive mercantile and missionary groups, moreover, were in a better position to exert a decisive influence locally than was the case with Chinese and Japanese farmers and other workers who entered American communities.

The matter of land and buildings was of basic administrative concern to consuls and to officers of the receiving governments in the East. It revealed a tangled and composite set of elements which join it with problems already described. The present discussion considers (1) the international and social question, affecting American relations with native officers and people and, secondarily, with other resident foreigners, (2) the administrative question facing consuls of the United States, in conjunction with consuls of other countries; (3) the political question arising within single national groups; and (4) the economic question, including a real estate problem in a network of emotional attitudes and financial interests.⁵⁷

(1) The International and Social Question This problem of adjustment was approached with inadequate local experience. It often brought consuls and native authorities into conflict, yet satisfactory settlement of issues requiring discretionary treatment depended upon a measure of cooperation. On the part of native populations there arose many cases of real or apparent opposition to foreign use of land and buildings. The international and social aspect of the problem was both official and unofficial in character. Private owners of property, workmen, servants, agitators, and political factions participated. The securing of land and buildings for American consular purposes was at times as much of a problem as arrangement of sites for private citizens.⁵⁸

Antagonism and frayed nerves made it inevitable that threats of one kind or

⁵⁷At this point, a review of portions of Sections a (esp. "Use of Land and Buildings") and b, in Chapter 5, above, is desirable.

⁵⁸For difficulties relating to missionary residences see 5 China DD, Nov 24, 1848.

another should be indulged in. Forbearance and tact kept close company with foreign readiness to appeal to superior officers and to resort to pressure, in the form of claims or armed force. For local officials a policy of procrastination was tactically more suited to the circumstances, although it cannot be affirmed with assurance that all delays were the result of deliberate choice on their part.⁵⁹

Besides impatience with delay and subterfuge, American consuls and their countrymen felt that they had another reason to make threats: they stood in considerable danger of physical injury to person and property at the hands of agitators and native soldiery, and from indiscriminate domestic fighting among the native populations or conflicts between the latter and European forces. Sufficient indication of damage to American buildings is seen in the fact that early in 1857 the consulate at Canton and the homes of American citizens there were in ashes following hostilities. The consul was forced from his district and had to transact business elsewhere, under special permission from the Legation.⁶⁰ Examples might be multiplied. The question, then, was one not simply of securing lands and buildings but also of retaining them.

Actual arrangements for such properties revealed a natural tendency among local authorities to make the new situation conform as closely as possible to patterns and customs with which they were already familiar. Abrupt and radical departures from fundamental ideas and the requirements of domestic government produced a hesitancy and perplexity which ir-

ritated most impatient and unreflective Americans.⁶¹ It was not strange that temporary rather than permanent residence was insisted upon by native officials—for the former left them a "re-entry"—or that lease rather than outright purchase was favored.⁶²

The need of adjustment of foreigners to domestic conditions was given definitely as a reason for adoption of a provision, in the British treaty of 1855 with Siam, that ten years' residence should precede the grant of the right to purchase and hold property in Bangkok. This condition was included in the treaty with the United States (Art. IV), although American missionaries present acquired the right at once by virtue of previous fulfillment of the residence requirement.⁶³

In Japan, had the central government of the Shogunate been in a strong position it might have carried off departures from traditional institutions and policy with smooth success, but the decline of its authority left it open to both foreign and domestic criticism. Choice of a site for the foreign settlement in the Yokohama-Kanagawa area exhibits the dilemma. It will be recalled that Harris arranged by treaty that Kanagawa should be opened. This town was on the Tōkaidō, the highway used by feudal lords and their retainers, among whom were many men bitterly hostile to the admission of foreigners. Moreover, the larger part of the harbor at Kanagawa was unsatisfactory for commercial vessels. Not far away was Yokohama, five miles from the Tōkaidō, possessing a better approach by water, and furnishing ample ground for building purposes. For domestic reasons this location was preferred by the Japanese

⁵⁹For a typical case of irritation over delay see a letter to the Governor of Nagasaki from the American consulate, acting in concert with the British consulate, in Nagasaki Transcripts, Oct. 3, 1859, cf. Bidleman and Doty to Marcy, June 8, 1855, in Mis. Letters (Dep. of State).

⁶⁰55-1, H Ex Doc. 9 (China—Regulations for the Consular Courts). The seriousness of the alien-community question is suggested by the contrasting situation in pre-treaty days, at Canton or at Nagasaki, when it would have been heresy for foreign trading groups to introduce their families into their small areas. These were under the strict control of local authorities and were more easily managed than the many-sided settlements of the later type (virtually transplanted Western cities, sometimes Eurasianized enough, institutionally, to create additional problems peculiar to themselves).

⁶¹ Cf. Treat, Early Doc Recs., 62

⁶² Cf. 1 Japan Des., Sept. 6, 1855, concerning a nephew of Capt. Frasier.

⁶³ Wood, Fankwei, 230-231. Wood relates a case of difficulty over the purchase of land by a Siamese servant for use by her missionary employer.

for the new "port", and the work of development was begun. The foreign consuls still insisted on Kanagawa, Harris held that foreign merchants would lack commercial opportunities if they were isolated at Yokohama, likely to become a second Deshima.⁶⁴ His reasoning was wrong, as subsequent events proved. Although consulates were located for some years at Kanagawa, commerce flourished at Yokohama.

The question of land and buildings was of general international concern to different Western nations and in different countries of the East.⁶⁵ It raised its head at Bangkok, at the Chinese ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, and Shanghai, and in the three Japanese localities of Yokohama-Kanagawa, Hakodate, and Nagasaki.⁶⁶ It is convenient to consider the matter of joint consular concern with this subject as an aspect of consular administration.

(2) The Administrative Question In the larger issues of diplomacy, American commissioners and ministers were faced with the necessity of deciding whether to proceed independently of their European colleagues or to join them in a cooperative or concerted policy. In relation to several local problems, such as the one in hand, American consular officers were likewise obliged to determine whether to act independently or jointly with their own colleagues from Europe.

The primary issue as between the Americans on the one hand and the British and the French on the other was the question whether foreigners should live in concessions that cut into native sovereignty or, as Americans tended to believe, in locations so definitely under native authority that there could be no question as to sovereignty. The story of the Shanghai

settlements is well known.⁶⁷ Less attention has been given to the American fear (1859) that the English might succeed in monopolizing for their own purposes the whole of the old site of the foreign factories at Canton.⁶⁸ After hostilities there had destroyed these structures, question arose as to whether they should be rebuilt on their old location or at some other place. Americans recalled "certain disagreeable reminiscences of the assertion of the relative rights of the other Treaty Powers" and the operation of "an exclusive spirit solely with a view to British interests". The necessity of willing union of foreign residents was emphasized. Prodded by his countrymen, Reed, the American minister, timidly presented their point of view to the British representative. Finally, a reclaimed mudflat (Shameen) was chosen as a new site, four-fifths being assigned to the British and one-fifth to the French as concessions. The French lots were not sold, and those of the British were opened to all persons except Chinese.⁶⁹

At Nagasaki consuls were less directly under the eye of their diplomatic superiors. British and American consular officers there cooperated vigorously. In one respect, the choice of a site at this port was harder than at Yokohama, for there were no vacant tracts near the water in the possession of the government, and a location other than the old Dutch settlement meant eviction of Japanese, a policy pressed by the British consulate.⁷⁰ A limited site, proportionate to the number of foreigners then at Nagasaki, would frustrate the purpose of the treaty, "for foreigners could not then lease and build according to their convenience", it was asserted that, when all space was occupied,

⁶⁴² Japan Des., Mar 24, 1859, cf. Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, I, ch VI.

⁶⁵ Preoccupation with American interests is apt to create a false perspective. It is useful at this stage to make explicit the point that many problems discussed in this work with reference chiefly or exclusively to American consuls were concerns of consuls of some other Western nations also.

⁶⁶ It may have figured in other Asiatic and Pacific ports, cf. Moore, Digest, I, 479.

⁶⁷ On attitudes see Cordier, Les Origines de deux Établissements Français, pp XXXI-XXXIII, 7, 15, 16-17, 21-22; Alcock's paper (June 17, 1852) in Michie's The Englishman in China, II, 435, and Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, I, 348-349.

⁶⁸¹⁸ China DD, Sept 1 1859, a pamphlet entitled, The New Foreign Settlement at Canton Shall It be Federative or Exclusive? (possibly by Gideon Nye), with 1 Macao CL, Oct 26, 1858 (and an extract from the Hongkong Magazine for Dec 1857).

⁶⁹¹⁷ China DD, Nov. 5, 1858, with encls., Morse, The Trade and Administration of China, 280, Dennys, The Treaty Ports of China and Japan, 152.

⁷⁰ Paske-Smith, Western Barbarians, 229-230.

prolonged discussions would recur, to the detriment of friendly relations.⁷¹ The consuls agreed to accept the place offered, as a mere commencement, subject to certain alterations, the distribution of lots and the regulations to be managed by themselves.⁷²

By the end of May, 1860, the matter still was not fully settled. Hope for adjustment by higher officers (at Yedo) had not been realized, and the American consulate lacked instructions. Resident Americans were anxious to begin building. There was no choice but to accept temporary arrangements, with a ground rent characterized as "beyond all reason or justice", with title to the land out of control of owners of buildings on it, and with occupants always subject to the "will or caprice" of the local authorities.⁷³ By autumn, however, the area was extended and apportioned, and merchants were arranging for houses and go-downs. Japanese cooperation had improved notably.⁷⁴

(3) The Political Question. The alien-community problem of land and buildings went beyond its primary international and social pattern as a question between consuls and local authorities, with a tangent administrative difficulty. It also involved a pair of conflicts which may be described briefly as political. These related to internal policy within single national groups, and included (a) divergence of views between consuls and individual Americans, sometimes amounting to a conflict between (American) public welfare and private interest, and (b) complex variations and disagreements of attitude and interest

among native groups in different ports, revealing instances of inconsistency between official and unofficial acts and interests.

In the case of H. H. Darden at Yokohama the American consulate was accused by a citizen of obstructing even such action as the Japanese authorities were ready to take regarding land and buildings.⁷⁵ Paske-Smith remarks that at Yokohama the Chinese treaty-port system failed from the very start because of the inability of foreign consuls to agree with their nationals.⁷⁶ In his serious difficulty with officers of the *Mississippi*, an American ship of war, the commercial agent at Hakodate gave as one cause of this intra-American dissension the problem of land and buildings.⁷⁷

In China, American critics asserted that interference with foreigners by local authorities was less the fault of the populace, as the Chinese officers sometimes alleged, than of these officers themselves. It is true that, on the ground of feeling and hatred of the foreigner, the suspicious type of authorities were sometimes in agreement with native malcontents. It was possible, also, for heedless agitators to hinder those harassed officials who sought to do their duty under the treaties. It was not easy for the consul to determine which cases of popular hostility were genuine. Apart from prejudices of this sort, considerations of individual self-interest and public policy led many natives in China (and in Japan) to make deals with foreigners with greater celerity than their ruling officials liked. It was not necessarily true, however, that a procrastinating

⁷¹A letter of Oct. 3, 1859 from the American consulate to the governor, giving the consuls' views (*Nagasaki Transcripts*, cf. Paske-Smith, *op. cit.*, 229). The letter insisted on the right of foreigners of the states in question, regardless of their number, to buy or rent according to their individual wants, it urged that the setting aside of a place (by the Japanese government) where foreigners might rent and build did not destroy the right to buy or lease from Japanese willing to sell or rent. The desire of each nation for a separate fixed locality was pointed out, and the fact that "the ground would still belong to the Japanese Government and Rent be paid for such sites as were actually occupied. The whole would still be under Japanese law, as regarded any Japanese upon it."

⁷²The site proposed by the Japanese was a small space along the foot of the hill, with a small portion of ground at tidewater. The limited water frontage was entirely unacceptable.

⁷³*Nagasaki Transcripts*, Jan. 7 and May 31, 1860, Paske-Smith, *West Barbarians*, 242, 247.

⁷⁴*Com Rels., 1860*, 405, cf. Paske-Smith, *op. cit.*, plan facing p. 234.

⁷⁵For details of this case and for comment on the situation at Yokohama, see *Mis. Letters*, Jan. 9, 1860.

⁷⁶*West Barbarians*, 248, with a narrative.

⁷⁷The matter was disposed of during 1858-1859, Americans and Englishmen had buildings where they wished to be (*1 Hakodate CL*, Nov. 4, 1859, *Com Rels.*, 1860, 282).

Chinese official possessed a particular aversion to foreigners, for delay sometimes strengthened his position with his own anti-foreign superiors in the central government, to whom the treaties represented no true meeting of minds⁷⁸

(4) The Economic Question Continual charges of native bad faith and hostility, and emphasis on economic and financial aspects of foreigners' desire to secure locations, are apt to produce an impression that there was no economic problem on the native side. The error of this impression is indicated, first, by distinguishing between prejudiced, irresponsible natives and those interested subjects of the receiving states who preferred to make available their lands, buildings, or services, and, second, by remembering the occasional differences of purpose and policy which divided interested native subjects and hesitant local officials.

Native economic interests and those of foreigners, in connection with land and buildings, were of course concerned with the same material objects. The advantage of one side coincided fundamentally with the advantage of the other—in situations in which a foreigner hoped to secure land for the erection of buildings by native workmen or for the creation of establishments in which natives would find regular occupation. Occasionally there was a degree of surface conflict between the two sets of interests, notably in the business of dickering over the exact figure to be paid an owner for use of his land. In this last respect there existed a "real estate" problem, intensified at some places by the early rise in values of the limited amounts of land available, as at Shanghai and Yokohama.⁷⁹

Sect. c—Consuls or Subjects of Third Nations

"Should the United States formulate with Great Britain a common Chinese policy? Or should our Government insist upon maintaining its independence of action? If the former, should unity of policy extend to the pooling of military forces under a united command? Or should the marines and gunboats of the United States be employed solely for the protection of American citizens on their way out from the interior points and in the coast ports?" "Those who favor unity of action argue that only through the prompt and concerted use of all the available military strength can the complete victory of 'militarism, brigandage and Bolshevism' be prevented." "Other organizations and individuals with equal experience in Chinese affairs insist that only through the maintenance of freedom of action and by the adoption of a constructive policy can the United States avoid being made a cat's paw for the commercial and imperialistic interests of Great Britain in the Yangtze valley and of other powers elsewhere" (Foreign Policy Association, News Bulletin, April 8, 1927)

"The interests of England, France, and the U S are identical in China." "Their Treaties require revision as well as ours and as they have such an available and powerful Naval force in these seas I would recommend that an understanding be had between all three to cooperate" (4 Shanghai CL, Murphy to Thomas, No. 10, Dec 27, 1856)

"However much we may deplore the undignified policy which the American statesmen at home have chosen to adopt, and however much we may feel satisfied to find that they are balked of even the advantage they propose to themselves of monopolizing the trade while we are fighting the common battle, still our interests are identical, and eventually we must work together" (Cooke, correspondent of The Times, London, writing in 1858 in his China, pp 281-282)

⁷⁸Consular Letters, passim, I China CL, May 30, 1857, Dennett, Americans in East Asia, 157 Dr T F. Tsiang comments that in the Yi Wu Shih Mo, government records relating to foreign affairs, the original grant of the settlements was not mentioned (Letter of Aug 14, 1932)

⁷⁹See Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, I, ch VI, cf ibid, I, 310. Perry's Narrative (Vol 1, p. 443) indicates a limited use of temples in the real estate market

The case of American consuls at Amoy, extending over several years, exhibits sharply the more insistent difficulties mentioned in this section. This long and involved story shows how nearly bereft of effective help from his superiors an American consul could be, in his efforts to solve the problem of securing land and buildings—in this instance for consular purposes—in the face of conflicting native attitudes and interests. It contains useful and interesting phases of local history, with a general significance, which may be studied in I Amoy CL, Dec 26, 1850, and Dec 10, 1855. It will be recalled that the consul at Amoy also experienced difficulty with his own government regarding funds for construction purposes (See Frontispiece and the illustration on page 152, above)

The Englishman Power wrote in uncomplimentary manner, in his *Recollections* (258), of "Your lean, sallow Yankee, with dyspepsia gnawing at his vitals, and ever keeping him lank and irritable", but the American naval surgeon, Dr Wood, saw his fellow Yankee as a less distinctive, if not more attractive, character "There is, I am sorry to admit, too much reason for Americans in China becoming, as the old mandarin is said to have said, 'second-class Englishmen'" "The United States in its collective personality holds its head very high at home It professes to be very rich, very independent, very liberal, very elegant, very commiserating of other nationalities, and very superlatively good and great in all things" "In China this great boaster with so much to boast of this propagandist of the most modern and improved doctrines of political progress, is superlatively insignificant The American eagle looks so much and so proudly upon its own proud bosom that it does not see its distant tail plumage dragging in the mud But drag it does, and so wretchedly that the eagle's best friends are ashamed of it In China, instead of holding its head erect and spreading its pinions to a free air, it is a sneaking, mean dependent beggar, maintaining its official existence by charity and all kinds of wretched shifts All this will be very distressing to the loyalty of juvenile patriotism, and those who get their blood warmed with the fire of Fourth of July orations" And yet this writer believed that some pride was allowable "the simplicity and honesty of our government have repudiated the falsity, the intrigue, and deception of the old diplomatic art, and asking nothing but what is right, submitting to nothing that is wrong, it needs no dinner-table diplomacy to attain its ends, and ought to be above using it" Therefore, among other things, he objected to the location of the residence of the United States minister "down in the Portuguese settlement at Macao, as far from the Emperor of China as he can well get" (*Fankwei*, 371-372, 382, published 1859)

The persistent question of the American position in the Orient with reference to policies of other foreign powers found expression in the marked complexity

of consular problems at several East Asiatic ports In each of these places a microcosmic stage was set for the interplay not only of local influences but also of national and international forces, Occidental as well as Oriental

With respect to other foreign nations in Eastern Asia, American attitudes and policies were the toy of powerful centripetal and centrifugal forces. Originally, Americans had informally entered the East in pre-treaty days with the main idea of making money, as individuals There they encountered other profit-seekers from England, the European Continent, and Asia whose outlook and reactions were the product of unlike conditions in their own countries and a different overseas experience. In a sense, Americans found in the ensuing competition a continuation and a broadening of the struggle for independence Later, when an international treaty-system sprang up, the United States contributed to the shaping of it The new republic was caught in a web of circumstances and interests which led it into appalling inconsistencies. It could not escape, without complete abandonment of the established interests of its individual citizens in the Orient, an abrupt change which would have produced violent reactions in Washington⁸⁰

Had the American government acquired significant territorial holdings in the East, it would perhaps have been obliged clearly to unify its policy with that of England, France, and Russia In so doing it could not, however, have escaped the anxieties arising from internal conflicts of interest among those powers, nor could it have guaranteed the sudden transformation of American thinking into an imperial consciousness and a willingness to foot the inevitable bill

The primary contacts of American consuls in the Far East were with local authorities, but they frequently found themselves compelled also to take into account

⁸⁰As specimens of comment on policy at the time see *La Gravière's Voyage en Chine*, I, 275, 320-321, *4 Chine DD*, Sept 25, 1847, and *The North-China Herald*, VIII, No. 368 (remarks of D J Macgowan) Of comments by Tyler Dennett in Vol 168 (Jly , 1933) of the *Annals* of the Amer Acad of Pol and Soc Science—*American Policy in the Pacific* (Ernest Minor Patterson, ed), Vol II of *Clark University Thesis Abstracts*, 1930 (Worcester, 1930), 123-125 (Katharine A Powell's "Anglo-American Relations in China, 1782-1856", confirming the impression of a growing tendency toward British-American cooperation after the treaties, especially as Americans grew wealthier), and Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Reports Relative to British Consular Establishments* 1858 & 1871, 6 parts, Sess Papers, 1872, Vols 60-61.

the distracting presence of representatives of other Western powers, equally intent on their own primary business of dealing with native authorities. Triangular local situations favorable to misunderstandings developed. These were often complicated by diplomatic and naval officers sufficiently to produce the picture of a neighborhood quarrel across the back fence. The following account, under six headings, describes the background, the content and manifestations of the problem, and the consuls' handling of it, with some reference to its personal aspects.⁸¹

(1) Variety of Alignments of National Attitudes and Purposes. There were many indications of a spirit of isolation among Americans in the Far East, of a sense of imperial elevation and call to leadership among British subjects, of responsibility for religion and culture among Frenchmen, and of expansion on the part of Russians, whose advance Eastward across Asia presented many striking parallels to the American advance Westward across the opposite continent. A widespread spirit of racial dislike was in some cases an apparent rationalization and buttressing of conflicting interests, in others a definite result of unpleasant individual contacts. The history and political traditions of each nation involved have to be accepted as factors. New conditions at East Asiatic ports elicited a diversity of fixed policies among foreign representatives, not all of which could prevail in a given case. Seldom did all foreign attitudes and all native ideas point in the same direction, in many cases only two nationalities were of like mind. There were many changes in grouping.

The Americans were more accustomed than other Western nationalities to isolation and to simplicity in foreign relations. The complexities of imperial responsibilities and purposes created a spe-

cial cleavage in the Orient between the United States and other foreign powers. With this cleavage went a discernible difference in ideas as to how to get along with Asiatic peoples. Through their faith in other races—or perhaps through their inexperience—the isolation of the Americans was emphasized. To hold to this faith was not "the thing to do", according to the dominant international fashion. Americans as a unit were not "important" and at times the play moved on whether they participated or not. Indeed "isolation" was occasionally synonymous with "insignificance". The American position was further weakened by a type of moral compromise which was almost inevitable—a willingness to profit from the advantages won by powers more actively military. To put the matter extremely, Americans ordinarily did not overtly take part in the raid, but they could hardly avoid sharing the booty.

However much native officials might comment favorably on the American method of approach, East Asiatic governments could not treat citizens of the Republic and other foreigners separately, especially in the face of most-favored-nation clauses. Outsiders like the rest, Americans required treaty arrangements so linked with those of other Western nationalities as to place them unquestionably in the alien camp. As the Chinese and the Japanese became aware of the international consequences of their commitments to the United States, they could not exchange attentiveness to the safety of their entire foreign policies for trustful reliance upon American sentiments. American expectations that this would be done placed a tax on friendly feeling which was at once presumptuous, unenlightened, and selfish.⁸²

Suspicion of European policies was reflected particularly in the anti-British prejudice of many American diplomats,

⁸¹Among relevant cases which have already been presented, those in the preceding section, on land and buildings, have introduced some features of the problem.

⁸²See Wood, Fankwei, 314 (Harris' argument that Japanese agreements with the French and the Russians were their own affair).

In the case of the burning of the foreign factories at Canton interest attaches to the exactly opposite views of the Chinese purpose held by the American, Parker, and by Bowring, the British diplomatic representative. Bowring asserted that the act was directed not solely at the British but at every nationality connected with the locality, the favored cooperation in securing compensation. Parker, while seeming to agree on the second point, held that the burning of the factories was a hostile measure of the Chinese commissioner against the English alone, "notwithstanding he well knew it would involve friend as well as

consuls, naval men, and--perhaps to a lesser extent--merchants.⁸³ Even some of those Americans who believed in military and diplomatic cooperation with the British or otherwise succumbed to the force of British ideas did so through no pronounced fondness for that nationality. The immediate logic of pressing circumstances was more compelling than "racial feeling", although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two. The shifting variety of more or less general national preferences for one country or another suggests that such leanings were manipulated and pushed to the point of sentimental enthusiasm even when there was no appreciable change in personal contacts of individuals or in cultural fellowship.⁸⁴

Other attitudes find expression in subsequent divisions of this section.

(2) Cooperation Necessitated by Identical Status or Projects of Common Interest
Besides the similarity of their treaty status, officers, merchants, and missionaries of the major foreign powers were linked by a biological circumstance: they were non-Asiatic. It is customary to say that they belonged to the white, or Caucasian, race, and that was ordinarily the case, but it is as much to the point to

think of what they were not as of what they were. The obvious negative contrast, that they were not Japanese and not Chinese, was what made them foreigners in the eyes of native persons.⁸⁵ Most of the Western foreigners felt some obligation to cooperate in a wise policy, lest the wrath of reactionary local officials or the fury of the mob be turned in undiscriminating revenge against innocent nationalities rather than the real offenders.⁸⁶ The seriousness of this matter for consuls has already been demonstrated.

In addition to similarity in treaty status and in their position as foreigners, Westerners found a cohesive force in the execution of projects of common interest, including extraterritorial administration, land and customs arrangements, currency and claims, appointment of pilots, and formulation of various kinds of regulations and proclamations. Even these influences, however, could not overcome entirely the disorganizing effect of national or personal inclinations and interpretations.

A statement of all the instances of cooperation between American consuls and their colleagues would reveal an impressive total. The cases already used in special connections have shown the nature of

foe." Secretary Cass objected to a joint presentation of claims and to the enforcement of American claims by British authorities (*15 China DD*, No. 1, Jan. 13, 1857, and Exhibit A, *1 China DI*, No. 5, June 23, 1857). Note Art. XXII of the Treaty of Wanghia and Art. XXVI of the American Treaty of Tientsin Cf. Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, II, 45-44.

⁸³ *18 China DD*, Dec. 10, 1859, 31-1, H Ex Doc 123, 322, The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, 280-281 (referring to the kindly missionary-diplomat's "need of more grace of God to like Englishmen than people of any other name"), 285-286, Dennett, Americans in East Asia, 304. Impressions formed on the basis of personal friendships, and in fairly simple situations, tended to diverge from those gained from impersonal contacts in many-sided public business, which required innumerable unsatisfactory compromises.

⁸⁴ At one time the alignment was Russians and Americans vs. the English, at another the French and the Americans vs. the English. Once there was a confrontation of the English and the Japanese against the Russians and the Americans. Again, the latter combination was set off against the French. The term "alignment" as used here does not always indicate an explicit understanding regarding positive action; sometimes it means only a preliminary or partial leaning, and in some cases its force is negative, in the sense that two or more countries or nationalities grouped together were simply the objects of the dislike or opposition of members of some other race, or group of races. For further cases and for supporting evidence see Rouaud, *Les Régions Nouvelles*, 56-57, *La Gravière, Voyage on China*, I, 176ff (in contrast to Rouaud), 181, 193, 210-212, *5 China DD*, Apr. 10, 1847, Golder, Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives, 74-75, *1 Amoor River CL*, Oct. 30, 1856, Cooke, *China*, 142, *14 China DD*, Apr. 23, 1857, Williams, The Life and Letters, 277.

⁸⁵ Note the presence of black men on American ships and British-protected Indian traders at Canton.

⁸⁶ For a Chinese view of foreigners "as forming but one family" see *1 Ningpo CL*, Mar. 15, 1858 (Bradley), cf. 35-2, *S Ex Doc 22*, II, 1163. Macao Portuguese stood in a peculiar position, particularly as many of them were Eurasian, in some cases they are better regarded as a local faction than as foreigners.

individual objects of attention. Joint consular concern at one time was directed toward native persons or interests, at another toward the persons or interests of members of the foreign communities.⁸⁷

(3) Direct Consular Dealings with Subjects of Other Foreign Governments

(particularly those without treaties or consular representation) Consuls of treaty powers were drawn together by another common concern, resulting from the damage done to all foreigners in native eyes by the misconduct of non-treaty nationals or subjects of treaty powers having no restraining consular officer at a given port. At other times law-abiding subjects of those countries stood in need of official aid which it fell to diplomats and consuls who were present to supply.⁸⁸ Such attention by consuls to members of other nations was no new thing. Foreign seamen serving on American ships were in some respects treated as Americans, and Moore shows that it had been a habit among European consulates and other establishments in the East to open their doors regardless of the national characters of their beneficiaries.⁸⁹

(4) Conflicts Between American and Other Foreign Interests and Purposes Al-

though cooperation between officers of foreign nations increased, their solidarity was constantly exposed to disintegrating influences. There were times when American representatives, like those of other Western governments, were impelled to deal singly with local officials in Eastern Asia even though such action set them against their foreign colleagues.⁹⁰ Divisive factors became dominant instead of secondary. Cases in diplomatic history are well-known, in connection with clauses in American treaties offering the country's "good offices" and in line with its tendency toward isolation in diplomacy.⁹¹ Consular officers shared this leaning, in such matters, for instance, as land concessions, the coolie traffic, and duty payments.

Cases of actual divergence reveal sharp conflicts.⁹² Division was promoted by opposing views of the importance of Chinese sovereignty, use of bogies (the English, the Russian, the "European"), rivalry in trade, conflict of principle with selfish gain, and unequal financial strength or treaty status. Other sources of difficulty were hostilities originating in Western diplomacy, contrasting political philosophies, differences of imperial or colonial interest in Asia, and clashing

⁸⁷ Note the unwillingness of some highly individualistic Americans to abide by arrangements agreed upon by officials at Nagasaki; the handling of cases of accused Chinese at Shanghai (Morse, Int Rels, I, 463); division between foreign consuls with reference to principles applied in control of the coolie traffic, a matter calling for closest agreement (16 China DD, Apr 28, 1852, encis); and cooperative procedure needed to control the departure of misbehaving foreigners from Siam (Bangkok Transcripts, June 20, 1859).

Cooperative assistance in matters of simple courtesy and "common humanity" was practised by consuls very generally; among many examples, note the incidents related in Fortune's A Narrative of a Journey, 192-197, 258, Tilley's Japan, 170, and Cosenza's The Complete Journal, 395-394. Identity of language greatly simplified dealings between American and British consuls.

⁸⁸ American and British traders sometimes served as consuls of foreign powers. It has been seen that some of the minor consular officers in the American service were British subjects, or of British birth. Apart from an agreement between Portugal and China, the Kingdom of Sweden and Norway was the only foreign state possessing a treaty status in China resembling that of the four major powers, and even Russia's position differed from that of the other nations. However, Belgium and some additional countries were allowed to trade, by informal permission. In the making of treaties by European governments, representatives of the United States extended the courtesy of "good offices", for a reciprocal attitude see 1 China DI, Feb 21, 1859.

⁸⁹ Digest, II, 728. See Bangkok Transcripts, covering letter of Nov 30, 1852, Dennett, Amers in East Asia, 542. Com Regs, 1855, 226. Compare Koo's comment on a British principle of protection, in The Status of Aliens in China, with the case related in Huyssen de Kattenkyke's Le Japon en 1857, 171.

⁹⁰ Hongkong and Macao, of course, do not fit into this picture.

⁹¹ See Wood, Funkwei, 180-181, Paske-Smith, West Barbarians, 143, and 3 China DD, Feb 28, 1847. Cf the interesting comments in The Record of Townsend Harris (Tokyo, E Shibusawa, ed.), 16-17, and the 1852 edition of Treat's study (Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan 1853-1855), I, 115n.

⁹² Alcock offers depressing comment in The Capital of the Tycoon, I, 319.

social attitudes and customs Whether in cooperation or conflict, the psychological effect of Great Britain's imperial strength can hardly be exaggerated, particularly in relation to American consuls and merchants

American consular difficulties with the English exceeded in number their conflicts with members of other nationalities, as was natural in view of the size of the interests involved At Hakodate the British consul, for example, was convinced that the United States had encouraged Russia in alleged designs against that Japanese port, which it was held to be Britain's duty to keep open Along the coast of China there was an economic as well as a political element in the continuing problem created by British efforts to secure for service on their own ships English seamen attached to American merchant vessels British and French consulates brought to the attention of American (and Japanese) officials charges of commercial and financial misuse of their naval connections by certain Americans, one of whom in turn vigorously attacked his British accusers.⁹³

(5) Contributory Personal Characteristics of Consuls. In both competitive and cooperative relations of American consuls and their Western colleagues, there appeared an element of varying importance: personal relationships between consuls, and their individual idiosyncrasies and attitudes Some of these have been encountered At times "national characteristics" found exaggerated expression in certain individuals, at other times they were modified or suppressed Occasionally the individual officer was so pronounced in his attitude and manners as to become a thorn in the flesh to his colleagues, and even to his

own countrymen⁹⁴ It is possible, also, to conjecture what individual and collective puzzles some consuls were to local authorities It was easy for them to conclude that the best way to handle certain foreign officers was to put them off and to yield to them just as little as possible, in some instances even regarding them with a measure of the indulgent commiseration accorded irresponsible persons

Several American consular officers held pronounced anti-British views Anglophobia was fanned by displays of British pomp and power and, perhaps, by the anti-Americanism of Englishmen like Alcock Although Harris found this officer agreeably cooperative in some matters, the Englishman allowed his views of American activities to approximate a superstition⁹⁵ Lively reading is found in Rice's caustic account of the arrival at Hakodate of the British consul, Hodgson, with a party of fourteen persons, including a "Secretary, Interpreter, Crown-bearer" and others, all under the supervision of Alcock*

"Yesterday the Consul was landed with all the pomp of a conquering hero, band of music, firing of guns from the ship, a double file of marines, all of which pleased the Japanese so much that they have named him the [!]Bumble Bee! Consul

"Today Mr Alcock the Consul General called upon me, in order (I suppose) to let me know my place, and how to treat his friend and stated the reason the Consul had not called upon me at the same time he did upon the Russian Consul, to which I replied that he received his appointment from his sovereign and I also from mine; and I should recognize him as an equal, or not at all, and after a pleasant chat Mr Consul General took his leave, and in forty minutes Mr Hodgson, Consul made his

⁹³Hodgson, A Residence, 506, 1 Macao CL, Sept 24, 1859, 1 Foochow CL, June 20, 1855, Com Rels, 1860, 417, Bangkok Transcripts, item relating to a letter of Mar 31, 1858 (but one of a number of trying questions at Bangkok), 4 China DD, Jly, 17, 1848 (Bates encl.), Paske-Smith, West Barbarians, 399, Mis Let, Toucey to Cass, May 30, 1860, 4 Shanghai CL, Sept 16, 1857, with encls

An attempt made at Canton in 1847 to establish a general chamber of commerce brought in only four non-British members Since the British government recognized such bodies, the name was changed to the Canton British Chamber of Commerce and the four outsiders terminated their connection (Chin Repos, XVI, 87-88 For rules, committee, and members see pages 88-92)

⁹⁴At times an individual's official and personal attitudes did not coincide See, for example, Chin. Repos, XVIII, 533

⁹⁵On the English see Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, 188, 2 Japan Des, Sept 3, 1859, Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, I, 201 (one of many passages); 19 China DD, Oct 4, 1860, 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 182

first appearance in my Office, said he was sorry for not having called before, had been very busy etc stoped [sic] nearly two hours told me has course of conduct etc, one of which was 'That he should not speak to any but first and second Governor and that he should stand no humbuging [sic] from them [']', He appeared to be a quiet man and judging by his looks, is more fond of beer and pleasure than business or fighting ^{**6}

More cordial were relations between the British and American consular officers at Nagasaki. Paske-Smith elucidates a passage in a letter from Walsh to Morrison, the British consul, ("Enclosed please find 15 Lize-hhoys which I will try and get back from you some time") as an indication that "the Consul for the United States of America had not failed to introduce the national game" ^{**7}

(6) Contacts of Consuls Through Their Superiors Some embarrassing matters affecting American and other consuls, too involved or too far-reaching to admit of settlement locally, were referred or appealed to superior officials. Such, for example, was an impasse in the relations between Knapp, the consular officer at Shanghai, and T C Beale, consul for Portugal. It was connected with the murder, in a shore fight, of a seaman from the American ship Wandering Jew. The American consulate felt that the facts of the case required the cooperation of the Portuguese consul in apprehending the murderer. An extraneous issue was introduced by Beale's demand for a prior apology by Knapp, because of this officer's supposed view that the Portuguese consulate was not a properly established office. Reference of the question to the naval officers of the two nations brought no immediate solution, and

Knapp asked the Secretary of State to transmit the relevant correspondence to the Portuguese representative at Washington,

"that he may be informed how the representative of that Government, in this port, has acted in a matter of such high importance, and of the insult offered to me and to the Government I have the honor to represent" ^{**8}

Some questions were routed through the local diplomatic representatives, as in a case at Foochow, relating to the "duty-question," a fruitful source of problems. Difficulty in compelling foreign merchants to pay their obligations led Vice Consul Dunn to ask the American Legation to insist that Sir John Bowring "seriously entertain the matter" and "direct H B M's Consul at this Port to assume some decided action in the premises" ^{**9}. Superiors were not uniformly satisfactory to consuls in their management of matters referred to them ^{**10}.

In the confusion and disorder of an evolving situation, individually differing representatives of dissimilar Western nations dealt with matters of common concern to foreigners. Local authorities occasionally modified foreign alignments. In some circumstances, American consuls and their colleagues were brought into competitive rather than cooperative contact because of rival interests of their different governments and nationals. Personal characteristics and administrative aid from superior officers affected both cooperative and competitive problems.

A frequent tendency toward isolation, or inconclusive and unstable cooperation, was not confined to Americans, nations

^{**6} Ekodate CL, Oct 17, 1859. In an age when drinking was fairly general, consuls, like other men, sometimes fell victim to excessive personal indulgence and impaired their usefulness accordingly. The number of cases of demonstrated intemperance, however, is not larger than might be expected.

^{**7} West Barbarians, 408.

^{**8} 4 Shanghai CL, Sept 10, 1857. For reference of a Manila case see 4 China DD, July 18, 1848.

^{**9} 17 China DD, Nov 5, 1858, encl 5a (Dunn to Reed). Another acute disagreement between British and American officers concerned organization of the customhouse at Canton. Before the matter was concluded it had claimed the attention not only of the diplomatic representatives in China but also of the home governments (F O 5/732, Abst., No 10, Jan 18, 1860, with encls., and Abst., No 24, Feb 2, 1860, 19 China DD, Feb 13, 1860).

^{**10} E.g., the case of the failure of Attorney-General Anstey at Hongkong to understand a joint consular arrangement for control of foreign criminals at Ningpo, in 1 Ningpo CL, Mar 13, 1858, encl., of 6 China DD, Sept 24, 1851, encl G. In Eastern Siberia the commercial agent was practically a free lance, and in Siam the only American representation was at the consulate at Bangkok.

intent to a considerable degree on differing courses were bound now and then to obstruct one another Thoroughgoing American cooperation with the powerful British, for example, would probably have been tantamount to definite acquiescence in British domination Administrative self-determination by consuls and reasonable support by home governments in the cooperative working out of local problems and policies, always in the face of practical necessities, might have provided a firmer basis for subsequent developments than that which was created in the midst of outside influences, unsuitable attitudes, and excessive haste To be sure, individual consuls were often thrown upon their own resources, but not as a matter of positive policy, and consuls who resolutely

followed independent lines did so at their own risk Insofar as the temporary interests of Americans and other foreigners in the ports seemed to coincide, these Westerners must be thought of as forming Far Eastern local communities largely set apart from the populations of their respective homelands, as well as from the surrounding native populations

The two following chapters, Fifth Group (Special Problems), discuss five questions which, though bearing a fractional relation to preceding topics, had so many ramifications and peculiarities that they are most conveniently treated as a separate, residual group

Chapter 11

FIFTH GROUP. SPECIAL PROBLEMS (Sects. a, b, c)

Sect. a--Judicial Problems

A Note in Sir George Thomas Staunton's translation (1810) of the famous Ta Tsing Leu Lee, or penal code of China, alludes to the embarrassing situation of foreigners then in that empire, that they could consider themselves neither wholly subject to Chinese laws nor wholly independent of them

"When unfortunately involved in contentions with the government, there is generally a line, on one side of which submission is disgraceful, and on the other, resistance unjustifiable, but this line being uncertain and undefined, it is not surprising that a want of confidence should sometimes have led to the surrender of just and reasonable privileges, or that at other times, an excess of it should have brought the whole of this valuable trade . to the brink of destruction "¹

Many well-known episodes and tensions resulting in the creation of the treaty system and extraterritoriality failed to remove entirely the embarrassments, uncertainties, and conflicts to which Staunton referred. The functioning of unlike legal ideas, social customs, and economic circumstances could not be adjusted at a single stroke ². The easy assumption that placing foreigners under their own national jurisdictions automat-

ically removed all difficulties is set aside by reflection on the network of complications sketched in preceding chapters ³. Even after foreigners were largely freed from the authority of native officers, opinions varied as to their obligation to observe native laws, and the treaties themselves established requirements characterized by mutuality. Broadly speaking, the new system continued some of the earlier judicial issues, introduced others, witnessed the growth of a number of problems of organization, administration, and jurisdiction, and produced a crop of significant abuses ⁴.

What has been said of China applies in large part to Japan, where native authorities did not at first realize that the grant of extraterritorial status to foreigners constituted a qualification of the empire's sovereignty. By custom, offenders were handed over to their feudal superiors, who were supposed to assume responsibility for them. It was certainly convenient to do the same with troublesome foreigners, possessing strange ideas of what law, trials, and prisons should be. A practical convenience, however, took on a different character when it was seen to be a humiliating concession in principle. When it led to outright flouting of Japanese law it became almost unbearable to national pride ⁵.

¹Note to Appendix XI. In this bulky volume see also Section XXXIV of the "First Division,—General Laws", and pp. 515-518, 521-524

²On the conflict of laws generally, note Joseph Henry Beale's standard work in three volumes entitled The Conflict of Laws (New York ed. of Baker, Vorhis, and Co.)

³Description of judicial functions in Chapter 6, above, has presented a few of the difficulties

⁴The term "judicial" as used here, from the consular angle, necessarily includes many problems and proceedings besides those which involved definite court action and those in which native interests were concerned.

⁵For definition of a number of terms see F. C. Jones' Extraterritoriality in Japan, and the Diplomatic Relations Resulting in its Abolition, 1853-1899 (New Haven, etc., 1931), usefully reviewed in The American Historical Review by P. J. Treat. On Japanese attitudes there is comment in Murdoch's A History of Japan, III, 640-642, and Paske-Smith's West Barbarians, 254.

The confusion existing under extra-territoriality is indicated by the case of a Hebrew merchant, claiming protection as a British subject, who entered complaint in the American consular court at Ningpo, China, against the American master of a Siamese bark lying in port. This dispute concerned property, left by the plaintiff with the shipmaster for protection against fire, which the American refused to return. In trying the case, Acting Consul George W. Fish associated with himself as assessors two missionaries, one the distinguished physician, D. B. McCarter. Four days were required to hear the exceedingly conflicting evidence of ten witnesses, including one Siamese, two Lascars, and one Chinese, for all of whom interpreters were necessary. This work resulted in a brief and unanimous judgment that the defendant pay the court costs of fifty-eight dollars and a fine of five dollars.⁶

Confusion is illustrated further in the four divisions of the present section: (1) connections between judicial questions and other problems (chiefly a review), (2) consular difficulties of organization, administration, and jurisdiction, embracing both internal and external relationships, (3) abuses by Americans (and other foreigners), and (4) native errors and abuses.

(1) Judicial Questions and Other Problems Readers of Part II will recall that serious doubts were entertained by some persons as to the constitutionality of the judicial system set up by the United States in China, and that the flaws and geographical limitations of the tardy basic act of 1848 were not corrected until near the end of the period, in 1860. Although not confined to judicial organization, this Congressional hesitancy and negligence indicated bad manners and produced many practical embarrassments. Wrote the consular officer at Nagasaki in the fall of 1859.

"I find in my book of Consular Instructions that my authority in the exercise of judicial power is very limited, that the Commission[er]s and Consuls of China had a special Act of Congress passed giving them such authority. As I am occasionally called upon to try prisoners for crimes and misdemeanors and that [sic] when I am the Japanese officials are loud in their demands for punishment (for by the treaty American citizens can only be punished by their Consul) I must ask for special instructions on this point. A few days ago I had a case before me for trial of an American having shot a Japanese. The Japanese was very much to blame, but the American was not blameless, he clearly took the law into his own hands, for which I fined him \$100. But I am very doubtful as to my power. If the case had resulted in death, I would have been at a loss how to proceed. In this case I was governed by the Act of Congress passed for the government of Consular Courts in China."

This action was approved by Harris.⁷

Congressional inattentiveness produced a series of financial difficulties for consular officers and other persons with whom they dealt. The consular court system was but a shadow of the judicial structure needed. Lack of adequate prisons and proper arrangements for marshals and court expenses had a devastating effect. A requirement that miscreants leave for the United States "at the first opportunity" was sometimes difficult to enforce.⁸ Nor was the occasional necessity of transferring a prisoner from one port to another a simple matter financially.⁹ If a debtor absconded there was a similar problem in recovering him. Some dissatisfaction of superior officers with consular accounts of judicial receipts was more than matched by many counter-complaints of lack of support.

Earlier comments on cases relating to American seamen and shipmasters have described a determined individualism at war with governmental supervision for the common good. In countries granting

⁶1 Ningpo CL, Jan 8, 1860 Cf Norton-Kyshe, The History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong, I, 242 and 324, and 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 423

⁷Nagasaki Transcripts, Sept 5 and Oct. 14, 1859, cf Manual, Hist Sketch, 11

⁸See too an opinion of the Attorney-General, of June 28, 1853 (Bentley, Digest of the Official Opinions, 1, 133)

⁹Of the case of the United States vs Charles Jackson, in 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 888-889, 1013-1014, and passim, and H Ex. Doc 68, 85, 85-86, 80.

extraterritoriality it was difficult to recover deserters without falling foul of the native population, for whose interests consuls had some responsibility¹⁰

This responsibility included an obligation to give a fair hearing to native plaintiffs, to prevent or punish violations of treaties, and in general to see that the public interests of the receiving nation and the private interests of its subjects should not suffer. Powers of consular courts were incomplete, as in the matter of their inability to entertain suit by the Chinese Government against Americans for customs debts¹¹ (a question handled through a semi-diplomatic arrangement) The record of cases shows much attention to suits brought by natives and by the United States on their behalf. The general correspondence includes considerable evidence of quasi-judicial efforts to protect domestic peace and welfare. In some instances, foreign misconduct was so extreme that joint consular action became desirable. For example, runaway sailors and other lawless individuals at Ningpo went about, masked, plundering Chinese houses, and in native luggers under the American and other flags secured a different form of plunder, miscalled "convoy money", from Chinese fishing boats. At other times they demanded extortionate sums for pretended damages resulting from collisions. Such actions exasperated the Chinese and endangered the safety of peaceful foreigners. The situation was made worse by the practical freedom from arrest enjoyed by subjects of non-treaty nations¹².

Other connections of judicial questions with problems already presented related to difficulties with European consuls,

American diplomatic and naval officers, and local authorities, to diverse circumstances in several parts of Eastern Asia, and to the uncertain nationality of offenders, and variations in local laws.

Among these questions, the natural insistence of local officials that consuls try their offending nationals placed such foreign officers in an awkward position. It has been seen that in Japan and in Siam they actually did try cases, wisely accepting the risks involved in proceeding without proper guidance. At the same time, local authorities in Japan stood in need of very exact instruction from the consulates on fundamental points of Western law and procedure. Consular need of better knowledge of the forms of procedure in Japanese courts has been well described.

"The Japanese form at present is, to send an officer to the Consulate to hear the case, which he reports (we suppose) to some higher officer, a trial then takes place (we suppose) without notice being given to the Consul of when and where and without an opportunity being given, for the attendance of witnesses etc and the decision is made and communicated to the Consul -- Such decision[s] lead to difficulty and trouble, and cause persons to prefer taking the law into their own hands to submitting to such irregular proceedings. I have a case for the recovery of a debt now in hand, which has been before the Japanese authorities for over six months, without any satisfactory results."¹³

A circumstance complicating relations with local authorities was the frequent variety of nationalities of foreigners implicated in a single crime affecting native interests, which meant an equal number of trials in the different consular courts.

¹⁰55-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 647-648

¹¹Bentley, Digest of the Official Opinions, 135, cf. 1 China DL, Oct 5, 1855

¹²For cases and discussion see 1 Ningpo CL, Mar 13, 1858, encl (a curious legal plan to cover non-treaty nationals), 1 Nagasaki CL, Jan 2, 1860, Jenkins, Recent Exploring Expeditions, 207, 556-559 Considerable discussion dealt with jurisdiction over natives in the employ of Americans, for example, in 6 China DD, Jan 28, 1851, Paske-Smith, West Barbarians, 404-405, and Bangkok Transcripts, letter of May 20, 1857. An interesting case of rebellious Chinese coolies on an American ship is related in Sewall's The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk, 35ff , 48-49

¹³Nagasaki Transcripts, Nov 7, 1861. Cf. ibid., Aug 16, 1859, for an attempt by the Superintendent of Customs to have Walsh's decision set aside in a case (Superintendent of Customs vs. Frazer and Company) involving question as to whether goods landed and stored before the effective date of the new treaty must be regarded as "newly imported goods". Consul Walsh's neat argument from the former "Dutch Additional Articles" indicates that under these provisions guards had been stationed near the houses of foreigners who sold goods to Japanese. In his Western Barbarians Paske-Smith supplies items from the British consular records (Appendix 15, pp 391-392 and 400 in particular)

concerned and a diversity of procedures and punishments

While local officers were learning to understand this diversity and confusion among foreigners, certain consuls, especially in Japan, were learning not to treat members of all races of Eastern Asia in uniform manner. Precedents borrowed from China, as in the case of municipal regulations for foreigners, did have some effect in Japanese ports, but in judicial business consular officers in the Island Empire found themselves in contact with a more forceful officialdom than they had known. Samurai independence of spirit made adjustment of suits a very serious affair.

The problem of varying nationalities among defendants in a single case was intensified when some of these men were without consular representation and, again, when there was uncertainty as to an individual's national status.¹⁴ Some slippery cosmopolitans seemed to be essentially citizens of the world at large, now and then putting on the ill-fitting garment of whatever allegiance temporarily suited their convenience and safety. In this, they matched the diversity of national or local laws which they broke.

(2) Consular Difficulties of Organization, Administration, and Jurisdiction
 In the trial of some cases in American consular courts, delay and overcrowding of dockets resulted from the fact that the right of vice consuls and acting consuls to conduct trials was not generally conceded until 1856. Embarrassments before the act of 1848 were pronounced. The annoying variety of requirements relating to control of seamen has been rehearsed. Some cases affecting ships and seamen on the high seas were justiciable in American domestic courts.¹⁵ Concerning appeals from consular courts to courts in the United States, there appears to have been no definite provision for the articulation of the two sets of courts until 1870.¹⁶ Relatively few

cases were appealed from consular courts to the Legation. Such action was inconvenient. As late as 1854 Commissioner McLane in China failed to find even in irregularities in consular court adequate reason for considering a case which had been referred to him.¹⁷

The state of mind of Americans in China during the period of judicial darkness there (to 1849) is glimpsed in correspondence between Commissioner Everett and Governor Davis at Hongkong, regarding rights of American consular officials over citizens residing or travelling in China. An American had obtained credit with an Englishman, bought goods, and then departed with them. In such a case, with the nationalities reversed, existing regulations would have given British authorities power to control the offender, but the American consul at Canton, Forbes, concluded that he had no legal right to hold the purchaser of the goods. Wrote Everett to Davis

"By the General Legislation of the United States, neither diplomatic nor Consular agents have any authority to detain a citizen in a foreign country because he has not paid his debts there, or to try him for any supposed offence against the criminal law either of that country or his own."

In view of extraterritorial exemptions it would

"probably be thought necessary by the government of the United States to establish a court of some sort with competent powers to take cognizance of criminal and perhaps civil cases in which citizens of the United States may be parties."

Although courteous in tone, this letter adopted an easy-going manner and a casual optimism which could hardly have failed to be offensive to any Englishman with practical interests at stake. Regretting the specific case, Everett saw no remedy but prosecution in the courts of the United States, several thousand miles, and many

¹⁴ Note the case of Gilfillan and Woodman (35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 842-843), Huyssen de Kattendyke's account of a German's status (Le Japon en 1857, 171), an interesting appeal for guidance from the consulate at Nagasaki (Nagasaki Transcripts, Feb 4, 1860), and McCarter's report of a case (Ningpo, 1856) involving a Hamburger's declaration of intention to become an American citizen (35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 896-897).

¹⁵ Cf. 5 China DD, Dec 10, 1849, and Hongkong CI, Sept 27, 1858.

¹⁶ Note also matters appearing in 40-3, S Ex Doc 20, and 41-3, S Ex Doc 25.

¹⁷ The case of Ehing vs. (Lionel) Moses, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 265-266.

weeks, away ¹⁸

Unsatisfactory functioning of the consular courts which were finally organized led to schemes for special courts. An interesting proposal made to the Department of State by Consul Murphy at Shanghai stressed the need of a "Chief Superintendent of Trade", who should not only supervise commercial affairs at the ports and the gathering of information but also possess the appellate judicial power ¹⁹. Meanwhile, there were some conflicts in the internal administration of British laws at Hongkong and in China, for a number of years it was possible to appeal to a supreme court at Hongkong, but this was finally separated from the British consular courts in 1865, ²⁰ when a special tribunal was set up at Shanghai. A notable manifestation of the need for special courts was a series of developments which led to the creation in 1863 of the so-called "mixed court" at Shanghai--"mixed" in the sense that it tried many mixed cases rather than that the judiciary was composed of various nationalities ²¹. During different periods of civil disturbance when large numbers of Chinese had poured into the foreign areas of Shanghai, consuls had essayed to dispose of cases involving such natives, except in very serious matters, which were turned over to Chinese officers in the native city. The system of sending to these officers written statements of evidence given to consuls by Western witnesses was unsatisfactory. ²² From such experience with unattached Chinese (and some foreigners) came the mixed

court. Interest in special courts, mixed courts, and other adaptive devices was a response to the needs of a situation too complex for the elementary consular court system originally adopted.

Besides Chinese who at Hongkong, Shanghai, or elsewhere were under some form of foreign jurisdiction, there were Americans and other foreigners whose acts placed them beyond the protection of extraterritorial courts and under native jurisdiction. These were traders at unopened ports and dealers in opium and other contraband articles. A rather vague cooperative provision in Article XXIX of the Treaty of Wanghia related to Americans resorting to violence. Those who joined insurrectionists apparently deprived themselves of their right to protection and certainly made themselves liable to punishment in consular court. Those who attached themselves to Chinese government forces were of course in a somewhat different, though not entirely clear, situation ²³. Active attention was given the case (1856) of Sandwith Drinker, an American who contracted with Chinese gentry to expel pirates in the neighborhood of Canton and accepted a commission from Chinese authorities. The consideration was \$50,000, of which \$20,000 was advanced. The enterprise was blocked midway as being contrary to treaty. The question was complicated by a linguistic problem of interpretation of clauses in the agreement, uncertainty as to the right of a consular court to entertain a suit in a matter contrary to treaty, and fear of doing injustice to the Chinese—a policy

¹⁸ 3 China DD, Mar 12, 1847, encls. Everett had a generally low opinion of British policy in Asia. On debts see Art XVI of the Treaty of Wanghia, cf. Art XXI. A Parsee firm's effort to have Commissioner Davis induce Russell and Company to pay a claim is related in 5 China DD, Jan 27, 1849. The case of Reiss and Company, involving a difference of English and American laws in the matter of recovery on dishonored bills and damages, appears in 6 China DD, Mar 28, 1851.

¹⁹ For a related recommendation by Macgowan, and the suggestion of a special mariners' court, see, respectively, The North-China Herald, Jan 12, 1858, and An Appeal to Merchants and Shipowners on the Subject of Seamen (by R. B. Forbes), 26.

²⁰ Keeton, The Development of Extraterritoriality in China, II, 280. This writer suggests that "British law" was not synonymous with Hongkong law.

²¹ Willoughby, Foreign Rights and Interests in China, I, 529. Cf. Feetham's Report. to the Shanghai Municipal Council, I, 171ff., Keeton, op. cit., 289, and Koteney, Shanghai Its Mixed Court and Council,

, x

²² Hsia, The Status of Shanghai, 42-43, including a good word for the mandarin judges.

²³ No indication has been encountered of official consular action regarding an arrangement between Chinese officials in Formosa and American merchants trading there by which the latter agreed to have their ships assist in the maintenance of order—a kind of naval "foreign legion".

consideration. The case terminated in an arbitration awarding an additional sum to Drinker, not, apparently, on account of any fault of the Chinese but because the Legation had checked the scheme. This outcome gives the case a curious twist in view of the existing anxiety to impress the Chinese with American fairness.²⁴

Specific cases characterized by uncertainties or disputes over national jurisdiction appeared at many points and impinged on the law of several nations, that of Great Britain in particular. The most numerous, and some of the most complicated, questions involving American citizens in conflict with British law and British subjects were encountered at or near Hongkong.

In 1853 arose the case of William Buckler (or Bucklen), an American who complained of unlawful arrest by Hongkong authorities, in Chinese waters beyond British jurisdiction. The record of this matter suggests the awkwardness of the distribution of powers among American officials at Hongkong and in South China.²⁵ At Canton in 1856 a British-American dispute relating to assignment of the estate of Nye Brothers and Company revealed need of a uniform policy on the part of the two governments in question, with particular reference to their consulates. The correspondence shows the existence of much apprehension over the absence of specific guidance in local law, the common law, and the law of nations.²⁶ In the same year questions of insolvency and assignments appeared during the insolvency of the Richards firm, British merchants of Foochow and Shanghai.²⁷ The American Legation was

drawn into all these cases.

The West barratry case at Foochow (1857) concerned the attempt of a British subject (West) to commit barratry on a lorcha commanded by him but owned by the American mercantile house of Heard and Company. The American consul, Jones, asked the British consular officer, Medhurst, to arrest West. Medhurst declined to comply, giving reasons unacceptable to the American consulate, which insisted that Medhurst had ample right to act.²⁸ Jones' irritation became so pronounced that he issued a notification to local Americans that in such matters the British consulate could not be looked to for aid. Through Bowring, the dispute came to Parker's attention, Bowring supported Medhurst and complained about Jones' notification. It appears that, after exchanges of correspondence, the matter was indecisively allowed to rest. Problems of this kind made their appearance at the time when American consuls still had to call on their British colleagues at various ports for the use of prison space.

Authority exercised by consuls over foreigners regularly shipped on national vessels led to some absurd inconsistencies. One of these is seen in the early stage of the case of William Taylor, an English deserter from the American ship Ellen Forster (Foster?), accused at Canton of stabbing another English deserter from the American ship Comet. The case was strictly one of persons and not of property. British authorities were willing to see American jurisdiction prevail. It was pointed out that, not being legally discharged from their ships, the seamen in

²⁴ 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 704-713, 782-786, cf Ibid, I, 488. On Frederick T Ward see Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia, 370.

²⁵ 35-1, H Ex Doc 125, 372-375. In Smith's To China and Back are references to legal proceedings, suggestions of the expeditious nature of justice at Hongkong, and descriptions of court scenes and the cosmopolitan character of litigants and officers. This author gives a version of the "Robinet affair" (p. 34), affecting a naturalized American, and adds a report on the practice of borrowing money on cargoes obtained on credit. He refers (p. 25) to "the terrible young American pirate, Eli Boggs," of whom Norton-Kyshe also has something to say (History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong, I, 645). Smith witnessed the execution at Penang of "the first white man ever hung there", a seaman on board the American ship Golden State, who had murdered the mate.

²⁶ 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 987-993. Reed's decree regarding procedure in assignments for the benefit of creditors was issued in 1858.

²⁷ Ibid, II, 886-888.

²⁸ Jones cited an order in council issued at Hongkong on August 5, 1853. On this case Hasse (For Rels) supplies numerous references.

question were subject in a Chinese port to the law of the country of these ships Taylor was sent by the British consulate to the American authorities at Whampoa, who returned him Consul Perry considered the question of jurisdiction with Parker, who held that, in deserting, Taylor had virtually forfeited the protection of the United States and stated that as a courtesy, apart from any question of law, the American authorities should waive jurisdiction in view of the British nationality of both the seamen ²⁹

In Siam occurred several exchanges of correspondence between the British and American consulates with reference to legal matters transfer of a case to the American consulate, jurisdiction over the American bark Perseverance in connection with alleged violation at Hongkong of the Chinese Passengers Act, the British consul's desire to arrest an Asiatic subject of Great Britain who was on board an American schooner, and arbitration cases Claims involving Americans and English or Indian subjects of Great Britain received attention ³⁰

As far away as Sydney, Australia, American consular instructions came into conflict with local law Consul Merrill felt confident that shipping and discharging of seamen on American vessels was exclusively his affair, but in the interesting case of Ingersoll vs Smith and the Water Police Magistrate, local law was upheld and the consul's prerogative was circumscribed ³¹

Ample indication has been given of legal difficulties in cases involving only Americans and American law Foregoing remarks have shown that additional complications appeared when the closely related interests and law of British subjects were included A few of the problems which follow exhibit other difficulties as non-Anglo-Saxon ideas and jurisdictions were introduced

Macao was near neighbor of Hongkong,

in South China Its legal dependence on Portuguese authorities at Goa, in India, complicated international cases arising at this Far Eastern port Like Hongkong, it admitted no extraterritorial jurisdiction, but, unlike the British colony, it did not derive its law from sources familiar to Americans The effect of the supervision of Portuguese officials at Goa is seen in the handling of the case of the murder of an American mariner, Captain Joel Woodbury, by an Englishman named Ross The accused was duly convicted of homicide and given the choice of imprisonment for two years or banishment from Macao Naturally he left at once, several possible destinations were conveniently close Wrote Consul Rawle to Secretary Marcy

"You will please understand that the Authorities here are not permitted to execute any culprit whatever his offence may be but must state the offence to the Government at Goa and receive their authority from thence" ³²

The same difficulty was evident in the prolonged case of the American-owned ship Emma Only a few essential points from the long reports can be given here In February of 1857 an American named Charles Gill bought from another foreigner, McCormick, a vessel which he named the Emma The Portuguese authorities seized this ship on account of a claim against its former owner Through the American consulate Gill protested their right so to act It was locally decided that Gill might have the vessel pending appeal to Goa, but he would not sign the necessary bond In the meantime, he felt, he was losing in reputation and wished damages covering the cargo on board the Emma There was at least a suspicion of conspiracy in the original claim, apparently engineered by a Chinese and a foreigner The American consular officer, Nye, represented to the governor at Macao that no proper action against Gill existed

²⁹ 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 818-821, of the case of the bark Science (ibid, I, esp 586ff)

³⁰ Bangkok Transcripts, letters under various dates from February to September, 1858

³¹ Com Rels, 1860, 46

³² I Macao CL, May 8, 1855 This handicap under which Portuguese officers at Macao labored calls to mind the ineffectiveness of their control over their fellow subjects in ports of China Cf 35-2, S Ex Doc. 22, I, 437, and II, 1367-1372

and that the latter was the rightful and sole owner of the Emma. The action was complicated by the fact that, although it was against the former owner, it did not become effective until some time after sale of the vessel to Gill. Furthermore, the transactions involved had occurred outside the jurisdiction of Macao. The Chinese plaintiff (owner of a large gambling business) very naturally insisted that the sale to Gill was not entirely legal and called McCormick a defrauder. This plaintiff's legal adviser, curiously enough, was Crown Solicitor at Hongkong. The local governor stated that, as his office was forbidden to interfere with the judicial power, the detention of the vessel had been at the instance of the chief judge of the district.

Local judgment of the case in favor of Gill, with a requirement that the plaintiff pay costs and a fine, led this person to appeal. Gill refused to await patiently the issue of this appeal to a remote place and sought support from his government, and from Commodore Tattnall especially. As time passed, the consulate at Macao tried to secure guidance from the Department of State. The final outcome of the controversy postdated our period, as late as May 1, 1861, it was still pending. On that date Nye wrote that the court at Goa had ruled against the competence of the judge at Macao to settle the case. Intervention of American diplomatic and naval authorities in the Far East had procured no redress for Gill. Portuguese incompetence and negligence received criticism. Nye asked his government to address the Portuguese government regarding the case, or to empower him to make authoritative demands upon the Portuguese local government.³³

Nearby, at Canton, American officers were confronted with novel and difficult cases involving Malays. It has been seen that foreign offenders in China who lacked consular representation were notoriously hard to handle. In matters affecting Malays the jurisdictional problem was

complicated by other vexing circumstances. The Legation held that American courts could not try them, although in one instance the Malays accused were actually seamen on an American vessel, the Ruparell.

In one case (June, 1854) an American citizen, a ship's cook, had been killed by a Malay boarding-house keeper on Chinese soil, at Whampoa. As the Malay was without consular representation he came under Chinese jurisdiction. Although there was danger in letting a murderer go free, Spooner, vice consul, hesitated to see the man handed over to the Chinese authorities. For he regarded them as more ready to execute a foreigner charged with a capital offence than to give him a fair trial. Nothing came of Spooner's hope for an American trial (locally or in the United States) or for settlement in the courts of Hongkong. Meanwhile the Malay was confined in the Macao jail. While these efforts to secure a sort of eclectic justice were being made, he asserted that he had acted in self-defence. If he was correct in this contention, it was clear that an innocent man was being exposed to great loss. A final complication was added by the difficulty of securing a proper interpreter for the defence. When the matter was referred to Commissioner McLane he dismissed it from American jurisdiction and reluctantly ruled that the boarding-house keeper should be turned over to the Chinese authorities, in order to avoid the impression that such acts of violence could be committed with impunity.³⁴

In the Netherlands East Indies, complaint arose concerning the insubordinate conduct of American seamen on certain merchant vessels. Consequent delays were annoying to merchants and resulted in much expense and in increasing outlays for the relief of seamen. They also created question concerning the range of the jurisdiction of local authorities. In the case of the American ship Norman at Sourabaya in December, 1857, the local court was asked to prosecute some of the crew who had refused to work and had assaulted the temporary

³³ 1 Macao CL, communications of Feb 22, Mar 12 and 28, Aug 8, 1859, and May 1, 1861.

³⁴ 25-2, S Ex Dec 22, I, 264. In the Ruparell case several Malay seamen from the crew killed a Chinese tailor in a fight about women. The evidence was very confused. The men were held not to have been regularly shipped under United States laws and were left entirely under Chinese jurisdiction.

commander of the merchant ship. The captain was then ill in a hospital. There was no United States consular officer present at the time, and direct appeal from the ship to the court was necessary. Although ready to cooperate to the extent of their powers, the local authorities felt unable to interfere in connection with an act committed under the American flag and concerned with persons not inhabitants of the colony. Help in controlling the seamen was secured from another American ship.³⁵ Such cases show that consular and domestic law and personnel combined were sometimes insufficient to prevent use of rough-and-ready means of settling disputes.

In the Sandwich Islands, a problem of law and administration related to the shipping, discharging, and paying off of native seamen in the Islands who served on American vessels. This kind of problem has obtruded itself in other connections. It presented a serious legal and administrative difficulty for American consuls, from the time a royal act regulating native seamen was passed on June 25, 1855. The consul at Lahaina decided to adhere to the contradictory American law. The uncomfortable effects of this conflict of laws continued for several years. Near the end of the period the consul at the same port described the issue as follows:

"The Hawaiian law as to shipping, discharging, and paying off natives of this kingdom to or from foreign vessels . . . means that the Hawaiian officer ships them on Hawaiian shipping articles, casts and settles their accounts with the ship, and sees to their payment, and discharges them from the Hawaiian shipment."

"The United States laws require every man shipped abroad to an American vessel, or discharged therefrom and paid off, to be so shipped, discharged, and paid off before the American consul. Two laws thus require the same acts to be performed twice, before officers of different governments,

imposing double duties and expense on the captains. Besides, when the man is settled with, paid off, and discharged by a Hawaiian officer, how can the captain be required to pay him off again before the consul? or the reverse? Is the man to have his money twice?"

The Hawaiian shipping articles were no part of the American vessel's papers, and, it was argued, they did not make the man in question a member of her crew.³⁶

(3) Abuses by Americans. Previous comment has introduced the question of abuses committed by Americans and other foreigners. Discussion of claims has suggested that a number of Americans were disposed to overreach the Chinese, consular complaint against "frivolous litigation" was well warranted. The inclination of some persons to abuse the privileges of the consular court worked to the detriment of reasonable-minded Americans who became involved in suits. Although there was criticism of consular administration of justice, considerable reason existed, as Alcock suggested, for protection of consuls from intimidation and from obstruction of their performance of duty.³⁷ It was this British official against whom suit was entered by a prisoner whom he had fined and sent to Hongkong for wounding a Japanese officer (who was properly taking him to task for violation of a law). When Townsend Harris heard of the killing of an American by Chinese he queried, "When will men learn to mind their own business?" Concerning frequent illegal trips of missionaries into the interior of China, Dennett observes that the "most awkward feature of the open violation of the laws of the empire was that regardless of whether their activities were lawful or not, the missionaries were exempted from Chinese jurisdiction by extraterritoriality."³⁸

Contemporary travellers and officials were often shocked by the inconsistencies and cruelties of which their

³⁵Com Rels., 1860, 233-255 Cf 53-1, H Ex Doc 123, 29, 89-94

³⁶Com Rels., 1859, 390 For earlier conflict see 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 190 (An interesting subsequent case at Singapore is related in Moore's Digest, II, 357-358.)

Prior to the treaty of 1843, American efforts to secure the right of trial by juries composed entirely of foreigners were attended by much acrimony (Callahan, Amer Rels in the Pacific, 118, cf also p. 132.)

³⁷The Capital of the Tycoon, II, 23-24 In these pages Alcock states many decided, and valuable, opinions on consular jurisdiction and related matters

³⁸Americans in Eastern Asia, 561

countrymen were guilty. Men who insisted that native offenders be punished as similar persons would be in the Occident, or even more severely, objected to being held by their own officers to an equally rigorous standard. Different accounts show the acuteness of the feelings with which consuls, often untrained, had to contend

"I have seen... a fellow with a stout cudgel, felt hat pressed down over his reddened eyes and face, rings in his ears, dragging in two crying Chinamen by their long queues to have them adjudged by his consul for some offense against this noble American, and when he found the consul was not there, and thought none saw him, King Demos wanted to know why the d—l the consul was not there, and with curses in English, and curses in Chinese, with an occasional kick, would if permitted to go on, have been his own judge and executioner.

"Anyone could attend to the stereotyped affairs of merchant ships and sailors, but the constantly arising questions to be determined without precedent, in such a chaotic jurisdiction, require a man of the first order in character, ability and legal attainments."³⁹

An unfavorable impression was produced on the Chinese by the discrepancy between the kinds of justice administered to American and Chinese murderers. For example, the foreign community at Foochow became highly excited in 1856 over the killing of an American in a street brawl among some of the townspeople. Urged by the Legation, the Chinese governor-general had the murderer executed. About two months later an Englishman in the vicinity fired at a passage boat, which he thought was a pirate craft, and killed a Chinese. The body was brought to the door of the

English consulate "and the demand for justice compounded for thirty dollars." The different management of these two cases was not well received by the populace. W. B. Reed knew of no case in which a foreigner had been executed for the murder of a Chinese (presumably under the treaties), except in the colonies of Hongkong and Macao.⁴⁰ Confronted with the almost irreparable damage done by years of disgraceful abuses of privilege, this minister inserted in his treaty a provision on behalf of the Chinese which subjected American offenders to arrest by Chinese as well as American officers.⁴¹

Some Americans mistreated their countrymen as readily as they abused foreigners. In his comments on the right of a captain of a merchant vessel to have his seamen imprisoned in foreign ports, R. H. Dana admitted the occasional urgent necessity of such action, but stressed the importance of careful court scrutiny of it.⁴² Remoteness from domestic courts relaxed the pressure of customary public opinion, as is shown even in the case of a commercial agent of the United States at Apia, who held what was termed by a Congressional committee a "pretended court" in order to perpetrate a "bare-faced spoliation" against a countryman.⁴³

(4) Errors and Abuses by Natives. Native abuses of which foreigners in extraterritorial ports complained, largely concerned strange theories of trial and imprisonment, the relative severity of punishments, and the dilatoriness and capriciousness of some native officials.⁴⁴ Complaints could do little more than initiate the work of modifying alien social systems in the Orient which determined legal and judicial tendencies and habits. Measures

³⁹ Wood, Fenkwei, 380. For other distressing incidents involving lynching by Americans and brutalities in Hog Lane, back of the Canton factories, see Spalding, Japan and Around the World, 345-346, and Power, Recollections, 252-253.

⁴⁰ 17 China DD, Sept 4, 1858 of Macgowan in The North-China Herald, Jan 2, 1858. Although thoughtful foreigners complained of the barbarity of Chinese punishments, it is doubtful whether, taking class for class, popular feelings were distinctly less cruel and sadistic in the Occident than in China.

⁴¹ Even at points where extraterritoriality did not obtain, the ill-temper of Americans broke out, e.g., in the Ricaby affair at Macao (1858), handled by a so-called "consular court", which was probably a conference participated in by the consular offices (1 Macao CL, encls in late Oct and early Nov, 1858).

⁴² The Seaman's Friend. (Boston, 1865), 191-192. Free use of such words as "malice" and "wilful", as applied to sailors in writings of the day, indicate some of the psychological assumptions then current.

⁴³ 35-2, H Rep. 212. Appendix 8 of the present work exhibits a case of attempted adjustment of ideas.

⁴⁴ For information on these matters see Staunton, Ta Tsing Leu Lee, 431-432, Benj H Williams, "The Protection of American Citizens in China, Extraterritoriality", in Amer. Jour. of Int. Law, Vol 16, No 1

devised for removal of genuine reasons for foreign criticism were unsatisfactory Under the stronger governments of Eastern Asia, extraterritorial arrangements were fundamentally inconsistent In terms of decades and centuries, and in the midst of widening contacts, they could be defended, if at all, only as a temporary makeshift

Illustration may again be found at Foochow A short account of attempts to secure redress for the murder of Howard Cunningham exhibits one cause of foreign criticism Cunningham, a native of Boston, was employed by Augustine Heard and Company The story of events culminating in his death in the summer of 1856 is long and involved. It can hardly be asserted that the man sought trouble, but at least he put himself in its way When the mob finished with him a new cause for official correspondence and racial animosity had been created The Chinese authorities were slow about prosecuting Taxed with this fact, the Viceroy pointed to the murder of three Chinese in 1855 by American sailors and declared that punishment of the murders had not been secured The American Commissioner insisted that the matter had been handled with dispatch The argument raged back and forth, showing a tendency to become entangled with other matters and revealing the extreme difficulty of securing "justice" that would be generally satisfactory in a contradictory situation, especially in the face of the language barrier For example, the Viceroy introduced remarks about the alleged wounding of a Chinese at the time Cunningham was killed Furthermore, he complained that, if the 1855 murder case had been attended to by the American authorities, they were remiss in not reporting their action to the Chinese local officers, so that the populace could be informed

Finally, on March 16, 1857, the Viceroy reported that the murderer of Cunningham had been strangled, and the Amer-

ican Commissioner ordered Consul Jones at Foochow to deliver up to the superintendent of customs the duties detained pending compliance with American demands The instructive correspondence relating to this case suggests a difference between justice based on established principles of law and that guided largely by general policy considerations--the difference, it might be said, between the Anglo-Saxon judge and the Chinese magistrate It facilitates an understanding of complications introduced into consular administration by judicial obligations and problems ⁴⁵

News Item (Associated Press) of April 28, 1934, from Shanghai (The last sentence may interest persons who are disposed to make accurate historical comparisons)

"A delay until April 25 in the confirmation by the United States Senate on [sic] the appointment of Milton J Hemlick as judge of the United States Court for China is giving lawbreakers in China a field day

"The appointment of Milton Purdy as judge of the court expired February 26, six days after the appointment of Hemlick, New Mexico jurist

"For the past two months American legal machinery throughout China has been paralyzed and lawyers say the situation is unparalleled in American jurisprudence "

Sect. b-The Coolie Traffic

In the discharge of their obligations to the government and people of China, American consuls showed special solicitude for one particular group of Chinese, the emigrants The many abuses in this traffic, the inadequacy of American passenger legislation, the moral issues created, the difficulty of regulating American shipping engaged in the business, and the damage done to the American name and to the character of American commerce--these combined to give a composite and especially annoying aspect to consular contacts with the coolie problem

(Jan , 1922), 45, 5 China DD, Nov 24, 1848, and 6 China DD, Dec 28, 1858, encl , Bradley to Parker, Dec 2, 1850 Bradley stated that his British colleague was spared the delays and endless excuses of the Chinese local authorities to which he was subjected when there appeared to be no likelihood of a show of American strength

⁴⁵55-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, *passim*, but especially pp 862-866 (minutes of an interview), 877-878, 881, 886 and 895 (local proclamations to the people), 905-907, and 1291-1292 For the case of a friendly Chinese who was opposed by his hostile countrymen see pp 659-660, note also pp 1005-1004, 1008, 1010-1013, and 1512-1513

The effects of the business were both direct and indirect. They are observed in consular-diplomatic activities and attitudes, in trade statistics and tendencies, in connection with the widespread abuses and many tragedies in the business itself, and in the actions and opinions of governments, business firms, and individuals. Most of what is said here emphasizes the coolie traffic in the strict sense, distinguishing contract coolies from the laborers who went voluntarily to California and Australia as paying passengers. Occasionally the confusion of the two which existed at the time shows itself as a special aspect of the problem. This was the inadequacy of the information possessed in the United States and elsewhere by the public, which at times had an active relation to immigrant Chinese. Some contract laborers went early to California.⁴⁶

The delicate and harassing nature of the coolie question for consuls was so pronounced that this feature of it received a measure of attention in Congress.⁴⁷ To perplexity created by differences in the pertinent legislation of England, Continental countries, and the United States was added uncertainty as to the official Chinese position.⁴⁸ There existed question regarding the legality of the labor-term contract, which, as S. Wells Williams put it, made merchandise of a man by selling him to the highest bidder. It was hard to secure effective official agreement among the different foreign consuls in prevention of specific abuses, even

when there was substantial unanimity of purpose and feeling.⁴⁹ Before consuls came many kinds of interested persons, while some of the men engaged in the business used every practical means to satisfy themselves concerning the wishes of coolies brought to them, their ignorance of the language frequently neutralized their efforts. Consuls' responsibility for protection of the reputation of their offices and their nationals was increased by the awkward combination, on the Chinese side, of official inaction or inattention and popular indignation, expressed in many hostile acts. Diversity of conditions at different ports and in different years produced conflicting evidence.⁵⁰ Technical questions arose from the fact that many American vessels left from Hongkong or Macao rather than Chinese ports, and the further fact that they were sometimes chartered by non-American firms. Remote from the home government and lacking decisive instructions, consuls year after year were compelled by this novel and vexing problem to rely on their own ingenuity and such help as they might secure from the Legation or from American war vessels. Pressure placed on them by conflicting interests was extremely powerful. It was not easy, for example, to check a shipmaster who was tempted by huge immediate profits in carrying passengers to San Francisco.⁵¹ Consular inspection of the American ship Wandering Jew at Shanghai early in 1858 exhibited the seriousness of the coolie question for American officials in China. The consular officer, Albert L.

⁴⁶ The "new species of enterprise" mentioned by Commissioner Davis in 5 China DD, Feb 22, 1849. The despatch is ambiguous concerning the point where the contracts were made.

⁴⁷ 56-1, H Ex Doc 88, 13-14.

⁴⁸ Of 1 Amoy CI, May 1, 1855. In 15 China DD, Jan 28, 1858, exh 5, and 2 Amoy CI, Apr 8, 1858 may be found information regarding correspondence with local authorities, "apparent hasty determination" on their part, and seizure of coolie-depots and coolie-collectors in pursuance of joint proclamations issued by the acting consular officer and the prefect of Amoy. This is but a fragment of the extensive correspondence regarding coolies which moved between Legation and consulates. A special dilemma appeared in 1859 when a Chinese official issued a proclamation giving the impression that possibly the coolie trade had been legalized under Chinese law, for this and the related matter of a United States Emigration Officer in China see 16 China DD, Apr 22 and May 6, 1859. A clear account of the changes gradually effected in the Chinese law against emigration is given in H. F. MacNair's The Chinese Abroad, esp pp 1-2, 13-18.

⁴⁹ This circumstance gave pause to native officials who had learned to avoid offending consuls of important nations, see 16 China DD, Apr 28, 1858, exh 1a.

⁵⁰ There seems in general to have been less trouble affecting Americans at Shanghai than at ports farther south. There existed considerable opposition to the traffic among American merchants at that port. It was impossible, however, to remain entirely isolated from its effects, as the text subsequently indicates. Note also subsequent mishaps related in 4 Shanghai CI, Sept 3, 1859.

⁵¹ 2 Hongkong CI, Jan 29, 1852, 33-1, H Ex Doc 125, 106.

Freeman, was serving under temporary appointment. It became necessary for him to put a stop to the activities of the captain of the Wandering Jew in receiving coolies for transportation on his vessel. Freeman's predecessor, Knapp, had shortly before given the Chinese authorities assurances which caused them to grant the ship a clearance, and had handed the master his papers. Knapp was said to have asserted that the captain and the consignees of the vessel had given a guarantee which would be forfeited if she loaded with coolies for Cuba. Freeman could find no such guarantee, which the master denied giving. At any rate, the Wandering Jew dropped down river to an anchorage outside Woosung and for five or six weeks took on coolies. It was believed that delay in sailing was caused by the interception of some three hundred coolies by Chinese authorities before they could be got to the ship. At the same time, the local intendent informed Freeman that he would order district magistrates to arrest persons trying to send more men aboard this ship, and issued a proclamation of warning to the people. This official asserted that the captain had distinctly stated that he intended simply to take on a few passengers for Fukien province. The matter assumed enough importance to elicit an anxious inquiry from the British consul, who later fined the agent of the ship two hundred dollars, as he was under British jurisdiction.

Freeman determined to visit the Wandering Jew. He was apprehensive as to the kind of reception awaiting him, and embarrassed by a foreign customs inspector's detention of the cutter placed at his disposal by the acting taotai. Securing another vessel, he left Shanghai on the morning of January 28, accompanied by an interpreter, a marshal, and a Chinese official. The Wandering Jew appeared to be on the point of sailing. Going aboard, Freeman informed the captain and the consignee of his purpose and conducted an examination of the coolies.

"Many of them stated that a Chinaman in the employ of Mr Connolly the Consignee ..had promised to give them three dollars providing they would go on board the foreign ship to work for a few days, others stated that they were to receive three hundred cash per day to come to Shanghai to serve as soldiers, others were to form part of a mandarin's retinue. Nearly every one was questioned ..and not one was found that came on board with any idea of going to a foreign country. Many of the coolies upon being informed that they were to be taken to a foreign country begged to be allowed to go on shore as they had wives and families dependent upon them. Out of two hundred and thirty-six (256) coolies on board, one hundred and seventeen (117) were found to be there against their own free will and consent."⁵²

Freeman turned these men over to the Chinese authorities, and explained to the remainder their situation, in which they acquiesced. They were chiefly beggars, without ties to bind them to China, "who took the choice of ..dying by starvation in their own country, or dragging out an existence in an untried and unknown land." Captain Carlton was given a written warning and threatened with loss of his papers if he received another coolie at Shanghai. Freeman understood that he intended to complete his "cargo" at Amoy.

The consulate was perplexed by a dependable report that the taotai had previously agreed to let willing coolies on the Wandering Jew continue with their journey, "thus rendering the law that prohibits the coolie traffic somewhat indefinite."⁵³ On returning to Shanghai, Freeman requested that he discountenance the venture.

After some uncertainty Captain Carlton sailed on January 31, not for his destination in Cuba, but for Amoy. The consular officer at that port (Doty) was unwilling to believe a warning of the impending visit, but on February 3 the troublesome vessel appeared. This fine clipper won Doty's admiration, and the master he described as a "gentlemanly person of correct feelings and bearing." The professed intention was to take on provisions and

⁵²16 China DD, Feb. 26, 1858, encl.

⁵³The master subsequently stated at Amoy that this Chinese officer had volunteered the belief that, if coolies without families went abroad, they and their country would be better off—a comment well in keeping with official attitudes.

then proceed to Havana. Reminded by Doty of his risks in engaging in the coolie traffic, Carlton related the occurrences at Shanghai and reported that all coolies aboard realized their situation. He also insisted that of those sent ashore at Shanghai large numbers returned to the ship, begging to be taken aboard, and that he had refused to receive them.

In view of the unreliability and incompleteness of some of the evidence in the case of the Wandering Jew, it is small wonder that the American minister expressed scant confidence in any promise made by those in charge of the vessel. To him a coolie's willingness to go to Havana was irrelevant as long as the voyage was to be made under a contract "to be held to service!" He directed that the captain be notified that if he pursued his venture he would be reported to Washington immediately.

"And his conduct will not be less censurable if he proceeds to Swatow, a port not opened." "I am resolute to do all in my power to put an end to this infamous traffic, in this instance carried on, in defiance of all admonition, by a most discreditable combination between an American master and lawless British shippers."⁵⁴

At Manila the consulate was concerned with the evils of the traffic, notably in the case of the American ship Waverley, on its way to Callao from Swatow, in the autumn of 1855. The Manila office had to deal not only with the tragedy created by the death of many of the coolies in a riot on shipboard, but also with the trial of the officers and the subsequent fate of those who were imprisoned at Manila. It is far from certain that the Americans who actually suffered were more than the easily apprehended pawns of greedy owners and promoters.⁵⁵

A problem which created as serious difficulties for American officials as those which have been related naturally sprang from an economic drive of great power. This force was sufficient in many instances to overbear considerations of law and humanity which stood in the way of profit to heartless Chinese procurers, callous or misinformed foreign agents and plantation owners, and profit-hungry shipowners and shipmasters. American shipping men of the time are not to be regarded as uniformly cruel and rapacious men. Some of them at least seem to have been caught in the cross-currents of economic, social, and political changes which they little understood. They were

⁵⁴ This account of the Wandering Jew is based chiefly on Reed's despatch of February 26, 1858 (16 China DD), with numerous enclosures. Encl. 2q, a notice to consuls, called attention to the necessity of checking the traffic, urged prompt reports to officers of all the races concerned, and sought information likely to aid the Department of State in bringing offenders to justice. The circular pointed out the dangers to mariners on coolie ships and called for special attention to the shipping articles of such men, as it was suspected that many frauds had been perpetrated on them by interlineations, erasures, and other alterations, mariners deceived in this way were to be placed on relief by consuls. As part of his campaign Reed had notified the consular officer at Havana of the activities of American vessels in China and had asked him to report on those arriving at the Cuban port, among the ship's listed as having sailed or as loading appeared the Wandering Jew. (15 China DD, Jan 26, 1858, encl.)

An equally striking case was that of the American ship Messenger, which occurred two years later in South China and involved several officers and jurisdictions. The Legation was much concerned over the possible effect of such incidents on Sino-American relations (16 China DD, Jan 24, 1860). Ward transmitted many documents giving a revolting picture of violation of Chinese regulations, deceitful evasions, divided official loyalties, administrative problems, and use of torture to force expressions of willingness from stolen coolies. Cf. Williams, The Middle Kingdom, II, 665, for instructive comment, perhaps half a million persons were taken away during the twenty-five years of the business (some of them defeated rebels anxious to save their lives).

Congressional documents contain much social and economic data from the Havana consulate. Note such documents as 56-2, H Ex Doc 7, 28, 441ff and 57-2, H Ex Doc 16. Cf. Com Rels., 1856, 55

⁵⁵ 55-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 1234-1235, cf. 34-1, S Ex Doc 99, 7, 11 China DD, Feb 12, 1856, 55-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 691-695. One of the most striking documents in all the consular correspondence from Eastern Asia is an account by an eye-witness of occurrences on the Waverley, sent by Consul Hyatt. (1 Amy CL, June 1, 1858, reproduced in Appendix 7 of the present work)

part of a marine economic system which gave them little opportunity to choose their own way. In their own country, outright slavery still existed.

The Chinese coolie traffic was part of a general problem of servile labor which was almost world-wide. Difficulties in plantation economy and changes in the racial composition of labor masses created a whirlpool into which it was natural that thousands of hopeless, poverty-stricken Chinese coolies should be drawn. It is often assumed that the coolie traffic was simply a chamber of horrors, it was that, but it was much more besides. Fair distribution of responsibility reveals the influence of a network of impersonal circumstances and changes which no single individual or group of individuals could manage completely. In this assessment, the slothful reaction and the laissez-faire attitude of the legislative representatives of the American people must be assigned a definite share of blame.

Whether in the California and Australia passenger traffic or in the inhumane coolie trade with other regions, profits to owners of vessels and their associates were considerable. It is not possible to isolate and total up the profits made by Americans in this international enterprise, in which there were many hidden factors, but figures show that it produced a large income.⁵⁶

Anyone who has had the good fortune to visit the dark, dank depths of an old-time clipper can visualize the scenes in which the traffic abounded. On sailing vessels there were sufficient inconveniences and risks even for persons who were aboard by choice. These factors assumed a

highly explosive nature for men who were present as a result of misinformation or compulsion and were afflicted by superstitious and apprehensive ignorance of regions overseas. Rigid restrictions and outright mistreatment fanned resentment and excited the boldness of desperate leaders. The evils of this business were found on land as well as on shipboard. Gathering of coolies, confinement of them in barracoons before sailing date, and distribution and use of them after the journey's end witnessed notable abuses. The mounting fear and wrath of these travellers reached its peak at sea, however, where they were least easily controlled. Often hundreds of coolies were subject to the oversight of a handful of officers and seamen, with no taste for their task and with fears and grievances of their own.⁵⁷

One missionary writer relates his frequent, but vain, trips to Whampoa to intercede for Chinese with captains, often American, who were anxious to get their full load of passengers and sail without delay. This anxiety prevented releases even in cases where a refund was offered of the money which it was claimed had been advanced to the coolie. A number of official and private proclamations and notices were issued by Chinese, in which they set forth their views of the evils of the system, as well as the villainies of kidnappers in general and the tricks of coolie agents-- souls entirely "abandoned to covetousness." The strength of coolies' dislike of their lot is shown by many attempts made to escape from ships or to seize control of them while at sea.⁵⁸

The great number of officials, nationalities, and classes affected by the

⁵⁶ The Eureka, for example, was chartered at about \$20,000. Shipping records were incomplete. Some American vessels entering Havana with coolies were recorded as from some intermediate point. Coolidge's Chinese Immigration contains (496) a useful table of Chinese entering, leaving, and residing in California and the United States, 1820-1882, of the Pacific Coast there were 7,370 in 1851 and 46,897 in 1860, see also Com. Rel., I, 531ff. Fares of returning Chinese and a profitable freight in the bodies of those who had died abroad also figured. (4 Hongkong CL, Apr 18, 1858.)

For statistics relating to shipments to Latin American ports see 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 680, and 11 China DD, Feb 12, 1856, and for names and shares of owners of some vessels consult 34-1, H Ex Doc 105, 68-59. Extensive data on ships gathered during the preparation of the present work show well over a score of American vessels which carried Chinese. Regarding one of these and its owner see information in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Research Quarterly ("The Fruyn Family", Vols XIII-XV). In 1858 the Ningpo consulate failed to find any case of coolie shipments from that port.

⁵⁷ Cf. Chapter 2, above, under the heading "Seamen."

⁵⁸ Graves, Forty Years in China, 149-150, 13 China DD, Jan 13, 1857, encl., 11 China DD, Feb 12, 1856, D'Ewes, China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, 530, 4 Hongkong CL, Nov 28, 1859, with supporting

traffic in Chinese, the wide distribution of the places at which it reared its head, the tempting opportunities for quick and abundant profits, and the publicity properly given its tragedies produced a volume of opinion in mercantile, official, and humanitarian circles which was quite out of proportion to the remedies actually effected at the time. In spite of abuses and alleged violations of law, American shipping was sensitive to legislation affecting Chinese emigrants.⁵⁹ Positive legislation to control the coolie trade was sought by American consuls and commissioners in China from 1849 on.⁶⁰ Certain leading American merchants along the Atlantic seaboard who were financially interested in the business were no less quick to assert their moral convictions, but, lacking personal touch and administrative concern with the immediate vexations of the business, they were more hesitant than officials in the Orient to rec-

ognize the evils to which these convictions were applicable.⁶¹

Hampered by uncertainty and hesitation at home, American mercantile agents and shipmasters in China--quite apart from the quality of their individual ethics--were placed in an ambiguous position when compelled to choose between orders from their owners and the counsel of the official representatives of their country. In this respect, they had something in common with the consuls whose obligation to protect native welfare and the good name of the American flag brought them into frequent conflict with commercial interests and left them with insufficient legal authority to enforce a definite, consistent, and effective policy. Consuls and their immediate superiors were compelled too much to rely on suppositions and makeshifts while Congressmen debated or were lost in preoccupation with other matters nearer home.⁶²

account in The Hongkong Register, Nov 18, 1859 (wreck of the Flora Temple, a typical story of outbreaks and accidents at sea) Details of hardships and tragedies are apart from our main purpose, it is sufficient to observe that a score of sources, to most of which some reference has already been made, present a full and complex picture which includes almost every conceivable form of deception, mistreatment, and demoralization of individuals and groups.

⁵⁹ Shortly after a report of the unconstitutionality of the prohibition of the landing of Chinese at San Francisco reached Hongkong, the carrying trade revived, enlisting numerous American ships (4 Hongkong CL, Mar 12, 1859.)

⁶⁰ 5 China DD, Aug 26, 1849 (Davis), 16 China DD, Apr 10, 1858 Proximity to the problem have a moral fervor to the arguments of some American officers. Humphrey Marshall took up the cause of improved legislation on the floor of the House, after his service in China.

⁶¹ Two important cases showing a balancing of moral and financial considerations suggest that it was not difficult for some men to find the evidence they needed to bolster their consciences. The first of these was that of the well-known firm of Howland and Aspinwall, possessing many and varied commercial interests. The other concerned the house of Sampson and Tappan, of Boston. In the Miscellaneous Letters in the Department of State appears a communication (Apr 28, 1856) to President Pierce from John L. Aspinwall attacking an embarrassingly specific and strongly condemnatory resolution, on the coolie traffic, which was before the House. Portions of the letter make curious reading when compared with facts and well-informed opinion, they resemble certain other tendentious and almost choleric writing by leading merchants in China. Critical care is needed in using the opinions and factual statements of even the most "respectable" commercial men of the time. Almost coincident with the Aspinwall matter was the contrasting action of Sampson and Tappan. After considerable discussion (and a conference between Marcy, Cushing, McLane, and Parker), the firm decided to abandon all participation in the coolie traffic, a step which won specific commendation from the House committee on commerce (13 China DD, Jan 13, 1857, exh G¹, 36-1, H Rep 445, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 837-839). Regarding Sampson and Tappan's agent in China, and international commercial features of their shipment of coolies to Brazil, see 11 China DD, Feb 12, 1856, encl.)

⁶² For commercial and legislative discussion note 30-1, S Mis Doc 80, 60-61, Coolidge, Chin Immigration, 31-32, 7 China DD, June 19, 1852, 33-1, H Ex Doc 125, 80, 34-1, H Jol, 796, 34-1 and 2, S Jol, 280-281, 277-278, 291-292, 36-1, H Jol, 232, Mis Letters, Eliot to Cass, Mar 8, 1860, 36-1, H Jol, II, 736, and 37-1, H Jol, 78

Sect c--The Opium Problem

No one has accused American consuls of engaging in the coolie traffic, but no less a person than Townsend Harris charged several consular officers in China, all members of the firm of Russell and Company, with being involved in the opium smuggling business ⁶³. The former traffic took Chinese to foreign countries to injure them, the latter weakened and debauched them in their own land. The two problems showed important differences, but in several respects they resembled each other--in legal status, in historical development, in moral and economic urgency, and in their unmanageability for consular and diplomatic officers. Many phases of the opium business have been treated by different writers. Discussion of it here is limited mainly to a statement of its meaning for consular and diplomatic officers and for American merchants, a brief review of American connection with the traffic, the methods used in conducting it, and a few of its economic characteristics.

For American consuls this question was as much a psychological matter as an administrative concern. It bore a close relation to the individual officer's personal views and the interests of his class. Merchants, missionaries, and political appointees tended to react to the business in different ways. With reference to its effect on human beings and its legal standing, opium presented a moral issue so sharp that a responsible person could not well avoid having some ideas on the subject. By adding to the consular burden of bafflement and sense of futility, it created an emotional problem. Attentive consular officers were frequently compelled to observe the discrepancy between American professions at home and practices abroad. Their faith in their country was taxed by frustration of some of their best efforts.

In the eyes of the Chinese they often stood in an awkward position as their countrymen proceeded, almost unhampered, with activities undeniably harmful to the native population. Foreigners might feel with good reason that the so-called Opium War was least of all, or not at all, a war to force the drug on the Chinese, but opium was the great issue of which Chinese minds remained conscious. The inconsistency of the traffic with the much-taught Ten Commandments and the professions of Western missionaries was not lost on them. Their reactions were known to American officers in the Orient.

The fact that many Chinese officials failed to enforce their country's anti-opium regulations and even connived at violations of them was not regarded as excuse for the failure of foreign governments to check mischievous commerce. American law gave American officers in China no clear-cut right to take action against their countrymen in this business, nor did it empower the Department of State to issue regulations forbidding it. Consuls and ministers looked to the law, and, failing that, to the Department, the Department looked to Congress, and Congress was governed by the drift of popular interest, in which humanitarian considerations, although present, were not quickly effective, especially in relation to places as far away as China.⁶⁴

The four men singled out by Harris for attack included two consuls and two vice consuls. He asserted that the firm to which they belonged had engaged for years in the illicit traffic, and described their receiving ships, armament, use of the American flag when American naval vessels were absent, and their practice of receiving opium for storage "against seizure by the Chinese authorities." He raised the question of treaty violation by Russell

⁶³The assertions of Harris deserve attention, although his militant moral sense, unfortunately involved with his sense of financial and professional self-interest, led him to make charges which the evidence to be used here does not uniformly establish beyond doubt. Harris' judgment was not infallible, and, while one of the men attacked (Forbes) resigned, the net result of the exchanges of correspondence in relation to the case is a suspicion of irregularity.

⁶⁴Wrote Reed: "I am compelled to be a spectator of the careless participation of many of my own fellow-citizens in this trade, and am obliged to limit my action to efforts to prevent any official countenance being given to it" (16 China DD, Feb. 26, 1858). He excoriated the British for efforts to have the business legalized, citing local decrees from Foochow. Note also Parker's similar fear, in 14 China DD, May 22, 1857, with encls.

and Company through entry at forbidden ports and the carrying on of clandestine trade along the coasts, and drew attention to his government's obligation to prevent misuse of its flag by foreigners as a cover for violation of Chinese laws Citing the vessels Brenda (meaning Minna?) and Spark, under the direction of Russell and Company, Harris gave the circumstances of well-known violations of treaty by the firm and two of its members who served as consular officers He asserted that every commercial house at Canton and Shanghai save Wetmore and Company smuggled in such notorious manner than no one denied the fact⁶⁵

Paul S Forbes answered these charges in a letter to the Department from New York, on May 13, 1854 If he knew or suspected the name of his detractor he did not disclose the fact Forbes had heard from Marcy on the subject a week before He wrote that Russell and Company had never, to his knowledge, smuggled a chest of opium and that he would not have permitted such action He admitted that the house was agent for store ships "in the outer waters of China" and that these vessels received opium or other merchandise for storage

"The Chinese Mandarins send their own boats to these outer waters and there receive opium which has been previously sold in Canton and which they bring inside the river themselves If therefore the opium is smuggled, it is done by the Mandarins, who receive the benefit arising from its introduction into China, and tho this introduction is nominally prohibited, it is actually effected with the knowledge and by the participation of the Chinese officials, who derive a revenue therefrom and are the chief persons interested in its continuance--it is not true that the goods are received under a guarantee against seizure by the Chinese authorities"⁶⁶

Forbes observed that the vessels in question were stationed beyond the limits set by port regulations, where the Chinese did not pretend to afford protection, and that arms were required for defence against the "swarms of pirates" infesting nearby waters He insisted that as American vessels of war had long anchored by the "station ships," daily visited by naval officers, smuggling would surely have been detected In defence of himself he further referred to the despatches of different commissioners Denying that Russell and Company had operated the Spark, his letter found the origin of the animus contained in hostile charges in

"jealousy of the superior means and greater enterprise of the House of Russell & Co , who have during a quarter of a century held the first position among American merchants in the East The enterprise which is the characteristic of our nation is thus brought against them as a crime, by commercial rivals, who while they have been unable from diminished means to follow them in their bolder and higher enterprise, have nevertheless never scrupled to avail of the venability of the Chinese Officials to evade the payment of duties thus showing that it is not the honor of their country which dictates, but simply commercial jealousy "⁶⁶

Forbes' extensive, but somewhat inconclusive, defence exhibits the mercantile philosophy which was widely accepted, and reveals a willingness to tax the law to the limit of the last dollar, even though such action involved an accessory relation to the violation of the law of a friendly country Writing of English opium dealers, W B Reed recorded in his diary (October 11, 1858) the belief that

"such people ought to be marked and if I were to catch an American merchant at such a trick I would send a man of war and stop him--but righteous

⁶⁵ Harris overlooked the militantly anti-opium policy of the Olyphant firm, he was close to the Wetmore family, to which he owed much (4 Canton CL, Harris to Marcy, Oct 10, 1853, and Nov 11, 1853, from Hongkong, with reports from The Hongkong Register of Oct 4 and Nov 11, 1853) From a letter written by Harris to Marcy on May 4, 1854 (1 Macao CL), it appears that on October 26, 1853 also he had written the Secretary attacking the consul at Shanghai for dealing in opium Although it was extremely difficult for a private individual to procure legal proof, a surprisingly frank statement (in the same volume), on April 6, 1854, to Harris from a Parsee at Macao related the latter's opium transactions through Russell and Company Harris talked with Commissioner McLane on April 11, 1854, McLane was willing to receive any documents but not to open an inquiry

⁶⁶4 Canton CL

England gets Five million Revenue from opium & dare not "⁶⁷

The very zealous views of the upright and conscientious merchant D W C Olyphant, and his abstention from the opium business, made him an object of curiosity, ridicule, and enmity on the part of some of his fellows. His stand makes it quite clear that traders had some choice in the matter ⁶⁸. Olyphant and Company later failed (1878), but so did Russell and Company (1891). In reading of the contrasting philosophies of the two firms it is difficult to escape the conclusion that those business men who complained most loudly of official corruption in one form were most likely to contribute to it in another.

Momentum given the opium traffic by quick and heavy profit-taking made it an almost irresistible force. Abundant testimony shows that most men in business did not risk a show of strength with this force, even though it was intimately related to piracy and other forms of viciousness and crime ⁶⁹. Sudden riches, largely from opium, created little business empires which tended to become laws unto themselves. It was a short step to arrogance. In this Asiatic setting, consular representatives of the political democracy existing in the United States found somewhat intractable many of those citizens whose economic individualism had been pressed to a point where it was inconsistent with that political democracy.

A sketch of the history of Amer-

ican participation in the opium trade and the methods employed makes it easier to understand why W B Reed, minister to China in 1858, could agree to the legalization of a traffic which he abhorred ⁷⁰.

Americans were in the opium business from the early part of the nineteenth century, in spite of Chinese edicts banning it. One of these, in 1800, had led the English East India Company and the Co-hong to cease handling the drug, and in 1809 the hong merchants had to give bond that the ships secured by them carried no opium to the Whampoa anchorage ⁷¹. Nevertheless, independent merchants continued to deal in it. British and American traders made large sums ⁷². After a few years the Chinese government assumed a menacing attitude, and receiving ships came into use, some of this business was under the American flag. In 1839 occurred a crisis in connection with attempts of a vigorous Chinese commissioner, Lin, to make existing prohibitions effective. Although the first Anglo-Chinese war which followed did not result in the legalization of the opium traffic, it decisively set back the cause of enforcement of regulations. After the war, American naval authorities could find (1843) no law of their country allowing them to act against Americans in the opium business, and felt that they could merely refrain from aiding such Americans if the Chinese prosecuted them. As in the matter of the coolie traffic, it was necessary to seek "particular instructions" from Washington. These did not arrive ⁷³. In this situation, there was introduced into the

⁶⁷For similar feeling see the Recollections of the Marquis de Moges, p 295.

⁶⁸A selection from one of his letters, written at Shanghai, Nov 23, 1850, in a typewritten collection at the Missionary Research Library, New York. Morse comments on Olyphant in his Int. Rels, I, pp 196-197. On opium dens see Train, An American Merchant in Europe, Asia, and Australia, 117. A memorial of Americans at Ningpo begging their government to keep their countrymen and their flag out of the opium business was presented to the House in 1856 (34-1, H Jol, II, 1048.)

⁶⁹Moges, Recollections, 75, 294-295, Chin Repos, XV, 59-47 (but one of many references to opium in this publication), Com Rels, III, 639, and Wood, Fankwei, 525.

⁷⁰ Cf Morse, Int Rels, I, ch XXIII, and Dennett, Ameras in East Asia, ch VI. Previous sections of the present work occasionally refer to the opium trade. On its later history see Moore's Digest, II, 651-652. A useful reference list appears in Louise Marion Taylor's Catalogue of Books on China in the Institute (Salem, 1926—Essex Institute), pp 201-205.

⁷¹For reasoning pro and con see Couling, Enc Sinica, 405-409.

⁷²In his Voyage en Chine, I, 257, La Gravière notes the susceptibility of American consciences to the "irresistible attraction of a bad example".

⁷³Commodore Kearny took away the Ariel's papers for trading in opium under the American flag, but, says Dennett (op cit, 125), the reason which he had to use was not her opium smuggling but the fact that

American treaty of 1844 with China a formal declaration (Art XXXIII) that opium was contraband Chinese authorities re-issued their anti-opium edict in 1850, but this act was a mere flash in the pan, there was no heart for enforcement

Gradually the trade became "conventionalized." It was informally recognized by most of the native authorities, who in some instances even sought it, after the manner of modern trade promotion organizations, as an aid to business. At Hongkong, of course, Chinese legal prohibitions did not run. Whether Americans were correct or not in their suspicion that the British in left-handed manner were trying to secure an informal legalization of opium by having local authorities at certain ports collect duties on it, the trade was formally legalized in 1858. The conditions prescribed resulted in a great reduction of smuggling. Thus the original attempt to correct an evil had itself produced another evil which, it was thought, could be removed only by giving status to the first evil.

This moral and financial question was too intimately connected with the inherent political and administrative problems of regulation--on both the foreign and the Chinese sides--to permit of success in the existing state of government in China. The immediate result of attempts to control opium was, therefore, less than nothing. The chief service of certain American consular and diplomatic officers was to assist painfully with the clarification of the problem and the sharpening of an issue which could be handed on to later generations for study and settlement. Only this long-range view of their efforts can regard them as anything more than a heroic but futile attempt to settle in a moment a problem which had complex ramifications of a tenacity insufficiently realized at the time.⁷⁴

According to the fifth article of the tariff and trade regulations arranged

between China and the United States in 1858, the import duty on opium was set at thirty taels per picul, the importer being allowed to sell it only at the port of entry, whence it might be carried inland only by Chinese, and as Chinese property. American privileges in the interior were not to apply to opium questions, and in future tariff revisions opium was not to be on the same basis as other articles. The American characterization of opium as contraband was, of course, dropped.

Reed's dramatic dilemma in 1858 focusses the problem which had also been before previous ministers and consular officers. Morse takes Reed to task seriously for disregarding his instructions in regard to the legalization of opium,⁷⁵ but it seems likely that any other course would have led "practical" critics to dub him an "impractical visionary." Any action invited criticism from contemporaries. A policy of inaction, toward which Reed tended strongly, might have made matters simpler for him at the moment, but it would also have invited a hostile verdict of cowardice from persons who demanded action at all costs.

Knowledge is now available concerning diplomatic and consular perplexity resulting from lack of a decisive policy at Washington. It suggests that Reed's mild moves toward legalization of the importation of opium were not so much a (limited and trifling) violation of instructions as an honest, though cheerless, attempt of an overseas representative to discharge a responsibility for which his countrymen in China would hold him to account. It is hard to believe that Reed was concerned simply with having the traffic legalized. His real interest was to work the difficulty into a position where it could be attacked. He felt, furthermore, that a bad system needed to be broken up.

Reed's handling of the opium question cannot be divorced from his frequently hostile attitude toward some of the American

⁷⁴Her ownership was vested nominally in a man professing American citizenship, yet who had not been in the United States for at least six years! The Ariel soon resumed business. This was not the Ariel (1846) of later merchant fame, for that vessel's connection with opium see Cutler's Memorandum.

⁷⁵For discussion, including remarks by Reed on Lord Elgin, see Gideon Nye, Jr., Tea and The Tea Trade, 6-7, and 16 China DD, Apr. 10, 1858.

⁷⁶Int Rels., I, 554, cf. also Dennett, Amers. in East Asia, 324-325.

business firms in the Orient. An entry of September 10, 1858 in his Private Diary of Mission to China 1857-59 shows that he did not come easily to a decision to cooperate with the British representative in regard to opium, he was seriously tempted "not to touch the iniquity but to let England work her way out of the wickedness as best she can. They talk of slavery!!" Three days later, however, he sent his despatch to Lord Elgin in which he drew attention to the need of action. Reed became the spearhead of the American thrust against the traffic, but his attack was deflected from the purpose which conscientious officers had long cherished--the separation of American commercial interests from any connection with the opium business.

The methods used in conducting the trade reveal the helplessness of these American officers. The receiving ships off the China Coast took their supplies of opium from vessels arriving from India and Western Asia. They were well-manned and comfortable, even luxurious in some cases, and their preparedness against attack by officials or pirates gave them practical independence. The system was well worked out, with its own set customs, and strong action was taken to expel interlopers. A substantial monopoly was maintained by old firms well known to the smugglers, on the other hand, certain Chinese smugglers were regarded by these houses as "safe." Opium was packed into balls about the size of Dutch cheeses and placed in chests. Crude opium was said to be worth its weight in silver, and the refined drug was worth its weight in gold--a general remark, since values fluctuated widely. Many fortunes were made and lost. Spalding mentions figures of from six hundred to twelve hundred dollars a case. Samples in the form of a thick paste were prepared from each

case. Owners lived at Canton, ordinarily, where most of the sales were effected. In spite of the friendliness of many Chinese officials and American naval officers, caution was observed. Transfer and smuggling of the commodity seem to have been carried out quickly by fast-sailing "mandarin boats" which usually arrived in the evening. If there was no wind, as many as a hundred sweep-oars were used. Purchasers brought authorizations from the owners to their agents on the opium hulks.⁷⁶

Like an iceberg, the opium traffic showed but a small part of itself above the surface. Its moral aspect was visible to everyone, and its political features were discerned by a good many. A number of persons knew its deeper economic consequences, but never did the bulk of the profits become accurately known to more than a very few, so close was the veil of secrecy drawn. Until the accounts of old mercantile firms are thoroughly exploited, reliance will have to be placed upon random figures and plausible inferences for the statistics of the opium business done by Americans. External evidences of their profits abounded, in the prosperous condition of the profiteers, but actual statements by traders of the volume of trade were elusive. Its unrecognized status encouraged prompt settlement of accounts. Surplus cash was often put into opium if it could be secured at a low rate. Surr affirmed (1849) that a secure treasury-room was invariably attached to the warehouse or go-down of each merchant for the protection of money (sycee) or opium. It was under the custody of the comendador, who was held responsible for it.⁷⁷

Undoubtedly the English rather than the Americans carried the bulk of the opium which entered China, although at one time large quantities of Turkish opium arrived in American vessels. During most of the

⁷⁶ Useful descriptions and comments appear in such books as La Gravière's Voyage en Chine, I, 256ff., Power's Recollections of a Three Years' Residence in China, 113, Spalding's Japan and Around the World, 189-190, and Tronson's A Voyage to Japan, 189-190. Spalding quotes from authorization papers, others of special interest, from Russell and Company to Capt. Woodbury, are bound in with consular papers in 1 Macao CL. For verified information on receiving ships see The China Mail, Jan. 27, 1860, and 4 Canton CL, Oct. 10, 1855. Among American vessels which carried opium were the Eagle (brig), Ed Koppish, Peiho, and Sea Witch.

⁷⁷ China and the Chinese, II, 407-408, of the diary of W. B. Reed, Sept. 10, 1858.

period the total annual import probably ran from 70,000 to 80,000 chests. In 1854, 38,000 chests smuggled in had a value of \$23,000,000, more than that of recognized imports. An American report gave a value of \$40,000,000 to the total amount of opium taken in 1856.⁷⁸ Indirectly, the Chinese customs lost heavily through the smuggling of the drug. At Foochow interested authorities allowed it to be landed in open daylight within ten feet of the customhouse.⁷⁹

Heavy purchases of opium by the Chinese made the Empire a buying more than a selling nation and returned to world commerce great quantities of silver hoarded in Chinese treasuries--metal secured from foreign purchases of silk, tea, and other articles. Foreign goods taken by the Chinese did not begin to pay for Chinese exports. The basis of foreign exchange with China was general imports, opium (estimated at about thirty per cent of the whole), bullion or specie, and drafts on London.⁸⁰ There was grim truth in Cooke's quip that no earthly power could stop opium-smoking in China unless old ladies in England gave up their tea and young ladies gave up silk.

The opium problem was primarily a Chinese problem and extended beyond the Empire to some points where Chinese resided. A number of them were in the Netherlands East Indies, where the Dutch derived large revenues from the opium monopoly. During the middle fifties immense amounts of prepared opium were sent to San Francisco.

In the Hawaiian Islands (1855) and

in Japan, importation of the article was prohibited. In Siam, as well as in Japan, the influence of Harris was manifested. Although his treaty of 1856 with Siam allowed importation of opium without duty, the business was subjected to restrictions. Harris told the Japanese officials that opium would be dangerous to the country and that the President was opposed to the trade, he insisted on a prohibitory clause in his treaty. This conscientious reformer and enemy of opium fought the use of it even to the point of disciplining his own Chinese cook and tailor, who had used violence, and Harris' name, to secure opium from Shimoda apothecary shops.⁸¹

For American consuls in China the opium problem and the powerful commercial, political, and administrative forces which aggravated it were an overhanging shadow as they devoted themselves to other problems which could be attacked directly. For some American merchants in that country this shadow had a sinister meaning, but for a good many others it was a welcome cover for the amassing of gain. As in the case of the coolie question, legislation did not keep step with what have been aptly called "the uncoordinated dictates of economic forces" in different parts of the world,⁸² nor did it take into account the relation between consular administration and these great social problems. American officers in China after the first treaties inherited a moral and economic difficulty which had already attained magnitude many years before. They were estopped from taking frequent and positive action concerning it.

⁷⁸ 50-1, H Rep 596, Com Rels, I, 523, Cooke, China, 171, Minges, Recollections, 295

⁷⁹ 1 Foochow Cl, Jan 1, 1857

Facilities for smuggling other articles also affected statistics. An example is the ease with which goods reached Canton (and a few other ports) from Hongkong and Macao.

⁸⁰ Com Rels, I, 523, and III, 377. Much silver was drained from Europe and cast in the form of syces, export of this was illegal. See note 82, below.

⁸¹ Ibid, I, 487, 545, and III, 29, Com Rels, 1860, 411, Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 276-277, 1 Japan Des, Mar 4, 1858.

⁸² John King Fairbank, in his useful article, "The Legalization of the Opium Trade before the Treaties of 1858", in Chin Soc and Pol Science Rev, XVII, No 2 (Jly, 1935), p 262. In his British Opium Policy in China and India (New Haven, etc., 1934), David Edward Owen supports the idea that the opium traffic acquired some official status before it was formally legalized. He refers (221-222) to special Chinese military levies on the drug, at some ports, during the financial strain of 1856-1858. On the need of regularization of the traffic, following legalization, and the relation to it of domestic taxation in China see page 241. Opium imports far exceeded exports of tea and silk, in value, and the Chinese had to send specie to India at the rate of about two million pounds sterling a year. Silver payments for opium

"Those were days to be remembered, when our good
ship sailed away,
From the old home port behind us, to Calcutta or
Bombay,
When we sold the Heathen nations rum and opium in
rolls,

And the Missionaries went along to save their sin-
ful souls "
(Julian S Cutler, "The Old Clipper Days",
in the State Street Trust Company's Some
Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston,
p vii)

inconvenienced general trade, which, however, may have been as great as the Chinese would have absorbed in any case. The drain of silver to India, in the early fifties, was more than offset by specie from the West (Ibid, 210, 213) In addition to much useful general discussion, portions of Chapters VII-VIII of Owen's book have a bearing on American interests

Chapter 12

FIFTH GROUP: SPECIAL PROBLEMS (Concluded - Sects d and e)

Sect d--The Currency Question

"A battle of currencies is looming in this cosmopolitan city, home of 50 different nationalities, which if extended, will result in as many different kinds of money being used as legal tender in place of the Chinese dollar"

"[Following] the sudden leap by China from silver to a 'paper standard,' Japanese commercial firms recently decided to put the Hongkew district on a yen basis. Japanese hotels, restaurants and stores are now dealing almost exclusively in their national currency of which some \$2,000,000 is already in circulation."

"Most important is the fact that Japanese cotton mills, which employ the majority of industrial workers in the city, are paying their Chinese help in yen. Thus, unless Chinese merchants accept this money, this large pay roll will go entirely to local Japanese firms."

"Bankers and officials of the Chinese government are agitated over the move which is considered an infringement of national integrity."

(Press item, from Shanghai, February 4, 1935.)

The currency question in Eastern Asia presents a singular combination of accepted monetary habits and cultural forces in conflict and social interaction. From a strictly financial point of view the earli-

er story is not long. From a wide economic and historical angle it merits more extended narration in relation to the universal and compelling impulse of profit-seeking. The intensity of many expressions of this impulse in Eastern Asia produced acute and complex problems for consuls and merchants of different races. The ensuing account sharply exhibits cases in which desire for gain was as pronounced as in the traffic in coolies and opium.

The question was of wide interest and significance, and national and racial lines were sometimes erased in the confusion of conflict. The effects of political and economic isolation or self-sufficiency created one difficulty after another. The story unfolded against bewildering and vexing changes in the background, both in Eastern Asia and in other parts of the world. The special interest of this narrative is to record the development of the problem as a feature of Far Eastern history in relation to American interests, and to set forth both the fixed and the shifting elements at work. Initial mention of these elements is followed by remarks on the course of currency matters in China and in Japan. Brief reference is made to neighboring regions.¹

¹ The most useful and detailed account of currencies and exchange in major and minor countries of Eastern Asia is contained in different sections of Williams' The Chinese Commercial Guide, 255ff., 264, 265ff., 295-296, 305-306, 308-309, 311, 314ff. A succinct explanation of foreign dollars in China is found in Morse's fine presentation of the history of Chinese currency and notes (with much exact description) in Chapter V of his The Trade and Administration of China. Iwao Nitobe's The Intercourse between the United States and Japan, 71-74, comments on currency. Treat's Early Diplomatic Relations presents a concise and useful account of affairs in Japan. In Yōsaburō Takekoshi's The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, III (New York, 1930), chapter LXXIX is illuminating on several special points, considered particularly from the domestic angle. The Wagner Collection at Yale contains material on the currency question (1847 and later). Pertinent observations may be found in British Parliamentary Papers, e.g., those for 1856 [2078], LVII, 1, 1859 [2579], sess. 2, XXX, 373, and 1860 [2753], LXV, 487. The North-China Herald offers much data on exchange difficulties, the Carolus dollar, and monetary policies. Some recent contrasts and much exact information appear in James A. G. Pennington's Metal and Paper Currencies of Australia, New Zealand, East Indies, and Pacific Islands. Other works are mentioned in specific connections.

A general impression that the currency problem was largely a concern of persons in China is correct, if the volume of business is used as a criterion. With regard to the basic intensity of conflict of interests, this view must yield to the more accurate idea that the difficulty was of importance to nearly all of Eastern Asia. In some of its ramifications it was a world problem.² The drain of coins and bullion into Asia, and the hoarding, melting, and ornamental use of them, had been a complaint from ancient times. The inequality

of the monetary supplies of the Occident and the Orient in relation to population was striking,³ and a primary factor in the hardships encountered by Western traders in the Far East during this period was the inadequacy of the volume of a suitable medium of exchange. At some points barter sufficed,⁴ at the other extreme, a mixture of most complicated and diverse forms of metallic currency and bills prevailed, many of them alien to the locality where they passed. In a few situations the mechanism of business hardly figured in

²Such it remains. See, for example, The Japan Weekly Chronicle, Dec 26, 1855, p 815 (remarks from the Osaka Asahi on the close relation of changes in present-day American silver policy to economic life and currency reform in China), Herbert H Bratter, "A Survey of Silver", in Pacific Affairs for July and August, 1932, and an American Wire news item of Feb 4, 1936 from Shanghai on use of Japanese currency at that port (quoted above).

³of For Dom Com, 1863, 200; ch. II of Latourette's Early Relations, Morse's remarks in George H Blakeslee's China and the Far East, 97, and in his own Int Rels, I, 407ff. Treasure shipments from San Francisco to China, 1854-1863, were \$24,937,624 (out of a total, to all countries, of \$465,706,338) (For Dom Com, 1863, 188). Some American firms dealing with China and also with several other parts of the world were accused of trying to monopolize silver dollars, in their secondary rôle as bankers. It appears that they were able, by virtue of the variety and range of their international contacts, and through their triangular (or even more complex) trade, to maintain a fairly steady supply of silver for their individual needs and to deal in coins in a fashion not possible for lesser merchants without branch offices. The excess of American commodities taken to Australia over the goods secured there suggests a changing relation of gold, and the gold supply, to the silver situation. Unbalance is seen further in the depletion of the supply of certain silver coins in Europe.

⁴E.g., at Padang (Netherlands East Indies), where there were no exchange transactions or financial facilities.

It is convenient to assemble at this point several comments on other regions than Japan and China Proper.

Collins (Overland Explor, 226) reported a thriving barter trade driven by Cossacks on the Mongolian frontier, and a heavy discount of silver in favor of copper. It is said that at Anjier Point metal scraps and trinkets no longer attracted the natives, spoiled by Americans, they insisted on Spanish Pillar dollars. Desertion of the Hawaiian Islands by many whaling vessels was attributed partly to the high rate of exchange (Com Rels, 1856, 199). The circulating medium in the Friendly Islands consisted of coins of the United States, England, and France; whalers' drafts and consular drafts (1855) were at 25% and 35% discount, respectively. (For Melbourne cf Com Rels, III, 42.)

In Siam repeated difficulties were experienced by American merchants in their attempts to exchange their dollars for Siamese taicals. They were debarred at the Treasury gates and were told that there were no taicals and that there was no place to store dollars. It often required months to exchange a few thousand dollars, but the ruler's officers would exchange any amount for a 3% or 4% premium. A vessel bringing treasure with which to buy return cargo could not delay for weeks or risk its profit by paying a premium for taicals. The consul appealed to the King's interest in trade to secure correction of abuses and an increase in the amount of available coins (Bangkok Transcripts, Oct 31, 1857). In January of the next year the situation required further attention (*Ibid.*, letters to J S Parker, Jan 11 and 19.) The fifth edition (1863) of Williams' The Chinese Commercial Guide (p 305) describes changes in Siamese coins. The taical (or hat) roughly equalled sixty cents Spanish or Mexican dollars (described below), though sometimes received, were not commonly current in the markets. The Siamese standard of weight was double that of the Chinese, a weight of four taicals made one tael (the variable "ounce" of China—540 to over 580 grains, a troy ounce is 480 grains).

In Formosa the chopped Carolus dollar remained the ordinary currency at its intrinsic value up to 1895 (Morse, Trade and Admin, 184-185.)

the simple and direct exchange of commodities between producer and buyer, but elsewhere this mechanism governed the mercantile aspect of commerce almost completely, especially when private banking houses and exchange dealers were well entrenched. Ordinarily the demand for goods by Westerners so far exceeded the local Eastern need for Occidental products that triangular trading operations and currency or exchange arrangements assumed extreme magnitude.⁵

It was fortunate for Americans that their own monetary system was relatively simple and that their dollar (412 5 grains, of silver 900 fine), insofar as it was used, bore a fairly close relation to the Spanish, Mexican, and other dollars which the Orient drained from the West. The supply of United States money in the Orient was not large, and when the term "dollar" is used here the other coinages noted are ordinarily meant. In the Far East "American dollars" were usually those from Latin America.⁶

European need for a great increase in the media of exchange, connected with notable expansion in commercial operations, accentuated the inconvenience of Oriental

demand for silver. There was a great absolute and relative increase in the amount of gold production, and the volume of gold in use during the years under consideration gained. This development bore a relation to the financial problems of Far Eastern countries, which were accustomed chiefly to use silver for all but the smallest commercial transactions (copper ordinarily being employed for minor purchases). Early in 1849 Canton was in a ferment caused by the California discoveries, and thousands of dollars worth of gold arrived there for the purchase of goods. At widely separated places a tendency to control or prohibit the export of precious metals became a feature of the age. In Asia it expressed itself in different ways, from the prohibition of the export of more than five hundred dollars from Java, to the Chinese and Japanese edicts outlawing the shipping away of gold and silver--regulations productive of much evasion. The story consistently reveals the near-hopelessness of attempts quickly and finally to settle a deeply-rooted problem by arbitrary, uncoordinated, and often uncontrolled, measures.⁷

Attention is given in following

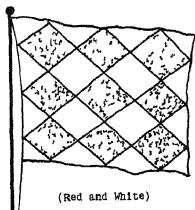
⁵See, for example, a letter from Russell and Company (Canton, Apr 1, 1845) in the papers of Wright and Company (Library of Congress), presenting many details of trade.

⁶Note Michie, The Englishman in China, I, 177, this work comments on the early "circuit system", currency, and trading customs.

The first Spanish dollars introduced were called both Carolus and Pillar dollars, from the design of the Pillars of Hercules. Spanish dollars of Charles III were described as those "with flowery millings", and those of the popular Charles IV (1788-1808) (416 grains, 902 fine) and the Ferdinand VII mintings as bearing "the old stamp". The Ferdinand VII or "Kowtsee" (Williams kau tsien) dollar was also called "hook-money", from the sign (G) of the Guadalajara mint. "Mixed dollars" were Republican dollars from the West Coast of South America, having a variety of devices--eagles, horses, flowers, and plants (Public Documents relating to the Admission into Circulation of Republican Dollars at Par with Spanish as decreed by the High Chinese Authorities of Canton, Canton, 1853--a copy in 4 Canton Cl. Referred to here as Pub Docs.) The Mexican dollar (416 grains, 900 fine) was called by the Chinese the "Eagle dollar" (On the much later American "trade dollar" see Morse, Trade and Admin, 185, and Benj C Wright, Banking in California 1849-1910, 10-11.) The "chop", or stamp, placed on a dollar in China by a banker or merchant into whose hands it first went was designed to certify the good faith of the issuing government, loss of weight naturally resulted.

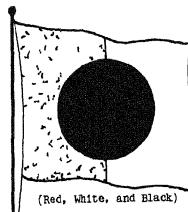
Several works which have been mentioned provide good pictures of Western and Asiatic coins of the time. To these may be added a Catalogue of Coins, Tokens, and Medals in the Numismatic Collection of the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Pa (mentioning a multitude of Asiatic coins), Spalding's and Dye's well-known manuals, and Neil Gordon Munro's Coins of Japan (Yokohama, 1904, several plates in natural color, indication of the great number and variety of Japanese issues, and lists of Japanese works on East Asiatic coins). The Essex Institute at Salem possesses a notable collection of books on Oriental numismatics.

⁷On developments in Europe see Levi, Brit Com, 326ff., and 400-401. The absorption of silver in Asia was asserted to have decreased after the gold discoveries. (For Dom Com, 1863, 198, noting, however, on p 199, a steady rise in value of imports from British India as a cause of the drain of silver



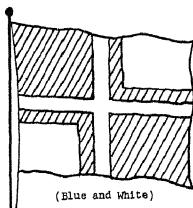
(Red and White)

B Aymar & Co



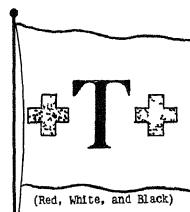
(Red, White, and Black)

Goodhue & Co



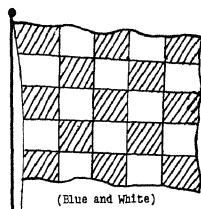
(Blue and White)

Howland & Aspinwall



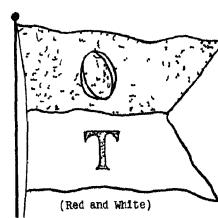
(Red, White, and Black)

Moses Taylor



(Blue and White)

N L & G Griswold



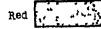
(Red and White)

Olyphant & Co



Blue

House Flags of Some American Firms



Red

(Taken, by permission of the author, from
F Gray Griswold's The House Flags of the
MERCHANTS OF NEW YORK 1800-1860,
privately printed, 1926)

Bills of Exchange
(by the courtesy of the Baker Library)

Exchanging \$100 at Canton 27th ay (6/1/67)
Twenty days after sight pay this our First of [redacted]
second and third of the sum sum and due and paid to the order of
Thos H. Garrison Esq — the sum of Eight hundred

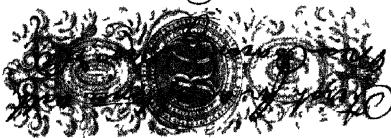
Value added and charged the sum amount of —
— Your obedient Servt
Miss Anna Childs Esq [redacted]
Boston

25 50

No. 1 Exchanging / [redacted] 29 Decr 62
(" " Due within 3 months from the date of this bill, or on demand,
first and second and third month, and on demand thereafter,
payable to Mr. Frank L. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
sum above indited, and on demand thereafter,

by: Thos H. Garrison
Boston

C. Russell Co.



pages to developments at three ports in China (with a glance at Hongkong) and at the open ports of Japan (including brief reference to the Loo Choo Islands)

China.⁸ In Train's interesting book, An American Merchant in Europe, Asia, and Australia (p 127) is found an account of the difficulties encountered by the foreign novice. A New York merchant in 1856 or 1857 purchasing silk or tea in the Shanghai market might pay \$1 70 for \$1 00. Even between Canton and Shanghai, exchange differed some 30%. Though the par of exchange in the North Atlantic regions was \$4 80, the merchant's sovereign or pound sterling brought him but \$2 92 in Shanghai. At Hongkong and Canton he was given \$4 00, the Chinese "fancy for the Carolus dollar" was blamed for "all the mischief". It was a question how long the importation and disappearance of these dollars, through melting, could go on. The difference in exchange usually raised the price of goods to the foreign consumer.⁹

Foreign complaints about currency difficulties are well known. The position of many Chinese merchants also deserves notice. In South China their commercial operations depended to a degree on loans advanced by nearby bankers. The mercantile prejudice against any dollar but the Carolus was hard to dispel, even in the face of growing commercial distress and the shroffs' admission that the intrinsic value of the Mexican dollar exceeded that of the old favorite (often reduced several grains by use and mutilation). Finally, native merchants came to realize that foreign traders could not secure more of the Carolus coinage. Rates were too high to permit of satisfactory business operations.

A circular of ten foreign consuls (October 14, 1853) called a public meeting of the Canton foreign community, to effect an understanding about putting the Mexican or Republican dollars at par. The Chinese merchants had already circulated papers throughout the suburbs designed to secure

and the revulsion of 1857.) It is often convenient to regard the precious metals simply as one form of merchandise. Concerning gold at Canton of Williams, The Life and Letters, 169-170.

⁸Discussion of compensation of consuls and certain other topics has drawn attention to fluctuating exchange rates. Numerous quotations of rates reveal several sets of monetary relationships and a diversity of levels in rates between different countries and pairs of currencies which consuls and merchants were obliged to keep in mind. Temporary monetary influences, though sometimes pervasive, failed to create a universal pattern of rates on which general reliance could be placed, especially in the presence of numerous local peculiarities. For additional figures see 3 Canton Cl, Jan 13, 1846, and Dec 18, 1849, with encls., an unidentified letter from Hongkong, May 21, 1854, with much commercial data, in 3 Hongkong Cl, and Morse, Int Rels, I, 468-469, including some extremes and the eccentric course of gold bars at Shanghai, 1850-1855.

⁹Absence of any official coinage (except the common copper cash, temporary token coins of iron, and a few limited and abortive silver issues) was perhaps no great trial to the native population, with its countless purchases in very small units at one extreme, and its larger sycees and credit operations at the other (among merchants who could arrange for handling silver bullion "shoes"). Among foreigners, however, this circumstance was vexing and, of course, it was the reason for the inrush of Occidental coins. Sycee was receivable for duties. It fluctuated with the value of silver.

Certain comments at this point on the American government's currency figures supplement earlier remarks. Although the Chinese tael varied from place to place, it was set at \$1 48 in United States money for commercial transactions, according to the 1856 edition of the Consular Regulations (p. 274). The edition published in 1863, when certain conditions had changed somewhat, gave the same figure (pp 172-175, quoting an 1861 report of the United States mint) for operations at Shanghai, noting the unreliable fineness of sycee bars as an unsettling factor (.982 by one United States assay), at Foochow the dollar (unspecified) was taken at the weight of 72 candareens (416 76 grains), about the actual average of unworn pieces. At Hongkong and Canton the rate adopted for discharge of debts of one thousand dollars was 717 taels' weight of dollars (415 05 grains per piece), taking into account loss by abrasion. Allowing for mixture of Spanish and Mexican dollars "our valuation of such a dollar would be 104 622 cents" (Weights of coins in grains are according to the troy system.) The later edition gives the tael (or liang) as 578 84 grains (with a variability already noted), equal to 10 mace (tsien) or 100 candareens (fun, or fan) or 1,000 cash (li). The Chinese ordinarily regarded gold coins as a curiosity; in Japan, however, there was some use of them.

adoption, by native persons in business, of reciprocal engagements to receive and pay Republican dollars at par. Accomplishment of this purpose was one of many indications of the degree of direction of currency matters enjoyed by private enterprise in China. Among foreigners it was pointed out that at back of the opposition of shroffs to changes was the large profit made by them through conversion of Mexican dollars into sycee. These monetary experts had even challenged the authority of the district magistrates to make the new coins payable for government dues. By October 22 most of the foreign merchants were agreed on use of all dollars equally, according to purity.¹⁰ The initiative of Consul P. S. Forbes did much to pave the way for this arrangement, of large importance to American merchants.¹¹

During the winter of 1853-1854, however, difficulties appeared, and foreign representatives applied pressure to secure native cooperation. In order to force the hand of the Chinese, the American consulate gave three ships their papers even though the grand chop, or port clearance, had not been received. It refused to be responsible for any loss of duties, amounting to about fifty thousand dollars--procedure employed also at other ports. On January 24 agreement was reached, and matters proceeded smoothly thereafter. By the end of April, 1854, Mexican dollars passed at par and were stamped by the Chinese as the

Carolus has been. They formed the actual currency of the port, to the exclusion of the "cut money" formerly used. This was taken to other districts where Mexican dollars were not in use. In later years, Mexican dollars at Canton were supplemented by a continually increasing proportion of bank notes from Hongkong.¹²

Although this port was a British possession, it was too close to the economic system of the mainland to escape the effects of Chinese ideas on money. At the beginning of the period the local government passed an ordinance regulating the value of dollars.¹³ The Spanish, Mexican, and South American issues were placed at 4s 2d Cash, or copper coin current in China, stood at 288 to one shilling sterling. Chinese shopkeepers in Hongkong allowed only 4s for the Mexican dollar or else marked up their goods, calculating according to the "peculiar ideas" used in their own land.¹⁴ Sirr, something of a crusader, states that it was well-known that one of the largest foreign mercantile houses in China coined Spanish dollars by stamping the Mexican issues. In a fire the machinery was exposed to public view, the incident produced more amusement than shame. Sirr was perhaps unaware of similar activities of Chinese. He also pointed to constant evasions of the Chinese laws against exportation of silver and gold.¹⁵ Although it was profitable to put spurious coins into circulation, imitations of the

¹⁰ Of these firms, 28 were English, 10 American, 4 "German", 3 Swiss, 1 Dutch, 1 Peruvian, and 1 Portuguese, three Parsee houses also agreed (Pub. Docs., 9, 18, including the names) Williams' Chin Com Guide, 176, prints an 1844 assay.

¹¹ ⁴ Canton Cl., Oct 24, 1853 To prevent an impression of British leadership, the writer (Spooner) advised the Department of State to publish some of the relevant papers. Regarding the attitude of the vice-roy, Yeh, see 34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 169-170

¹² ⁴ Canton Cl., Apr 28, 1854, and Williams' Chin Com Guide

¹³ Cf. The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1846, Sirr, China and the Chinese, II, 599ff., and 3 Canton Cl., May 1, 1845, with reference to The China Mail.

¹⁴ If they disliked the Mexican dollar, they abhorred the rupee. English money and American gold were discounted 14% and 15-20%, respectively, during 1854. American silver money was current in small sums. Regarding average exchange on the United States see Com Rels., III, 29.

Suggestions relating to establishment of a mint included Hongkong as one of the desirable locations. Sharp conflict of ideas about the value of such an institution appeared in expressions by different writers. Note, for example, views stated in Great Britain, Accounts and Papers 1856 [2078], LVII, Abstract of Reports on Trade from Ministers, Consuls, and Colonial Authorities (for 1855), p. 55.

¹⁵ Sirr remarks (op. cit., II, 400) on the Emperor Tao Kuang's issue of a coin bearing a mark "Soldier's pay" and imitating the Spanish dollar.

Cooke (China . , 182-183) reports profiteering by Parsees who despatched gold to India and, in spite

Carolus dollar which lacked a satisfactory appearance of age were not easily passed off on observant Chinese

Hongkong was in a special position, and its currency policy sometimes affected the situation on the mainland, but the controlling factors along the China coast originated in the international communities at the open ports and in provincial mercantile circles. These factors operated vigorously at Shanghai, where the status of the Carolus dollar created difficulties. There was need of a sufficient and satisfactory medium of exchange between the two extremes used by the Chinese--copper cash (rated variously from 1500 to 1600 to the dollar), and fluctuating sycee, employed in all large transactions. Mindful of previous experience at Canton, the consulate held (1855) that monetary embarrassments could best be alleviated by breaking down Chinese "preconceived opinions" with suitable regulations applicable to customs and other government dues. Consul Murphy complained of the 25-30% difference between exchange rates at Canton and at Shanghai, only eight hundred miles apart, and argued that cost of transportation, insurance, and a slight percentage for brokerage ought not to exceed 2%

Western dollars which had entered with foreign commerce as a convenience in

place of ponderous sycee were the Carolus and other Spanish issues, and then the Bolivian, Peruvian, Chilean, and Mexican, but the latter encountered a 10% discount because of the preference of Chinese traders for the Carolus, alleged to have been instilled by native brokers from Canton. The consul charged that a few (American and other) foreign houses at Shanghai aided the campaign of these brokers. The same firms, which controlled the supply of Carolus dollars, also discounted all bills of exchange, thus holding "the entire commercial machinery of this port at their control"¹⁶. The treaty provision for payment of duties in sycee or in foreign money was a nullity. As a non-merchant, Murphy desired to protect American consumers--the interests of all against the interests of a few.

This officer hoped for aid through action by the Chinese authorities. Assays satisfactory to the collector of customs and the three leading consuls were made on June 4, and the collector asked for twenty days to refer the matter to his superiors. The American consul served notice that after July 12 American merchants would discharge all their treaty obligations at the port in foreign metal according to the assay rates. Disappointing delays followed.¹⁷ Regarding direct inquiry as inadvisable,

of another stringent prohibition, exported cash as metal when the relative value of copper and silver was suitably disturbed.

Gold bars and ingots appear to have reached China from the Loo Choo Islands when the natives went to Foochow annually to buy merchandise. Siam and Cochin China supplied some gold (Sirr, *op. cit.*)

¹⁶ It was suggested that their contracts had some time to run, that they would lose by early action, and that their influence was set against the smaller American firms which urged corrective action (34-1, H. Ex. Doc. 2, 181). Morse (Int. Rels., I, 470) stated that the Chinese were too heavily loaded up with Carolus dollars. See his pages 470-471 for difficulties in 1856 with imports brought in in sterling, sold for dollars, and paid for in sycee (teels)--which led Chinese merchants and bankers into hopeless trouble. There was a changing rate of exchange between sterling and dollars, another between dollars and taels, and, for the Chinese, an additional problem as between the tael and copper cash. Morse's remarkable exposition in his Trade and Admin., 186-188, points out that in China the currency was at the top only a weight, at the bottom a coin standing independently "on its own feet" without reference to any other unit, and in the middle a combination of weight and token currency--all unstable. The interests and habits of the people seemed opposed to the wider concerns of international exchanges and foreign merchants--monetary expression of China's fundamental isolation and her degree of self-sufficiency in relation to outside economic enterprise. In 1853, the year in which issue of token coins began, the necessities of the Treasury drove the government to resume the making of paper money, after an interval of four and a half centuries, on the basis of copper cash and taels of silver. They rapidly depreciated in value (Ibid., 181).

¹⁷ Cf 34-1, H. Ex. Doc. 2, 186ff., deletions have been made up by comparison with the manuscripts in Shanghai CL. Assay figures follow:

	t	m	c	c		t	m	c	c		t	m	c	c		
Mexican	112	1	1	0		Bolivian	111	2	5	5		Carolus	110	6	2	2
Peruvian	111	9	5	7		Rupee	110	7	2	0		French 5-fr	113	1	5	0

Murphy mentioned to the Chinese authorities the large amount of tonnage dues being collected from American vessels without producing any corresponding improvements in local navigation facilities, the usual object of such levies. He announced that he would withhold duties from American ships on account of Chinese violation of Articles V and XIII of the treaty, relative to foreign money receivable for duties. To American merchants he gave receipts for their duties on three vessels departing on July 18-20. The superintendent was shortly at the consulate to talk matters over, and differences were successfully composed. At this conference the consul owed much to the attendance of Commodore Joel Abbot, personifying the naval power, and to the services of his interpreter, employed at the time by the Chinese government.¹⁸ By September 1 (1855) it was officially decreed that all dollars would stand at par on and after the Chinese New Year (February 17, 1856).¹⁹ This was about two years after the question had been quieted at Canton.

Difficulties persisted, however,

The Carolus dollar continued to rise. On September 11, 1856, American merchants addressed Consul Murphy on the subject. Their views are illuminating. In assessing responsibility they excused the Chinese shroffs and foreign merchants and bankers, and directed their charges against the country people, who obstinately hoarded. They characterized the Chinese and foreign merchants and bankers as "merely passive agents" in the situation. Regarding an idea abroad in the foreign community that there should be a simple change of accounts from dollars to taels, they pointed out that the Chinese already kept their books in the latter. These Americans were convinced that the taotai's attempt to depreciate the Carolus dollar would fail and would ruin many persons, and revealed their negative attitude further by disparaging a note issue which had been suggested as a means of relieving the money market. On the positive side, they proposed reform by means of a mint, established either by the Chinese or by the foreign powers conjointly, and a universal standard of value.²⁰ Judged on

Added to these figures was the sum of 1 t 2 m on every 100 taels paid for duties, to cover expenses, an additional allowance was made for difference of scales. These imperfect ratings were designed to meet the specific need for some standard of payment at the customhouse (Williams, Chin Com Guide, 176.)

¹⁸ Indication of a rising antagonism between American naval and consular officials and what would today be called "big business" is given by Abbott's praise of Murphy, standing in opposition to the "powerful monied influence of millions of dollars". Abbott was in charge of the Legation at the time and hoped to see Murphy appointed commissioner. It was only the strong personal friendship of the excellent interpreter for Murphy which obtained his important assistance (3 Shanghai Cl, Jly 30, 1855).

The mildness and remoteness of the views of Marcy and Cass on the currency situation appear in letters of Sept. 27, 1855, and May 30, 1857 (1 China DI). The government required that from January 1, 1857 fees should be collected in American money, as there was none at Shanghai, tenders had to be made in Mexican dollars, at 28% discount (4 Shanghai Cl, Feb 28, 1857). On the use of tonnage dues in China see Morse, Int Rels, I, 569, until 1858 they stood in lieu, not of light dues, but of pre-treaty fees for port privileges.

¹⁹ 24-1, H Ex Doc 2, 181ff., letter wrongly dated Sept 1, 1855 (Murphy's No 19, of Sept 1, 1855), including the taotai's interesting proclamation. For partly coincident problems relating to duties see the following section of the present chapter.

²⁰ Interrelations between merchants, consuls, and native officials are instructively exhibited in correspondence concerning the merchants' desire to have their views transmitted by the consul to the Chinese authorities.

For a report regarding a plan for new silver dollars see 12 China DD, Apr 10, 1856. A long paper, presumably by D B McCarter, placed in the front of 4 Shanghai Cl, states that the Chinese officers at Shanghai commenced in November, 1856 to coin silver pieces of sycee in the shape of a dollar and the weight of a Chinese tael, or "Chinese ounce"—one-sixteenth of a ku or catty (100 catties to a picul, 1 e., 135 1/3 lbs)—and noted the difference of the units used for weighing silver, giving as a parallel the difference between avoirdupois and troy systems in the West. The writer described the Mexican dollar as 72/100 of a tael, silversmith's weight. He also suggested the use of unalloyed bar silver, properly stamped, as a means of transmitting funds to China in order to relieve the difficulty of paying

the basis of available evidence and in view of the demonstrated slowness of the population to change its monetary habits, this proposition was impracticable, if not insincere

In responding, the consul asserted that neither Chinese nor American merchants had offered any practicable remedy A mint he regarded as an impossibility until treaties were revised An immediate plan was required He suggested that a combination of foreign and native merchants to use Mexican dollars, beginning even at its depreciated value, would win favor for such coins and probably would injure nobody Such an experiment would demonstrate what persons had been at fault Murphy was even prepared to guarantee that the taotai would secure the cooperation of native merchants, in case foreign firms would agree The consul's countrymen were sensitive to his implication of delinquency on their part and somewhat gratuitously defended the Chinese traders also The conflict of views is seen in their economic philosophy:

"To deal in coin and bullion, to engage in mercantile speculations founded on the rise or depreciation of any description of mediums of exchange, is considered by all the civilized world to be as legal and honorable as any other mercantile enterprise "

They expressed lack of faith in the taotai's effectiveness and declined to cooperate in the consul's proposal ²¹

Murphy did not remain in China long enough to see the dilemma removed, although he continued his interest in it after his departure in the fore part of 1857.²² Acute financial distress continued, and in the face of their difficulties and bank failures the Chinese merchants decided that all transactions at Shanghai should be in Shanghai taels This measure was opposed by foreign merchants, unwilling to leave a coinage system for another kind of arrangement with complex ramifications Nevertheless, exchange problems created by use of sterling, dollars, and taels forced them "to cease attempting to combine the function of merchant with that of banker and money-changer" Dropping dollar accounts they adopted the Shanghai tael (525 grains of fine silver per unit)²³ Even so, the clean "old head" dollars maintained their superiority until 1861, about a fifth higher than others, before declining to a quotation less than that for clean Mexicans The currency of the port then consisted of Mexican dollars and sycee Spanish coins reappeared in the maritime ports, however, when Mexican dollars rapidly secured currency throughout the silk and tea districts²⁴

American consular officers, which was occasioned by the prescription in the consular regulations that these persons be paid in American dollars, almost never seen, or Spanish dollars ("understood to mean" the Carolus), scarce and very dear English consuls were paid in Mexican dollars

The views of E Cunningham, a man of importance, regarding a mint constitute an enclosure with Reed's No 19, May 29, 1858 (16 China DD) He opposed a treaty arrangement for a Chinese mint, his argument boiling down to the need of saving the face of the Chinese, rather than to any economic principles A mint under the three leading treaty powers, separately from the Chinese authorities, seemed to him an improbability The thought, however, that an English mint at Hongkong would serve the purpose, and the general use of English coins would not give the English nation undue prominence in the eyes of Chinese users

²¹5 Shanghai CL, Oct 30, 1856, with encls, including a proposition by Chinese trading groups that sycee be used in the foreign trade

²²Reference has been made elsewhere to Murphy's response to the Department's request for suggestions regarding use of a gold ingot, after he went home. Students of the earlier and later history of currency may find it useful It is dated Jan 9, 1858, at Washington, and is filed with the Miscellaneous Letters For criticism of this paper, sent to the Legation in China, see S Wells Williams' comment with Reed's No 19, May 29, 1858, in 16 China DD.

²³Morse, Int Rels, I, 471, following The North-China Herald, Jan-Mar, 1857 (Morse's phrase "of fine silver" should be read as applying both to the tael and to the dollar, which has been seen to possess a greater weight than that of its content of fine silver

²⁴Williams, Chin. Com. Guide, 269

According to The China Weekly Review of April 12, 1855 (p 229), the Carolus dollars are appearing again, presumably because of the holders loss of other resources in local disorders The Carolus dollar reproduced on the title page of the present work is one of these, possibly from Kiangsi Province

At Shanghai the adjustment of the currency difficulty required years, whereas at Canton it had taken only a few months (1853-1854) from the time when vigorous steps were first decided on. At Foochow, where some of its familiar features appeared, it prompted vigorous action by the American consul.²⁵ When the port was first opened to foreign trade Chinese merchants would take only the scarce chopped dollars, and American merchants requested Consul Jones to facilitate the introduction of Mexican dollars. This he attempted to do, and it was thought that the matter was ended when a few American vessels cleared with payment of Mexican dollars (at 2%) for their duties. In the case of another vessel, however, difficulty developed. In familiar manner, Jones determined to let her clear, leaving the duties at the risk of the Chinese authorities. Bonds were not given for duties on goods sent by this and later ships. Learning of the consul's action, the British Superintendent of Trade at Hongkong directed the English consulate at Foochow to receive all duties due from British vessels and to hold them until all duties on American vessels were paid. About January 1, 1858, Chinese officials at the customhouse agreed to receive Mexican dollars at 2% and the American consulate directed consignees of the American ships to pay the obligations. All duties owing on British and American vessels were paid up, except a sum of 20,000 taels due from British firms shipping on American vessels.²⁶

Variations between different phases of the history of the currency problem in China during this short period suggest the strong localism prevailing in the country, which most foreigners regarded as a unit, especially in the making of treaties. The account brings out the force of old customs based on very practical business considerations and operating for centuries in comparative isolation. It is a question whether blind conservatism was more "absurd" than the unwillingness of many foreigners to understand why this conservatism

existed, and their confidence that changes could be wrought overnight. Accurate prophecies of wide application could not be made, even by the most intelligent observers. A number of selfish interests and personal predilections were at work. Political and sociological as well as strictly economic and financial considerations affected policy.

Japan. During the years when attempts were made to dispose of the currency matter in China it was creating equally annoying problems in Japan. Similarities and differences in this country, as compared with China, are emphasized by use of the background just provided. The device of withholding duties to compel compliance of native officials does not figure, and the motif of the Carolus-Mexican conflict which persisted in China gives way to the dominant question of adjustment of the value of foreign coins in relation to that of the very definite (gold, silver, and copper) coinage system of the Japanese. As in China, foreign coins circulated in the open ports, but chiefly for different reasons. In China there was discussion of the issue of an official coin for use in foreign trade, in Japan such a coin became a fact, and an embarrassing one. In general, the Japanese government, unlike that of China, took a dominant part in currency arrangements instead of leaving them largely to private enterprise, political and institutional differences between the two countries found a monetary expression.

In China, a cause of difficulty was the unfamiliarity of the people with other foreign coins than the Spanish dollar, the Carolus in particular. In Japan all Occidental coins were strange, and, furthermore, the gold-silver ratio in this long isolated country was very different from that prevailing in the outside world. Fortunately, apart from issues of paper money, no wide monetary variations between different localities within the nation created special perplexities. As in Siam, inadequacy of the mint caused a scarcity of native coins.

²⁵There is brief mention of the problem at Amoy in 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 847-848. The Mexican dollar, however, stood at only 1 or 2% discount.

²⁶2 Foochow CL, Mar 24, 1858, 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 1351, 15 China DD, Jan 25, 1858, with encls. This matter created an issue between Bowring and Reed, who held it to be the cause of bad feeling between the consuls of the two nations.

needed by foreign merchants. Profitable export of some Japanese coins became a more dramatic feature of the currency problem than the illegal export of precious metals from China. Profit-seeking reached the stage of avarice, and subterfuges left many blots on the foreign name. These facts were a part of Japan's introduction to the international political economy and the diplomacy of the Occident. With the exception of Harris, the first American consular functionaries in Japan were themselves interested in trading operations. As in China, there existed marked diversity of opinion among foreign merchants and officials with reference to proper solution of the currency question.²⁷ It developed amidst the haste and confusion of insistent trading operations, in the face of a variety of treaties, and without sufficient time for Japanese authorities to work out with American and other foreign officials a really sound system in advance of the inrush of traders--a condition, of course, only conceivable as an ideal. Even a prior plan would not have accomplished in a twinkling the necessary adjustment of domestic values. Again there appeared the conflict of the interests of the many--in this instance the native population in general--with the gain of the few.

It was early, but mistakenly, assumed by Americans going to Japan that since the tradespeople of that country seemed willing to sell, "things would find their level." What purchases were made were at the rate of 1200 cash to the silver dollar. Articles to be bought were sent to the government office and an official mark was placed upon the specie paid, the seller being apt to get the amount in copper coin.²⁸ In 1854 Commodore Perry appointed two pursers from his fleet as a committee to confer with Japanese commissioners regarding the rate of exchange. The Japanese officers

had a fixed equivalence in mind and the Americans declined to agree to it. Their report read²⁹

"The basis upon which they made their calculation was the nominal rate at which the government sells bullion when it is purchased from the mint, and which seems also to be that by which the metal is received from the mines. The Japanese have a decimal system of weight, like the Chinese, of catty [or kan--actually non-decimal, consisting of 16 me, or taels], tael [ichi momme--equalling 58 33 grs troy], mace, candareen, and cash, by which articles in general are weighed, but gold and silver are not reckoned above taels. In China a tael of silver in weight and one in currency are the same, for the Chinese have no silver coin, but in Japan, as in European countries, the standard of value-weight and that of currency-weight differ. We were told that a tael weight of silver has now come to be reckoned, when it is bullion, as equal to 225 candareens, or 2 taels, 2 mace, 5 candareens, but when coined, the same amount in weight is held to be worth 6 taels, 4 mace. It is at the bullion value that the government has decided to receive our dollar, the same at which they take the silver from the mines, asserting that, as its present die and assay give it no additional value, it is worth no more to them. In proportion to a tael, a dollar weighs 7 mace, 1 1-5 candareen, which, at the rates of bullion value, makes it worth 1 tael, 6 mace, or 1,600 cash. Thus the Japanese government will make a profit of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent on every dollar paid them of full weight, with the trifling deduction of the expense of recoinning it. The injustice of this arrangement was shown, and the propriety of paying to the seller himself the coin we gave at this depreciated rate urged, but in vain."

The Perry treaty did not settle the rate of exchange. A Mexican dollar continued to bring only one Japanese ichibu (worth 34 cents in relation to the tael at \$1.36).³⁰ According to Spalding, this square silver coin with the government

²⁷The currency problem as a major national issue remained in China; in Japan it was settled in less than a score of years.

²⁸Spalding, Japan and Around the World, 272-274.

²⁹Reprinted in Spalding's book as an appendix, in the Perry Narrative, Vol 1, 478n; and in 33-2, S. Ex. Doc. 34, 163-164.

³⁰Treat, Early Dip Rels, 6ln. Williams' The Chinese Commercial Guide (255ff) supplies a detailed account of Japanese coins, with illustrations.

stamp was likewise equal to a Spanish dollar. The foreign dollars could be reckoned into nearly three *ichibu*,³¹ to the great advantage of the Japanese treasury. It was asserted that dollar-depreciation rather than export duties or customhouse fees provided the means by which "the Japanese" planned "to derive their profit from the trade".³²

Discussions of the time must be read in the light of Japanese monetary history and various earlier debasements of the metallic currency, the confused condition

of paper money (issued individually by more than two-thirds of the *daimyo*, or feudal lords), and the distress and discontent then existing in the country. The Japanese had done much thinking about the precious metals, and referred to gold, silver, and copper as the "bones" of the empire. Not only did their notion of the proper ratio between gold and silver (about 5 to 1) vary from that accepted in the West, but they also had a different idea of the ratio of copper to other metals.³³

Harris found the currency question

³¹The Japanese plural does not require the letter "s".

Y Takekoshi's detailed The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, III (New York, 1950), 327, states that in January, 1857 the Japanese local authority at Shimoda was instructed to lift the ban on direct exchange of American money for Japanese money, as far as Harris and his staff were concerned.

³²Williams, op. cit., 257, quoting

³³Gubbins, The Progress of Japan, 56-57; Murdoch, Hist. of Japan, III, 592. A convenient approach to this subject is Neil Skene Smith's An Introduction to Some Japanese Economic Writings of the 18th Century (pp. 51-105 of Vol XI, Second Series, Trans. of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1934). Takekoshi deals at length (op. cit., III, ch. LXXXIX) with the currency question and its domestic background. On the low price first set by the Japanese for their gold coin see ibid., 320, even under the first treaty, says Takekoshi, a small profit was possible for Americans who exchanged their American dollars for Japanese silver coin and then gave that for Japanese gold coin. On pages 329-331 of the same volume appears an account of Japanese currency from 1736, the double standard, financial distress of the government, and official ignorance of currency in relation to foreign trade, reckoning by number of coins rather than by weight, and the government's profit on re-minting of coins, with an effect on foreigners' profits.

Williams describes the smallest copper coin as equal in value to one large iron cash or to four small ones, it was about the same size and thickness as common Chinese cash, and in some years was largely exported to China, where it passed current.

At this time the relative value of United States currency and Japanese coins was settled at Hakodate by weighing American silver dollars, a feather lighter than three of the *ichibu*. Writes Spalding: "The effect of this rating was to make our dollar equal to 4,800 cash—their *its-woo* being estimated at 1,600 cash. This was scarcely just when it was recollected that in China our dollar was only taken for 1,200, or at most, 1,600 cash." This writer pointed to the need of a radical alteration of the Japanese monetary system, especially with reference to the non-exportation of bullion, which would, as with the Dutch and Chinese at Nagasaki, impede trade and make the government banker to both parties to a bargain (Op. cit., 300, 321).

Paske-Smith, West Barbarians, 211, refers to use of barter by the Dutch and the Chinese at Nagasaki. For interesting commercial and exchange arrangements with the Dutch see the Additional Articles of October 16, 1857 as given in Gubbins' The Progress of Japan, 255ff., they are useful in relation to the Japanese point of view.

An anonymous account of a visit of naval people from the Mississippi and a call on the vice-governor at Nagasaki, entitled "An American in Japan in 1858!", appears in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XVIII (Dec. 1858-May, 1859), 225-231. Writing after Harris had secured a more favorable exchange arrangement, this American pointed out that a merchant captain with a small vessel and \$10,000 Mexican could buy wares easily exchangeable in the West for \$70,000, it was hourly expected that American ships would go to Nagasaki to take advantage of the opportunity. In shopping, a purchaser took his Mexican dollars to the government office and received the equivalent in the local "paper" money of Nagasaki, which had to be spent at that port, as it would not pass at Shimoda. This durable bamboo money was thick and had the length and half the width of a bank note, it was stamped on one side in Japanese and on the other in Dutch, and ran from 1/100 thalers to 10 thalers, the entire amount in circulation was called in by the

one of his chief concerns. He began negotiations to establish the system of exchange by weight instead of using as a basis the Japanese government's valuation of foreign coins according to the low figure which it allowed on bullion. There were difficulties and delays regarding the just percentage of allowance for recoinage. Harris threatened the Japanese and managed to cut the recoinage figure demanded by them to 6%, incorporated in the Convention of Shimoda (1857), along with the principle of exchange by weight. It adds nothing to Harris' reputation as a political economist that he failed to foresee the consequences of application of the new principle in a country employing a different ratio between gold and silver. His information about Japanese gold coins was not complete, but he knew approximately the difference in ratios.³⁴ The Treaty of Yedo which followed, in July, 1858, made all foreign coin current in Japan at its corresponding weight of Japanese coin "of the same description" and permitted free use of foreign and Japanese coin by Americans and Japanese in making payments to each other. While Japanese learned the value of foreign coin their government would temporarily furnish Americans with Japanese coin in exchange for their own, without discount for recoinage. The treaty permitted the export from Japan of coins of all descriptions (except Japanese copper coins) and foreign gold and silver uncirculated. These mischievous rights of course accrued also to nationals of other treaty powers.

Treat points out that in signing the Harris treaty the Japanese had not been conscious of any qualification of their sovereign right with respect to currency, which it was their privilege to alter.³⁵ They proceeded in July, 1859 to issue a new silver coin, a half-ichibu, equal in value and weight to half of a Mexican dollar. It was larger than the old ichibu (about three to the dollar), although it had only half the token value. Thus the loss on an American's coin was 68%, foreign trade was severely disturbed. It seemed better to the Japanese to "take up the impact of the new commercial relations" in this way than to upset all domestic financial transactions in Japan by altering the gold-silver ratio.³⁶—probably a more serious matter than attempts then being made to change domestic monetary habits in China. Objection to a coin designed specially for the foreign trade led to withdrawal of it in the same year.³⁷ In his Coins of Japan (200n.), Munro states that the official responsible for the production of it was deprived of his office.

Meanwhile, allowance of export of Japanese coins had resulted in a great gold "rush" from the country. After withdrawing its new silver coin, the government forbade the sale of gold coins to foreigners (September, 1859). The prohibition was insufficient to end immediately the profitable traffic which had developed. In this activity foreign silver was exchanged for Japanese gold pieces at the advantageous ratio and then the gold was taken to ports

government each year and replaced with new notes. If the Japanese needed metallic currency at any time they could make the exchange, but as there appeared no danger of a panic the Japanese preferred the more portable notes. Under the Harris treaty, Americans for a time secured a great advantage over the Dutch, who were paid in thalers at the rate of 75 cents each, whereas a Mexican dollar plus 15 cents brought 5 thalers, the writer affirmed that an article costing an American \$4.60 required \$15 from a Dutchman. However, the Dutch began to order Mexican dollars from Batavia and equalized the situation.

³⁴ Japan Des, June 18, 1857, the day after the document was signed. For an opinion by Paske-Smith see his West Barberians, 213.

³⁵ Early Dip Rel, 135. It will be recalled that they were likewise unaware that the grant of extraterritoriality affected their sovereignty.

³⁶ Ibid, 136. The figure for loss is Harris' calculation (2 Japan Des, Jly 4, 1859). See also Takekoshi, op. cit., III, 335.

³⁷ Harris was told that the withdrawal was provisional (Ibid, Jly 22, 1859). Arguments with the Japanese authorities appear in his despatch of Sept 3, 1859, cf. Levi, Brit Com, 692.

At Hakodate the new coin was put into circulation on August 5, 1859, at the rate of 850 cash. Rice asserted it would apply only to foreigners. Trade stopped and ruin was feared. The value of the Mexican dollar at Hakodate (1857) was 98 cents gold (1 Hakodate CL, Sept 12, 1857, and Aug 5, 1859, containing

in China, where it was converted at current rates of exchange for more silver, there-upon the process was repeated. This great speculation produced many scandalous irregularities, which caused the British and American governments to take measures to control their nationals' misdeeds--although, according to the mercantile philosophy then prominent, the word "misdeeds" might have seemed severe.³⁸ When the Japanese authorities found their people selling "kobangs"³⁹ to foreigners at more than their current domestic value, they offered a higher price than foreigners could afford to pay, thus greatly raising the rate and checking exportation, as well as securing possession of a very large part of the issue. Then the coins already exported began to return to pay customs duties at the enhanced government value.⁴⁰

China has been called a "sink" for foreign silver, foreigners' gold operations in Japan (facilitated somewhat by the proximity of China) formed a "siphon" for the removal of Japanese gold. In spite of the attempt to end this drain, however, monetary difficulties continued. The limited capacity of the Japanese mint made it difficult for foreigners to secure, in exchange for their dollars, the amount of

ichibou necessary to carry on trade. Some of their number entered the most preposterous requisitions for these coins, strikingly related by different writers. In November, 1859 the mint was ordered closed, the sale of copper was stopped, and the sale of produce desired by foreigners was restricted.⁴¹ It doubtless appeared unreasonable to the Japanese that, having made some attempts to adjust themselves to the strange and unwelcome foreign insistence on international commerce, they should be subjected to a strenuous invasion of their already troubled domestic scene and to limitation of their administrative freedom. Dealing with the much-admired Harris was one thing, and argument with him was manageable, but handling some of his unmanly and obstreperous countrymen, and other foreigners, was a different task.

At the time, the Japanese accepted Harris' proposition that they mark the dollar with an official stamp representing the value of three ichibu, in order to make it current among the Japanese traders and to avoid recoinage. His idea of adjustment of the gold-silver ratio (i.e., raising the value of the koban) as a means of ending the injurious trade in coin was accepted. Harris made an obvious effort to

remarks on Russian and Dutch negotiations and Rice's view of his confidential relations with the Japanese governor.)

³⁸ 1 Japan Inst., Apr 2, 1860. In May, 1860 the State and Navy Departments corresponded regarding rumored misconduct of naval officers, on whom the British consul-general in Japan had cast reflections (Mis Letters, Toucey to Cass, May 30, 1860, with encls., cf. Williams, The Life and Letters, 219-220, and Perry, Narrative, Vol 1, 360-361.)

Note the assertion in Takekoshi's work that some foreigners counterfeited Japanese silver coins at Hongkong and secured Japanese gold with them. Foreign eagerness to secure Japanese silver coins as a means of obtaining Japanese gold put coins on a commodity basis and lowered the price of the abundant foreign silver coins.

³⁹ I.e., koban, the common ones being thin oval pieces originally weighing a tael and worth 4 ichibu.

⁴⁰ Chin Com Guide, 258.

⁴¹ Treat, Early Dip Rels., 156-157, including an account of the requisitions. Different devices were used to get coins. See Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, I, 255, for some of the names used (e.g., "Messrs. Nonsense and Hook 'em"), for other points of ibid., I, 145-148, 215, 231ff., and II, 347-353, 374-376. Levi gives a useful summary of coinage difficulties and carries the story through the readjustments and preventive measures in 1866 and 1868 to the establishment of the modern yen coinage in 1871, see, too, Treat's later work, Dip Rels., I.

Paske-Smith considers profits from the export of copper cash, and the evils of the so-called Treasure Trade (West Barbarians, 211-213). The desire on both sides of the mercantile line for gain here stands stripped of any consideration of social utility and in a position to do harm. Perhaps the gold drain accelerated the necessary readjustment of the gold-silver ratio, but it was a very rough and not entirely unavoidable stimulus. Paske-Smith reports that Japanese silver found its own level at about two and a half ichibu to the dollar. He offers reasons for the fall of Mexican dollars after free circulation of them had been arranged, the influence of certain Chinese in Japan was marked. Cf. Tilley, Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific, 131-135, and Takekoshi, The Economic Aspects of Japan, III, 534, 556.

understand the domestic difficulties and point of view, and offered to agree to restriction or prohibition of the export of articles of absolute necessity for which the Japanese people were unquestionably having to pay excessive prices. His government desired only the mutual advantage of both countries. "I am happy to state, that the Japanese have already given me a proof of their sincerity, by removing all restrictions on trade at Kanagawa."⁴²

Following the increase in value of some of the existing issues of koban, a new koban was put out in 1860,⁴³ "corresponding to the intrinsic value of silver." Nevertheless, the government continued to "intermeddle" with the currency. According to Williams, the ichibu was not estimated at its real value in proportion to dollars, but at an arbitrary and fluctuating customhouse exchange, sometimes standing at about half a dollar. In the summer of 1860 the Japanese government's obligation to exchange foreign and domestic coins, weight for weight, terminated, and the rate of exchange fell. In September one hundred dollars brought only two hundred ichibu.⁴⁴

The Nagasaki consulate gave frequent attention to currency difficulties. By August 8, 1859 the order had been received to permit the dollar to pass for

three ichibu, but for some time it remained inoperative. Commercial complaints arose daily.⁴⁵ To consular representations the governor pleaded lack of orders from Yedo, probably a genuine defence. In the fall and winter of 1859-1860 Japanese merchants continued a very heavy discount of dollars, and small dealers and traders would not take them at all. Although a supply of ichibu had been sent there, it was difficult for foreigners to get enough for their daily wants, merchants paid for goods 65% more in dollars than they would have had to pay in Japanese coin. In October, foreigners were allowed exchange for three or four dollars a day for personal expenses, half in silver and half in copper coin. In February the entire foreign community received but 2,000 ichibu a day in exchange for dollars. The year 1860 continued to present difficulties of the same order.⁴⁶

The story of foreign attempts to secure adjustment of currency problems and inequalities in Japan to 1860 is largely a story of the efforts of the Perry expedition and those of Townsend Harris. It begins with the need of using foreign coins in the trade and securing a suitable basis of exchange between them and the differently arranged and evaluated Japanese coinage system, in connection with which certain

⁴² Japan, Des., Jan 16, 1860, including a report by Harris, from the foreign angle, of discussion with Japanese authorities and the annoyances which developed, described as treaty violation, interference with trade, and backwardness in supplying Japanese coin. In this month Harris reported the Japanese promise to coin daily 10,000 ichibu for Kanagawa, 6,000 for Nagasaki, and 4,000 for Nagasaki, which was all they could do.

He showed the lingering hesitancy of Japanese merchants to take American traders' coins. Regarding the failure of the arrangement by which foreign silver dollars were stamped officially (an idea possibly derived from the practice of shroffs in China), Takekoshi states that stamped coins brought less than unstamped ones. It appears (*op. cit.*, III, 335) that taxes were payable in foreign money.

⁴³ Of one-third the value, intrinsic and nominal, according to Levi.

⁴⁴ Williams (*Chin. Com. Guide*, 258) gives detailed figures from an American assay of Japanese coins in 1860, see too *A Synopsis of the Standard Weights, Fineness, and Value of Foreign Specie Moneys in the Money Terms and Gold of the United States* (Washington, 1861), 97. Paske-Smith relates (*West Barbarians*, 210) that in 1865 exchange was variable and that gold coins of Japan had disappeared from use, only Mexican dollars or silver ichibu being employed.

⁴⁵ Nagasaki Transcripts, items of Sept 5 and 22, Oct 14, Nov 9 and 28, 1859, and Jan 7 and Feb 2, 1860, Hodgson, *A Residence*, 15 (joint protest against "foreigner's" money). Consul Walsh wrote (Sept 5, 1859) of a typical case, from his own experience, involving considerable purchase from a merchant, payable in taels or in Mexican dollars, in conversation before payment, he found that the seller would accept ichibu amounting to about 25% less than the value of the dollars in ichibu. (Of note 55 above.)

⁴⁶ For currency problems and related difficulties in the sale of commodities, involving alleged disagreement between Japanese officials and merchants, see Walsh's letter to Harris dated Nov 22, 1860.

special, though not necessarily "peculiar," ideas were entertained. The novelty of the situation for the Japanese was an important influence. Although technical and administrative difficulties encountered by them complicated the settlement of principles, as in the case of the inadequacy of the mint, the question was not simply a matter of monetary technicalities, it was a broad economic problem.

Steps in this story are conveniently recalled by following the fluctuations in the relation of the various foreign dollars (the Mexican in particular) to the Japanese *ichibu*--from an arbitrary valuation of one *ichibu*, through the "exchange-by-weight" rating at three *ichibu*, with the temporary setback occasioned by the issue of the new half-*ichibu*, and on to the approximate value of two or two and a half *ichibu* at the end of the period. A few local variations existed. The export of Japanese coins was featured by Harris' arrangement for this purpose, the disastrous effect of scandalous speculation on the Japanese gold supply, the Japanese prohibition of the sending out of gold coins shortly after withdrawal of the new *ichibu*, and the issue of new gold coin. A degree of success finally attended efforts of foreigners to secure the "domestication" of alien dollars for purposes of trade at Japanese ports, and by the end of the period the gold-silver ratio within the country had begun to move toward the standard prevailing in the Occident. The Japanese government throughout exercised a decisive influence on currency problems and related matters of commerce. Too seldom, however, does one gain a view of the part played by the important, but less-esteemed, Japanese merchant.

The currency question exhibited a phase of international contact and adjustment taking place in the midst of the conflict of a variety of accepted monetary habits and cultural forces, Asiatic and Western. It was a general East Asiatic

question resulting from inequality in the demand of foreign and native merchants for each other's goods and the consequent need of suitable media of exchange. A feature of the currency problem at a few ports was the withholding of customs duties, part of a general question forming the subject of the succeeding section.

Sect. 2--The Duty Question

"In Shanghai there was growing apprehension over the future of American and other foreign firms in China and the nation's ability to pay her debt to the United States and other powers."

"Increased daily landing of mercantile cargoes from Japanese vessels without customs examinations or duty payments caused the concern."

"American and other foreign firms pointed out that Japanese cargoes were being landed without duty at Japanese-controlled docks, while their own consignments were subject to customs payments" (Press item, December 29, 1937.)

In the twentieth century the far-flung maritime customs service in China has employed hundreds of foreign, and thousands of Chinese, officers in its different branches. Americans may observe its achievements with some consciousness of national participation in the initiation and history of the system. It originated in the attempt to find a creditable solution of a problem arising in 1853-1854, in a setting which has now partly disappeared. This problem was created by the temporary extinction of Imperial authority at Shanghai, when rebels captured that city, and the need of securing to the Chinese government the customs levies and tonnage dues owing to it under the treaties. Although locally debarred from the exercise of administration, the government of the Emperor remained in formal authority over the country as a whole, and it became necessary for foreign representatives to lend their cooperation in support of its claims against their vessels and merchants at Shanghai.⁴⁷

[1859?], and transferred from Yokohama, Oct. 27, 1860.

In the Loo Choo Islands, where Perry created a coal depot, near Tumai, payments were readily effected in Spanish dollars and American eagles (Taylor, A Visit, 448-449.) Williams states that in these islands the (Mexican) dollar was readily received, being reckoned at 1440 Chinese cash; gold was taken at par (Chin Com Guide, 284.)

⁴⁷This was a different situation from that obtaining later at Canton when foreign merchants left the port during hostilities between the British and the Chinese.

The duty question involved technical matters relating to customs and tonnage charges, inland transit levies, and other taxes, but it was not merely a matter of routine and technique. It exhibited many ramifications and connections with other problems which have been treated. An originally simple matter assumed the character of a complex administrative problem, international in scope and cooperative in its requirements. The paying, or the withholding, of duties became a political weapon of coercion to secure redress for foreigners and conformity to treaties on the part of native authorities.

The duty problem was not a feature of Chinese relations exclusively, but it was chiefly at the five ports, and more especially at Shanghai, that it appeared.⁴⁸ When in 1854 there were uncertainties at Canton regarding continuance of the activity of the local customhouse, the Department of State advised the consul to observe the steps taken at Shanghai.⁴⁹

Treaties of different foreign powers, primarily Great Britain and the United States, supplemented each other. Foreign desire to provide an exact and reliable substitute for the pre-treaty system explains the attention given in the Treaty of Wanghia to principles and amounts of customs duties, the ban on tariff modifications without consultation with consuls or other responsible officials and consent of the United States, and consequent rigidity of the conventional rates.⁵⁰ Under the early

system, foreign merchants had no direct dealings with the customs, apart from payment of measurement charges on vessels, levies on goods being paid by the Chinese Hong merchants, who in one way or another passed the burden along in the price of goods. By the American treaty it was provided that American consuls would report their vessels and cargoes to specified Chinese authorities. The British treaty in reality placed British consuls in the position of the former Chinese security merchants by making them responsible for all British merchant shipping and goods, and for charges due on them at the five ports.

Lack of uniformity in the Chinese treaties with various foreign powers contributed noticeably to the confusion which arose. Not less troublesome were internal differences of opinion within each foreign service, and between members of one service and its home government. Policy resulted from a mixture of hesitation and vigor, in the case of some British officers, vigor approached the point of violence.⁵¹ In the American service, the absence of prompt and decisive instructions from the Commissioner and the Department in the early fifties left much uncertainty as to how far consular officers should proceed with efforts to protect the Chinese revenue. Such instructions as were given were not always based on sound information, with the result that policy was variable.⁵² Even in simpler cases, it was not generally clear which

⁴⁸There is reference to unsatisfactoriness of customs officers at Bangkok, in Bangkok Transcripts, June 4, 1858, consular objection to an import tax on a condemned vessel is noted in the Summary of Letters, item of Aug 4, 1856. See above, remarks on Siam, on page 69, Third Group, Sect A, discussion of the right to trade.

⁴⁹Irregularities reported from Amoy indicated that the mode of collecting the revenues there brought in not more than a third of the legal dues (35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 847-848). It will be recalled that Hongkong and Macao (from 1849) were free ports. (On Canton, see above, p 119.)

In addition to detailed statements of tariffs and customs arrangements in collections of treaties, there are compact summaries and analyses in Dennett's America in East Asia, and Morse's Int Rels, I, chs XI (esp pp 311-312, 314-315) and XXIV (esp pp 566-569), with comment on maladjustments and mention of extra-conventional arrangement (1858) for partial duties for vessels in the coastal trade. Agreements contained much detail, e.g., the liability feature in the seventh paragraph of Rule II attached to the American trade treaty concluded on November 8, 1858.

⁵⁰On the unforeseen evils of a rigid arrangement note a provision regarding transit taxes in Article XVIII of the British Treaty of Tientsin, cf. Morse, Int Rels, I, 314, 569.

⁵¹cf J W Maclellan, The Story of Shanghai from the Opening of the Port to Foreign Trade (Guangzhou, 1889), ch III, Chin Repos, XVII (1848), 264, 319, 375-376, 4 China DD, Mar 28 and May 25, 1848, with supporting accounts, 6 China DD, Jly 22, 1851.

⁵²For doubt regarding the relatively simple matter of the amount of tonnage dues in certain circumstances in South China see 4 China DD, Oct 27, 1847, in connection with Articles VI and XX of the Treaty

interest should prevail, the income of the Chinese treasury or the gain of American merchants

Three American names stand forth with gratifying distinction—Humphrey Marshall, Robert M McLane, and Robert C Murphy. Consul Murphy at Shanghai owed something to the accident of being in a strategic position at a crucial time, but many expressions by Chinese and Americans of special confidence in him add much to his reputation for ability, tact, and vigorous statesmanship.

Attention to the settlement of unpaid duties emphasized the evils of divided responsibility among American officers, and elicited sharp differences of opinion.⁵³ It also revealed weaknesses of the Chinese administrative personnel in the customs service, and need of reform by means of a sharp break with the traditions and conditioning to which most of these officers were bound to be sensitive.⁵⁴ Annoying complications were added by an advantage enjoyed by non-treaty nationals in payment of tonnage fees and customs duties, and by their resentment at being excluded from nomination of foreign customs inspectors. Duties had an economic influence on encouragement or discouragement of American trade, and conflict sometimes arose between "policy" and "trade" as consuls attempted to adjust the various interests involved.⁵⁵

It has been seen that an important reason for withholding duties was the desire of consuls to compel settlement of American claims against the Chinese government and to secure satisfaction of other demands. In some instances duty money was allocated by agreement to the retirement of claims.⁵⁶ Commissioner McLane regarded the withholding of duties as the least embarrassing "of any coercive measures that could be taken to enforce the attention of the Imperial Authorities." In his opinion, diplomatic discretion and the presence of naval forces would prevent the inconvenience of retaliatory interruption of trade by the Chinese. If duties were not withheld, a more aggressive course seemed imperative, "or the claims of American Citizens will be . absolutely disregarded by the Imperial Authorities of China."⁵⁷

Technicalities and special circumstances seriously taxed the understanding and patience of consular officers and native authorities. Traders were especially hesitant about giving pertinent information to a merchant-consul. Their feelings occasionally reached the point of violence, which early made its appearance also in the conduct of Chinese officials and dissatisfied Chinese merchants.⁵⁸ Acute controversies involving property of large value naturally created judicial questions and called for interpretations of law.

of Wanghia, cf 16 China DD, Dec 10, 1859, encl 1 On withholding duties to secure redress, note 1
China DI, Oct 5, 1855, a very poor instruction

34-1, H Ex Doc 2, 177ff , gives negotiations and translations of Chinese documents (1855) relating to consular insistence that receipts for alleged duty levies on tea in Chekiang province be received at Shanghai in payment of export duties. A proclamation of four Chekiang officials (pp 179-181) gives a snapshot view of the Chinese side of some of the factors and complexities in the trade which foreign merchants eagerly sought (See the final portion of Appendix II of the present work). Pages 173-175 record Consul Murphy's sharp exchange with the Chinese officials in an attempt to modify the effects of an inland tax on tea, levied in war time

⁵³cf 4 Canton CL, Oct 6, 1853 for British problems

⁵⁴E g , 2 Shanghai CL, Mar 1, 1854

⁵⁵Compare the occasional necessity of admitting considerations of policy into adjustment of judicial matters

Close scrutiny of actual cases forbids the conclusion that American officers deliberately sacrificed commerce, justice, and other concerns on the altar of "national interests"

⁵⁶Regarding cases of withholding duties at different ports see 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 1172-1177 (Amoy and Foochow, including the Cunningham murder), 1 Foochow CL, Oct 2 and 21, 1856, and Ap 27, 1857, 36-1, S Ex Doc 30, 34-35, 99, and 17 China DD, Nov 5, 1858, encl 5a (Foochow), Foochow CI, Dec 30, 1857 and Feb 5, 1858. On debenture certificates and the collector of customs see Williams' comment in 18 China DD, Jan 4, 1859

⁵⁷10 China DD, No 26, Dec , 1854

⁵⁸For an example see 5 China DD, Sept 26, 1848, with encls Cf a British complaint against an American consul in 15 China DD, Jan 25, 1858 It was stated by Consul Griswold at Shanghai (1851) that

At the beginning of this section mention was made of a series of uncontrollable circumstances, affecting customs duties, which precipitated a crisis at Shanghai in 1853-1854. Combined with lack of unity among American officers, these circumstances also created a crisis in re-

lations between the consulate, the Legation, and American merchants in the port. Ample attention is given in other works to the part played at that time by American diplomatic representatives and to the policy of the British.⁵⁹ Perusal of a great amount of detail is necessary to grasp the

difference in treatment of import and export duties resulted from the fact that exports passed under the eye of interior officials on their way to the coast. Consuls were watchful for abuses. Griswold asserted that nearly all the export duties at Canton were collected from the Chinese. (Letter to Parker, Oct 27, 1851.) A likely plan to make collection of export duties at Shanghai compulsory on the Chinese was blocked by Lord Palmerston, remote from the scene.

⁵⁹ See also, 129-130 and 141, above.

In his *Americans in Eastern Asia* (216ff and 225ff) Dennett gives a careful narrative of developments and an exposition of the relevant policies of Commissioners Marshall and McLane. He notes the independent British placing of guards over the customhouse after the rebels took Shanghai, Marshall's firm (and anti-British) stand on behalf of American and Chinese interests, the handicap which his policy constituted to (protesting) American merchants, the question of whether Shanghai should become a free port, the belief of Vice Consul Cunningham (a merchant) that equality before the treaties should put Americans on the same footing as the British (who at first gave only promissory notes, later cancelled by order of the British government), and Marshall's difficulty in securing an appreciative reception by Viceroy Yeh, in the South, of American efforts to cooperate in the interest of the Chinese government. After narrating events in the settlement of the duty question the same writer notes arrangements, under the new customs inspectorate, for an armed cutter, and for records in both English and Chinese, dislike by home governments of consular nomination of inspectors, the dropping of this feature in the reorganization of 1858, and mercantile reaction to the effectiveness of the new service. American influence in the inspectorate was relatively small.

For some developments see *The North-China Herald*, IV, No. 188.

The idea spread that there should be a unified customs arrangement at the five ports. An emergency measure was made general and permanent with the revision of treaties in 1858. (Cf. Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, etc.*, I, 232.) The change irritated some American business men, who urged what amounted to a return to the old order. Their arguments make plausible reading, but at the same time place a heavy tax on one's faith in their sincerity and understanding, full exploitation of the papers of commercial firms should reveal the true state of their thinking. In his *China* (215), Cooke remarked concerning the £2,000 annual salary of foreign inspectors of customs that it was "not too great to compensate them for the odium which the discharge of their duties involves."

In "*Les Douanes Impériales Chinoises*" (*Mélanges d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales*, II, 205), Cordier gives dates for the opening of the new service: Swatow, Feb., 1860; Chinkiang, Apr., 1860; Hankow and Kiukiang, Dec., 1860; Ningpo and Tientsin, May, 1861; Foochow, July, 1861, and Amoy, April, 1862. In his *Treaties and Agreements* (II, 1507-1508), MacMurray, using data from the Chinese government, gives the dates of establishment of customs as Shanghai, 1854; Canton, 1859 [Dec ?]; Swatow, Jan 1, 1860; Chinkiang, Hankow, Ningpo, and Foochow, 1861; Amoy, 1862, and Kiukiang, 1865.

Ward's conversation with a Chinese official on appointments to the service, rules and their conformity with the treaty, etc., is related in *18 China DD*, No. 23, Dec. 10, 1859. On Chinese collectors of customs see above, 167n. Professor Tsiang writes (Aug 14, 1932) that in the Chinese series described as *The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs*, etc., there is some material on tariff questions, the Palace Museum in Peiping has brief customs reports of the total annual receipts at the ports, to be published.

Excellent and well-phrased studies of duty problems at Shanghai and the beginnings of the maritime customs service appear in recent articles by Dr. John King Fairbank of Harvard. Fully cited in the Bibliography, these articles are given attention to Appendix 11. Drawing on British, Chinese, and American sources, they offer a broader and more intricate picture than can be presented here, and supersede previous treatments of customs history. They are part of a larger research, still in progress.

actual tension of the Americans' internal quarrel. It shows that the real wear and tear of practical arrangements and of the

execution of plans and solutions was sustained by consular officers ⁶⁰

One of the articles, in the Nankai Social & Economic Quarterly, IX, No 1 (Ap , 1936), 125-163, defines the early status of foreign inspectors. The author states that, at first, consuls in fact had the appointing, as well as the nominating, power, and that inspectors were responsible only to a mixed court in which consuls had three votes and the taotai had two (Pp 126-128) McLane's report of the new administration, dating from the summer of 1854, did not reach Washington until November 25, 1854 (*Ibid* , 130) By refusing recognition to the British consul's right to judge or dismiss the British inspector, the government in London soon threw away control over the inspectorate and set that body "adrift", as a Chinese institution (*Ibid* , 134, and 145ff , including British cases relating to export of rice and better hostility of some British merchants to the inspectorate) See pages 162-163 of this article for a terse summary of policy Interpretative comment by the same writer in Vol XX, No 1 (Ap , 1936), pp 97-100, of the Chin Soc and Pol Sci Rev , suggests that the Chinese government, more concerned with the widespread Taiping rebellion than with a marginal duty problem, may have used an old practice of letting barbarians control barbarians, through an institution, that the differing cultural and occupational backgrounds of diplomats affected their public policies significantly, and that in one way or another the British would have secured an efficient customs system, such as the inspectorate provided, in the interest of their trade In 1854 urgent circumstances overcame recalcitrance, and unusual personalities figured in a development of far-reaching historical importance

⁶⁰ This striking congeries of problems in administration and international relations originated in September, 1853, and did not disappear until December, 1856 They are extremely detailed and tortuous, revealing relationships between Chinese and foreign interests, the devastating effect of slow communication and of delays, and confusion produced in public affairs by the conflicts of personalities of different American officers and merchants The existing psychological situation was acute, although it was not essentially peculiar Search for solutions exhibited the salient features of the duty question and constituted a genuine test of those qualities and views of consuls which are surveyed in the following chapter

The story of the Americans' differences is found in Appendix II of the present work, a case study, which indicates how a matter of general interest attained crucial and almost unique significance in the history of a single port Local mercantile hostility to the policy of the consulate was matched by concern of China merchants in the United States as they urged the Department of State to lighten their customs obligations

Chapter 18
CONSULAR QUALITIES AND VIEWS

Consideration of consular functions and problems has shown that persons with definite qualifications were needed in the service. Officers possessing such equipment would belong to an upper stratum of society, ordinarily, and would possess more than average ability. With reference to this requirement, the government's success in recruiting personnel was uneven.¹

Enough appointees regarded their work conscientiously and patriotically to provide a nucleus of a genuine consular service. These pioneers, however, could do no more than begin the battle for a creditable consular establishment, in the face of unstable and novel conditions in their consular districts, unsatisfactory support from their government, and the political dogma of the equal ability of all Americans to represent their country.² In the building of this overseas institution along American lines, the efforts and the writings of these men have had an unrecognized historical importance. They hardly en-

visaged a strictly professional personnel like that which exists today, but they labored for specific improvements in structure and practical effectiveness of the system. The quality of these chosen few, lacking in specialized training but rich in capacity and breadth of experience, may indeed suggest that the theory of "democratic," as distinguished from "career," appointment possessed much value.³

In specific situations, the qualities and views of individual officers have been made apparent.⁴ Considered as a group, the men who served in China and in Japan exhibited several abilities and shortcomings. These are sketched here. Attention is centered on full consuls, although men of lower rank are given such notice as limited evidence permits.

With reference to demonstrated native ability and vigor, the majority of consular officers appear to have had average endowment. Some, especially temporary appointees, were incompetent. A small number

¹ The service gave foreigners an idea of several American social classes, and certain national prejudices, at the time.

Writes Sheppard: "Scattered throughout the whole world, and occupying an eminent social position in all the official and ceremonial circles of different countries, and performing duties which bring them into close contact with all classes of the people among whom they reside, the influence and utility of our consular representatives are even more important than those of the Diplomatic Corps" (Amer. Con. Serv., 388-389.) Henshaw's early Manual (p 180) emphasized the advantages of courtesy and discretion and the harmfulness of a "burly, intriguing, or partisan deportment."

² See also appreciative comment by Hinckley, in Amer. Con. Jur., ix, and a sensible chapter (V) on (British) consuls in W. H. Medhurst's The Foreigner in Far Cathay (New York, 1873), which also provides useful background in preceding chapters on missionaries and merchants.

³ This comment recalls Sheppard's summary remark that perhaps in the majority of cases a consul's duties call not so much "for special knowledge as for unusual abilities of a common character" (Amer. Con. Serv., 455.)

In the important matter of proficiency in foreign languages, American officers did not rate well. R. B. Forbes, Harris, Bradley, and a few others had some knowledge of European languages. Harris and Bradley, like some missionaries in consular work, took an interest in Asiatic languages, but genuine competence among non-missionaries was so scarce as to be almost negligible.

⁴ For example, in discussion of extensions and appointments, and consular dealings with resident Americans, seamen, and diplomatic officers.

displayed abilities which distinguished them sufficiently to make their consular careers truly significant—Charles William Bradley, Perry McD. Collins, Townsend Harris, D. B. McCarter, and Robert C. Murphy.

A few of the more than fifty men listed were almost illiterate. Most of the others had a moderate degree of education, as far as may be judged from their work. A very limited group, consisting of the men already named, showed fairly high intellectual attainments. Bradley and McCarter possessed scholarly attributes. Some consuls manifested special technical proficiency in handling complicated financial questions.

In imagination and creative gifts, five or six men were outstanding, with Murphy probably at the head of the list. Emotional characteristics of different members of the service revealed much diversity. Personal instability of a number of minor officers was a matter of comment. The severest castigations of incumbents came from men seeking appointments.⁵ Very few principal officers suffered from definite temperamental handicaps, and their scores improve when one dissects away an accumulation of genuine grievances and considers certain favorable comments.⁶ Two or three men were emotionally unsuited to the discharge of public responsibilities, and departures from a courteous and diplomatic attitude in moments of irritation characterized the conduct of some highly respected officers.

The records of only a few appointees indicate conspicuous lack of ordinary

administrative effectiveness. Consular correspondence with the Department of State is only part of the evidence, but these communications contain less frequent signs of remissness than might be expected. Irregular and possibly dishonest acts of a small number of minor or temporary officers, natural products of the prevailing system, supplied some cause for dissatisfaction among other Americans. These acts were readily dramatized in the ports, and discolored the really creditable records of other subordinate members of the consular personnel who served inconspicuously and sometimes at considerable sacrifice.

When consular officers' knowledge of the Orient is considered as a qualification, the practical question arises, What was knowledge of the Orient? If it meant simply some years of residence in the pursuit of an occupation, then most of the earlier officers had knowledge. Such residence tended to produce a strong and intolerant conviction of authority, especially in mercantile pursuits.⁷ According to this popular definition, later appointees were usually deficient, but the interesting and inconsistent fact emerges that some of them functioned ably. This circumstance suggests that personal ability and ideas were of more consequence than mere exposure to opportunities, and raises a doubt concerning the adequacy of our definition of the term "knowledge of the Orient." The value and desirability of travel and residence in that region bore a close relation to the accepted occupational and emotional attitudes and the intellectual curiosity of

⁵ One of these (Roberts), a somewhat unadjusted personality, appears to have been very close to W. B. Reed when that diplomat wrote his indictment of the consular staff. Positive confirmation of Roberts' influence on Reed has not been encountered, but the agreement of dates and incidental points suggest the likelihood that Reed somewhat hastily borrowed at least part of his opinions from Roberts, as well as from Peter Parker.

⁶ Macgowan's invidious application to some appointees of such terms as "Massachusetts dyspeptic", "Arkansas editor", "imbecile sot", and "mischievous fop" suggests a generalization which does not hold for regular consuls. It was not to be expected that the well-known inclination of many persons to make spectacles of themselves when taken out of their customary home environment, with its fixed reactions and familiar public opinion, should not assert itself occasionally among consular officers as well as among other Americans in the Orient, where strange and irritating stimuli existed and the voice of native opinion did not reach foreign ears readily and compellingly.

It appears that, among successful officers, there were some men whose adaptation to their tasks and to the life of their communities in the Orient permitted a measure of unconventionality, but this limited tendency supports no sweeping condemnation.

⁷ The professional slant of merchant, missionary, and "service" consuls has already received attention in Chapter 9. It is not clear how much political considerations affected appointments of merchant consuls.

the officer in question. In spite of some similarity of general ideas and assumptions, Americans in the Far East individually differed among themselves as much as they collectively differed from other Occidental nationalities.

Consular knowledge of the Orient may be redefined, without reference to length of residence, as sympathetic and growing familiarity with its culture, applied effectively and constructively to the functions and problems of office and the amelioration of national relations. Long residence was a desirable supplement, but a fresh awareness of sentiment and conditions in the United States, and ability to correlate such facts with local information, were just as important. It is difficult to rate all consular officers in this respect without doing some injustice. Furthermore, conditions at ports under European governments differed from those in China and in Japan. There is no question, however, of the distinction of five men--Bradley, Harris, McCarter, Murphy, and Gideon Nye.

Merchant consuls as a class were suspected of letting their occupational advantage affect their public service. Some individual incumbents denied that this connection was material, but the judgment of the times was mainly adverse to merchant consuls. Missionaries in consular office usually directed their zeal for reform with admirable restraint and practicality, in spite of occasional evidence of warped feelings.⁸ When appointees with no outside occupational interests arrived to serve public interest exclusively, it became clear that the point of view of the mercantile community was no longer to prevail. Consuls who regarded government as something more than a convenient aid to the purposes of business men (and also took literally the hard-won principle of separation of religion and public office) were bound to encounter the enmity of various American "vested interests" at Far Eastern

ports. When one of them gave the impression of regarding his office as a mere means of getting financial profit, new bitterness was added, creating a situation as bad as that of the most selfish merchant consul. Evidence of such cases was rare, however, and was confined almost wholly to subordinate and temporary officers.

When personal sacrifices, or deprivations endured by consular families, are used as a test of public spirit, the evidence is distinctly gratifying. Harris was a notable example of a man who sacrificed for the public welfare. His devotion was genuine, even though it also revealed the compensatory intentness of purpose of a man determined to reestablish his self-confidence and personal reputation, following severe reverses. There were other officers whose devotion in the face of difficulties was conspicuous.

Information is scanty regarding the previous occupations of consuls having no connection with commerce or missions.⁹ Somewhat more is known of the geographical background of consular officers, of the different groups. This element occasionally had a bearing on attitudes and opinions. With allowance for gaps and inaccuracies in data, the distribution was as follows: Massachusetts, at least 10, including most of the merchant consular officers; New York, 8 or 9, chiefly non-merchants and non-missionaries; Pennsylvania, at least 3, including 2 merchants, California, Connecticut, and Maryland, 2 each, chiefly non-merchant and non-missionary; and Maine, New Hampshire, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia, 1 each, half or more being exclusively concerned with consular interests. By the end of the period, the earlier mercantile monopoly of consular positions had ended. The average quality of the staff was not lower in 1860 than it had been in early years of the period, but it had lost some of the outstanding names which adorned it during the middle years.

Merchants served chiefly during the first half of the period. In the entire period the Whigs, who claimed some mercantile support, captured the Presidency for only one term, 1849-1853.

⁸ Missionaries in consular work numbered but a handful, merchants were over a score.

⁹ Additional Bradley papers are in the hands of relatives, but material on Murphy, an especially important figure, eludes careful search. Families quickly lose a sense of the meaning to the public of the affairs of their own members in an earlier generation.

Certain officers exerted a greater influence than others on general policy. They gave the government sound counsel and were useful to their diplomatic and naval colleagues, and to consuls of other nations, with all of whom, however, they sometimes worked at cross purposes. They discharged a cultural as well as an administrative, or routine, task, they saw in native officials and subjects normal human beings like themselves, and they learned lessons from these contacts.

Earlier pages have supplied a picture of diplomatic officers as they appeared to the consular eye. There was reason for Macgowen's belief (1858) that it would have been wise to make principal consuls eligible for the commissionership in China. Had this been arranged, Murphy, or Bradley, or some other, might have made an international reputation as a statesman. Harris might have used his appointment to obscure Ningpo and risen to fame by another trail than the one which he finally took in Japan.¹⁰ Among consuls in China, the average of ability equalled and perhaps surpassed that of diplomatic officers.¹¹ The unfavorable aspects of consular conditions at the time raise the question whether an American who sought, or even accepted, a post in his country's service was not a proven failure, a witless optimist, or a villainous adventurer. An encouraging answer is supplied by a thorough appraisal of the actual records of individual officers. The nation can be thankful that some of them did seek appointments and persisted in complicated negotiations to secure them. Able men no less than incompetents sought such stations, after the manner of their time. In the notable case of Harris it may be said that he thrust greatness upon his country.

Officers conspicuous for possession of several desirable qualities were Harris, Murphy, Bradley, McCarter, and Nye. Others deserving of mention were Paul S. Forbes, Robert Bennett Forbes, Perry McD. Collins, T. Hart Hyatt, and, possibly, Caleb Jones. Even the belligerent James Keenan had merits.

Aside from personal qualities and views, many officers shared collectively certain attitudes reflecting national sentiments, and, occasionally, large sectional viewpoints or class feelings. A novel scene for the historian's study of features of American political, social, and intellectual evolution is supplied by the consular ports, where an abnormal or clinical situation exhibited sharply some of the characteristic elements of normal life in the United States. One of these attitudes was a consciousness of poverty, and sensitiveness on the point, which showed itself especially in embarrassment over the inconvenient state of consular establishments. Another was an assertive and frequently manifested Anglophobia, particularly among "political" consuls. Consideration for receiving states and their subjects showed itself again and again, often ineffectually but none the less sincerely. There existed less of the present-day formula of hand-across-the-sea than of an irrepressible overflowing of abundant faith in the qualities, rectitude, and future of the United States and in the saving grace of its institutions for all mankind. Contact with chilling realities in foreign lands naturally had a sobering effect.

It is not surprising that skepticism regarding the treaty system, and even their own service, manifested itself occasionally among consuls.¹² A feeling gradually developed that the consulate must stand as the palladium of that body of concerns called national interests, against the inconsiderate emphasis placed by many individual Americans on their own activities and personal gain.

Following general and comparative treatment of consular matters, in Parts I-III, it is now possible in narrative and statistical manner to give a summary of Consular and Commercial History (Part IV), at the ports of China (with Hongkong and Macao), Japan, and Eastern Siberia.

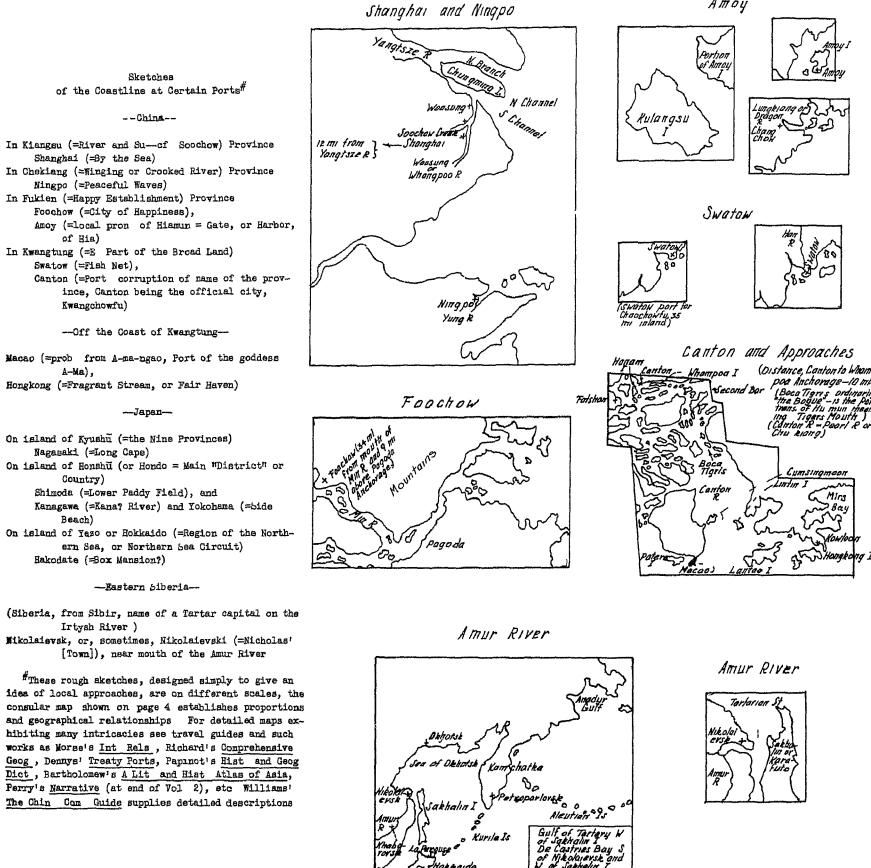
¹⁰ Contrary-to-fact suppositions may prove nothing, but they throw into relief elements of chance and circumstance, and emphasize the nature of actual situations and occurrences.

¹¹ Some reference has been made to the attention given Oriental affairs in Congress by men who had served, or were later to serve, as diplomatic representatives in China. The public services of returned consular officers, with regard to the East, invite attention.

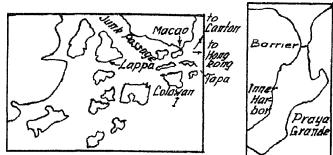
¹² See also emphatic statements in Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 61-62.

The final paragraphs of Appendix 10 supplement the present chapter.

Part IV
CONSULAR AND COMMERCIAL HISTORY

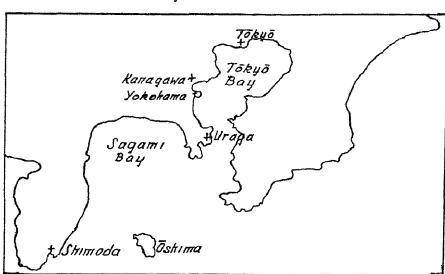


Macao

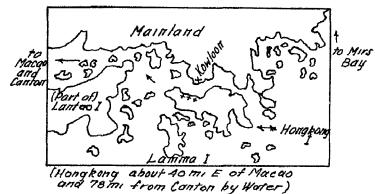


Shimoda

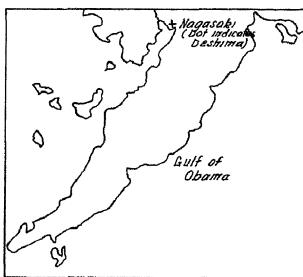
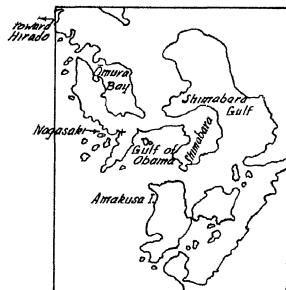
Kanagawa - Yokohama



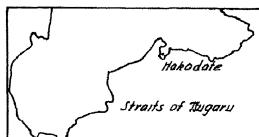
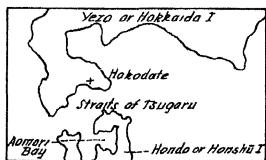
Hongkong



Nagasaki



Hakodate



Chapter 14
GENERAL COMMENT ON CONSULAR AND COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF PORTS

In preceding Parts many incidents of general or comparative usefulness in the history of individual consular offices have been employed. Assuming the reader's familiarity with them, material in succeeding chapters merely mentions them briefly. For such review as may occasionally be necessary cross-references offer sufficient guidance. Attention is directed chiefly to circumstances and instances with a local bearing.

It is possible to present certain ports in somewhat natural and convenient groupings, although the relations linking places treated in any one chapter are not complete or

Arrangement of Ports in Related Groups
Ports in Related Groups
Ports in Related Groups

exclusive Ningpo, for example, although grouped with Amoy, Foochow, and Swatow, was also closely associated with Shanghai, in commerce and in consular matters. It is easy to see that in the race between the older port of Canton and the vigorous new center at Shanghai, the faltering of the one and the growing strength of the other should invest their colorful histories with a common interest. It is likewise natural to treat together two European outposts, Macao and Hong-kong—the one old and failing, the other young and healthy. Chapters on ports in China are followed by a summary chapter. Two chapters are devoted to Japan, one on the Shimoda-Kanagawa office and the other on the subsidiary ports of Hakodate and Nagasaki, located at the geographical extremities of

American contacts with Japan. The final narrative deals with Eastern Siberia. All the ports are entered on the map of Eastern Asia on page 4 of this work, and the map on pages 234-235 shows the outlines and details of several harbors.¹

In Japan, as in China, the choice of ports occasioned much speculation and subsequent criticism. In the absence of accurate knowledge of economic conditions and commercial hinterlands, trial and error played a part in the selections. The pre-treaty reputation of some places was not sustained subsequently under the different political and economic conditions related in following pages.²

Within single chapters, information is usually presented in two main connections—general and consular history (with a brief description and mention of the port's earlier history), Consular and Commercial History of Each Port; Special Topics, and Chronologies; Appointees; Statistics but emphasizes those of concern to Americans.³ At some points it is desirable to set forth domestic conditions in the Asiatic regions in question.⁴ Certain events were of general and lasting importance, while others, equally essential at the moment, were but part of a limited and temporary scaffolding.

¹ For the full analytical Table of Contents of Part IV see Appendix 12. Cross-references to Parts I-III, above, sometimes lead to very abbreviated information, which may be supplemented by extensive material in the longer original form of those Parts, in case they are subsequently made available. (See Preface.)

The long Appendix to Williams' *The Chinese Commercial Guide*, "Sailing Directions for the Coast of China, the Japanese Islands, and the Gulf of Siam," gives much geographical information of a detailed kind.

² For some "irregular" ports not treated here see 36-1, *S. Ex. Doc. 30*, p. 510, and comment of Reed.

³ Local histories and works by Morse, Treat, and others supply many details. Dates of extension of the foreign customs inspectorate to different ports appear in previous discussion of the duty question.

⁴ For convenience the following list of rulers is supplied: China—Tao Kuang, 1820-1850, and Hsien Fêng, 1850-1861; Japan—(Emperors) Ninkô, 1817-1846, and Kômei, 1846-1867; (Shoguns) Ieyoshi, 1838-1853, Iesada, 1853-1858, Iemochi, 1858-1866; Russia—Nicholas I, 1825-1855, and Alexander II, 1855-1881. (For the time of this study, the Japanese year periods, which do not necessarily correspond with the reigns of Emperors, were Kôkwa, from 1844; Ka-si, from 1848; Ansei, from 1854; and Manen, from 1860.)

Appendix 1 provides a conspectus of consular personnel⁵. It happens that, in addition to the men who definitely served, there were several appointees who never went near their posts. In some instances the disturbing effect of their absence and inattention formed an element of the positive history of the offices to which they had been named. A number of these men are unguardedly recorded in standard works as actual consular officers. Besides dispelling that bit of shadow-history relating to appointees who did not go to their posts, following chapters mention the circumstances attending the appointment of a few of the men who did serve.⁶ Although the Whigs held the Presidency during the second of the four terms dealt with, all of the full consuls listed as serving during the years 1845-1860 were placed in office by the Democratic administrations. In the description of commerce considerable use is made of statistics.

In Eastern Asia such statistics, in-

The Shortcomings of Statistics in Eastern Asia and the United States cluding those prepared by the American consulates, were imperfect. Specific shortcomings are pointed out in different connections. Without question, one reason for them was the failure of the government to supply consular officers with all the necessary instructions, forms, and other equipment. Nevertheless, in many instances, these officers submitted valuable figures. Existing statistics from the American side are likewise imperfect. Exact matching of them with figures from the Orient is not possible.⁷ In the second volume of the *Commercial Relations*⁸ occur striking criticisms of different data--characterized as estimates rather than statistics. The annual reports of the Treasury Department relating to commerce and navigation were not always reliable or constant in meaning. Often they supplied only one of the two necessary kinds of information, on quantities and on values. Although section 11 of

⁵ Salaries of the different offices under the acts of 1855 and 1856 are given here.

The maximum salaries fixed by the act of March 1, 1855 differed from those salaries provided by the act of 1856 as follows: Hongkong, \$5,000 and \$5,500; Singapore, \$1,000, with trading privilege, and \$2,500, without this privilege; Canton, \$3,000 and \$4,000; Shanghai, \$3,000 and \$4,000; Foochow, \$2,500 and \$3,500; Amoy and Ningpo, each \$2,500 and \$3,000; Lahaia, \$1,000, with the trading privilege, and \$3,000, without this privilege, (1855 only, with the trading privilege in each case); Bombay, Ceylon, Hobart Town, Sydney, Macao, and Hilo, \$1,000 each; Manila, \$750; and Padang, \$500. Brunel, Shimoda, and Hakodate were mentioned in the same act among the salaried consulates, without indication of the amount of the pay. The \$5,000 allowed Shimoda was among the appropriations act of March 3, 1855. The office at Calcutta was a consulate (1855-\$5,500) and then a consulate general (1856-\$6,000). By both consular acts \$4,000 was allowed as sole compensation to each of the consuls at Honolulu and Melbourne, and \$1,000 (with the trading privilege) to each of those at the Bay of Islands (N. Z.), Batavia, Tahiti (Society Islands), Apia (Navigators' Islands), and Lanthala (Fiji Islands). The Amur River commercial agency appeared only in the 1856 list, carrying \$1,000 and the trading privilege.

Consular officers not in Classes B and C retained their fees under the act of 1856. Writing in 1858 the consular officer at Macao emphasized the inadequacy of the fees collected as recompense and expressed the hope that the office would be readmitted to the category of salaried ports. (1 Macao Cl., Nye, Jr., to Cass, Sept. 5, 1858.) Thus the Macao officer was twice put on the list (1848 and 1855), only to be removed.

In recent years the government has issued a useful series of Trade Information Sheets for the individual consular offices.

⁶ Hasse's *Foreign Affairs*, under "China" (with subdivisions for each port), gives references to United States printed documents relating to Americans at each port, and to some other subjects. Note references under the heading "Aliens". There is much material in local newspapers, private papers, and naval manuscripts, which would amplify the outline chapters in this Part. For a sample of commercial detail see Gale's *Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes*.

Morse states (*Int. Rel.*, I, 346 and 558) that in 1850 there were 994 foreign adult male civilians at Hongkong and in China (exclusive of Macao)—404 at Hongkong, 362 at Canton, 29 at Amoy, 10 at Foochow, 19 at Ningpo, and 141 at Shanghai. Of total of 1058 in 1855, 377 were at Hongkong, 354 at Canton, 31 at Amoy, 28 at Foochow, 25 at Ningpo, and 243 at Shanghai. (Of the 942 in China, 650 were British and 150 were American.) Of the much greater total of 2,148 in 1859, 1,462 were at Hongkong, 127 at Canton, 45 at Amoy, 57 at Foochow, 49 at Ningpo, and 408 at Shanghai. Canton lost severely while Hongkong (apart from an intermediate sag) and Shanghai were gaining heavily, the percentage of gain at Foochow was high. Besides civilians there were soldiers and sailors to be considered, and the many seamen from merchant ships who came and went. Of the 209 firms or branches at the five treaty ports or at Hongkong in 1855, 111 were English and 23 were American.

⁷ As far as the writer is aware, no one has compared the export declarations for goods on given vessels from the United States and the import figures on the basis of which these same goods paid duty in East Asiatic ports. In a few cases such comparisons could probably be made.

⁸ Pp. 466-467 and 471-472

the act approved February 10, 1820 contained stringent regulations regarding sworn manifests covering exports from the United States, it appeared that official negligence or perjury by shippers was responsible for notable non-observance of the law. It was charged that valuations were not even made by the fluctuating prices-current of the day but according to the varying estimates of shippers. There were discrepancies between reports of exports (by "home values") and the official import figures of countries importing from the United States. Commercial year-periods varied in different statistics. The Secretary of the Treasury complained in 1849 of frauds by foreign shippers of goods to the United States, by means of dissimilar double invoices of identical goods. It was observed (1854) that false entries and accounts did not constitute a felony in the United States.⁹ Furthermore, there was need of uniform reporting of indirect trade, a problem of concern in the present inquiry.

In previous Parts, outside points of view and frequently uncomplimentary foreign opinions have been used to ob-

Use of Comparative Figures; to justify the deeds of Ameri-
cans¹⁰. In this Part, comparative figures, especially of
the Place and Character of British trade, have been introduced at several points in
American Trade order to hold the American share of the total foreign
trade in Eastern Asia in proper perspective and to indicate how useful a part American

vessels played in the local or inter-port commerce of that region.¹¹ It has already been pointed out that the entire import and export trade of Asia with the United States, though increasing, was but a small part of that nation's entire foreign commerce. It did not amount to six per cent of this total.¹² Exports from the Orient to the United States greatly exceeded American imports received.¹³ In one sense, from the American side, the trade was an importer's rather than an exporter's business.

The total of American investments in the Far Eastern commerce cannot be given. Only occasional and fragmentary estimates are available. Losses Difficult to Reckon through failures, wrecks, and other accidents. Not all the vessels in the East Asiatic trade which were lost appear in reports from that region. An unofficial record of wrecks along the Pacific Coast of the United States from 1847 shows a high percentage of boats engaged in that trade, such as the Firefly, Aurora, Ariel, Spark, and Dolphin.

Only twelve years after the conclusion of the period under review a critic of the American consular service wrote, with special reference to the "guerilla service" before 1856:

"If it were possible at this remote [sic] date to get at a full narrative of that early period of our

⁹ On fixing values, see the Treaty of Wanghia (Art. XI) and the appended specific duties, with an item on the rate for residual unlisted goods, Con. Regs., 1856, and the act approved March 1, 1823.

¹⁰ The period may be examined from English points of view in the writings of Michie, Lane-Poole, Alcock, Hodgson, Sargent, Fairbank, and others. Hitherto, British consular officers have been heard from in published works, but, apart from a forgotten book by Collins and certain publications relating to Harris, the present study gives American consular officers of the time almost their first hearing and opportunity to speak for themselves.

¹¹ A review of trade features of American treaties with East Asiatic governments is provided in Part II, above.

¹² Yet Asiatic trade fired the imaginations of Americans, including a number living in more articulate sections of the country (cf. 7 China DD, No. 50, Parker to Webster, June 30, 1852, on American cooperation with the British regarding a proposed East Asiatic exhibit in London.) This extension of interest reached out to embrace many famous points along ship lanes, like the island of St. Helena and Anjeer, where the East Indiamen of all nations stopped for supplies in the days before canned goods and other conveniences were available.

¹³ Figures and reminders relating to vessels, demand for shipping, depression, marine insurance, freights, and the like appear above, in Part I—e.g., p. 18. For abundant statistical information see Exports of Manufactures from the United States and Their Distribution by Articles and Countries—1800 to 1906 (United States Dep. of Commerce, Bur. of Statistics). The geographical point of view of remarks in Part I is largely that of the United States, in following chapters it is that of East Asiatic localities.

Dennett gives a general sketch of United States trade with China and Japan, 1844-1898, in Chapter XXX of his Americans in Eastern Asia. For another phase of American interests at the ports (the activities of missionaries, who were sometimes present before consuls arrived), see the ample and definitive volume by Kenneth Scott Latourrette, A History of Christian Missions in China.

consular history I am sure I would be able to add a curious chapter of official imposition and irresponsibility."¹⁴

The East Asiatic portion of that history follows Employed against the preceding back-

ground of functions and problems, it may suggest that the critic's comparative proximity to his subject, in place and time, was an insufficient guarantee of his accuracy and his facilities for observation

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¹⁴ 42-2, H Ex Doc 517, 118, 119

Chapter 15
CANTON AND SHANGHAI CHANGE POSITIONS

Remote from the court at Peking, Canton was long the point to which trade with Westerners was limited. During the period under consideration it lost Canton's ascendancy, as other Control of the ports drew off portions of Occidental Ocean its commerce. Among these, Trade of China Shanghai took the lead and within a few years it was the chief port of China. The nature and causes of this change become apparent in the following narrative.

Canton: General and Consular

Canton, the Portuguese rendering of Kwangchow(-fu), is known as the "City of Rams" or the "City of Genii". It was the residence of the governor of An Account of Kwangtung Province, from Canton which it took its name, and of the viceroy of the Two Kwang Provinces (Kwangtung and Kwangsi). It is located in latitude 23°, 7', 10" N and

longitude 113°, 14', 30" E. The foreign "factories" were situated outside the walls. There are many descriptions of the city and the approaches to it. The sketch appearing on page 234 gives an idea of the numerous islands and waterways and of the relation to Canton of Macao and Hongkong. The city is on the north (left) bank of the Chu-kiang, or Pearl River (formed by a portion of the waters of the West and North Rivers), which at this point expands into a broad tidal channel, with subdivisions. Twelve miles below Canton is the island of Whampoa ("Yellow Reach"), with its famous anchorage. Farther on, the bold shore narrows the channel at Hu-mun, or Tiger's Mouth (Port, Boca Tigre, whence "The Bogue"), formerly fortified. Thereafter the channel expands to a breadth of several miles, reaching the sea about eighty miles from Canton. Burial grounds for foreigners were located on Dane and French Islands. On the latter lie the remains of Alexander Everett, once commissioner of the United States to China.¹

For many years of the period Canton,

¹On burial of seamen and others see Williams, *Chin Com Guide*, 157

Dennys, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, 116-201, supplies a detailed description of this entire region, explaining different points and approaches for ships. More accessible is Morse's account in his *Trade and Admin.*, which considers the origin of the name of the city (279-280). Couling's *Enc Sin* (81) reviews the early history. Note also Richard, *Comprehensive Geog of the Chin Empire*, 207ff., and 214-216 (references). The first volume of Morse's *Int. Rel.* contains excellent maps and pictures: front of the factories and plan (facing pp 64 and 70), the Canton estuary and Canton city in detail (facing pp 118 and 144). For an account of early difficulty created by Chinese belief in the evil influence of the weathercock on the flagstaff in the American garden and the calming effect of its removal, see p 304 of Auguste Haussmann's "Canton et le Commerce Européen en Chine", in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, N S, Vol 16 (Oct. 15, 1846), 298-340. Haussmann, a member of the French mission to China and a prolific writer on Chinese commerce, gives a careful description of the Canton trading section, comments on the Chinese, and provides statistics. He remarks (328-329) on the alleged political motives in the establishment of the Medical Missionary Society through the liberality of English and American residents. Perry's *Narrative* (I, 155-156) gives a depressing description of the appearance of Canton, typical of the many statements of foreigners' disappointment on actually seeing Asiatic ports which had been idealized in their imaginations.

In *Com Rel.*, I, 514, appears the following description: ". . . The city is enclosed by brick walls, on a sandstone foundation, six or seven miles in circuit, and entered by 12 gates. The suburbs are nearly as large as the city itself. On the south, they stretch along the river-side, and at their southwest corner are the 'Hong's', or foreign quarters—a long range of buildings separated from the river by a quay. There are in all 13 hongs, including those belonging to the British, American, Dutch, and other merchants. The whole territory, however, allotted to foreigners, is comparatively limited. The population of Canton is about 1,000,000, a large part of which resides on the water, so that for four or five miles opposite to, and above and below the city, the river is crowded with floating dwellings." Above Canton stood the trading and manufacturing city of Fatshan.

with a long history of foreign trading reaching back to the early Arab navigators, was really the Chinese capital for diplomatic relations with the West. When Its Special Commodore Biddle established Position, the American Legation in the Continued Foreign settlement outside desire to the walls of the city he Enter the Native thereby placed the consulate City at Canton in a special position, and prevented for several years the appearance of the particular evil which plagued other consulates in China—the difficulty of communicating quickly with diplomatic superiors. Proximity, however, did not guarantee harmony between the two offices. The question of entry into the native city became a matter of increasing interest among foreigners and was not disposed of until the second Anglo-Chinese War. As early as 1845 the troublesome missionary, I J Roberts, was denied admission by the governor, who stated that the situation at Canton was different from that at other ports, as the people were excitable, and advised that "the said Merchant Roberts" conform to existing arrangements and "quickly obtain threefold profits".⁴

Foreign ships could not proceed beyond Whampoa, nor were their seamen allowed to go up to the Canton factories, as merchants and others might do.

Whampoa Cargo was lightered to and from Canton in local craft. Vessels occupied the middle of the stream at the anchorage, a branch of the Pearl River. Anchored in various places were floating stores for ship supplies, a hospital and

French missionary school, and a chapel. A Chinese town was located on shore, but the foreign "community" was afloat. Careful calculation of risks led insurance companies to limit their coverage to property on the water. Dr Wood, the naval surgeon and a reliable reporter, described Whampoa as a miserable and pestilential place, surrounded by marshes, quite desolate in appearance.⁵ Its human features were equally miserable, as earlier discussion of the difficulties of the United States marshal with sick and violent seamen has shown. The consul at Canton found it desirable to be at Whampoa to look after the affairs of mariners and also to be at his office, as required by regulations, to attend to the needs of merchants. The impossibility of his doing both things has received attention.⁶

The signing of treaties and the passing of the Co-hong did not quickly alter the native spirit and attitude toward foreign interests. The Co-hong had been a convenient mercantile mechanism permitting concentration of administration and responsibility. Diffusion of control followed the treaties.

Much more than was the case at Shanghai, the history of Canton during the decade and a half under consideration witnessed difficulties with the local officers and population, including the Chinese merchants.⁷ These difficulties have been reviewed in published diplomatic studies. Only those which manifestly influenced American consuls and merchants are related here.

One of Commissioner Cushing's first

² *Canton CL*, No. 35, Forbes to Sec. of State, May, 1845. On the number of foreigners at Canton in different years see note 6 of the preceding chapter.

³ *Frankwei*, 275-276. (On restriction of seamen see 153n, above.)

Tronson (*Personal Narrative of a Voyage*, etc., 78) gives a vivid and not very palatable description of details and activities at Whampoa, showing the change wrought by the pirate disturbances of 1854-1855. La Gravière, *Voyage en Chine*, I, 131-132, notes, with a mariner's detail, the clippers, Bombay "country-ships", and other vessels present, and comments on the situation generally. Cutler's *Greyhounds of the Sea* contains a moderately satisfactory pen sketch of Whampoa (p. 100). Another view is on p. 7 of the present work. The diary of Marie Antoinette Kinney, *Seaweed*, supplies unusual information on Whampoa and the nearby area, as well as remarks on James Beecher (brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and preacher at the floating church) and several public figures of the time. Pages 40-43 describe a trip to Canton.

⁴ P. 153n, above. For the different marshals who served see Appendix I, under Canton. The legal problem relating to unrepresented Malays is exhibited above, p. 191. Some of the judicial cases at Canton are reviewed on page 95.

⁵ With reference to the abolition of the Co-hong Morse writes (*The Gilds of China*, 84-85).

"Thus ended the omnipotent gild merchant of Canton, smitten by the power of belligerent traders from the West, but the merchants of China, driven back upon their entrenchments, have continued the battle with the silent and more effective weapons of the craft gild and the provincial club. With these institutions of China to-day, institutions which disappeared as living realities from England with the Middle Ages, the Chinese have maintained their own."⁸

Cushing's attention to the Security of Americans; General Influence of Anglo-Chinese Disputes concerns was the security of Americans at Canton. He arranged resolutions on this subject with the local authorities, extended and improved the American factory area, and organized a police force.⁶ Rebel activities and British conflicts with the Chinese were the most conspicuous causes of unrest and danger. Although Americans had their own issues to settle, they were for the most part sideline spectators of contests between the more important foreign nation and the Chinese, which might at any time damage non-combatants. In 1848, for example, when it was feared that the British might withdraw their consulates and blockade Canton, there was excitement among Americans, allayed only by assurances to the American Legation from the Governor of Hongkong. It was urged on this official that neutral trade should not be allowed to suffer because of problems affecting the British and the Chinese.⁷ In the spring of 1849 widespread apprehension was created in South China over the question of the opening of Canton city, and British naval demonstrations added to this suspense, which prostrated trade.⁸ The crisis passed, however, and in April trade revived.

A spirited engagement at Whampoa on December 30, 1854 between Imperialists and insurgents required the attention of naval vessels. The American vice consul, Sturgis, asserted that British and other naval officers disregarded the safety of foreign trade. In this, however, he was not supported by the American naval commander, Joel Abbot, who found Sturgis' remarks objectionable, an instance of naval solidarity which cut across

national lines.⁹ During these disturbances of 1854-1855, the British and the American authorities resolved that goods for shipment at Whampoa for British and American account should pass from Canton under their respective flags, and that consuls should grant certificates to proper applicants, which should be returned and filed at the consulates. Various complications to which this action opened the door have been observed in discussions of consuls' supervision of the use of the flag and their controversies with naval officers. At this point they exhibit the confusion of interests caused by the proximity of other foreigners (to whom Americans were sometimes indebted for assistance) and the presence of domestic insurrectionists.¹⁰

Second only in general interest to the intermittent dislocations of trade by military activities were the failures in 1856 of two important American trading firms of high reputation. Wetmore and Company and Nye Brothers and Company both of these had a connection with the consular service, through identity of personnel. The failure of Wetmore and Company (with branches at Shanghai, Foochow, and New York) was regarded as unnecessary, and that of Nye Brothers and Company was the signal for expressions of desire to see the firm reestablished on a solid basis. Such cases of financial difficulty suggest that, in the midst of commercial rivalry, there existed a cooperative (perhaps a nationalistic) feeling which held the difficulty of any reputable firm to be the concern of all Americans in the East. The reports and discussions supply a useful initiation into the spirit of international commerce in China. With all its obligations

⁶Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing*, I, 443

⁷4 *China DD*, No 40, Parker to Buchanan, Jan 25, 1848 Morse and Dennett give full accounts of diplomatic and military occurrences

⁸For comment on the general agitation and injury to trade see the *Overland China Mail*, Vol 11, No 15, Mar 30, 1849, p 59. A resolution of Chinese dealers in foreign woollens opposed admission of foreigners to Canton and talked of suspension of the purchase of foreign woollens. Perhaps for rhetorical effect, these traders argued the possibility of use by Chinese of "elegant silks and native cottons", instead of foreign imports, for garments. On the question of entry into Canton and the practical force of local opposition cf. Morse, *Int Rels*, I, 377ff, and 450

⁹11 *China DD*, No 1, Parker to Marcy, Jan 12, 1855, exhibits 20-23, and No 2, Feb 12, 1855, encls. Sturgis to Cool. It was asserted that in 1855 foreign merchants at Canton favored rebels in China as opposed to the Imperial forces, since they felt that in any event they could hardly have fewer privileges than they possessed at the time

Shortly before these events, the currency question had been a burning issue at Canton (pp 212-213, above). As at Shanghai, the question of sale of arms and services by Americans to rebels required particular attention

¹⁰Ibid., No 2, Parker to Marcy, Feb 12, 1855, encl to Sturgis Cf pp 117-118, 124n., and 135ff, above

met, Wetmore and Company resumed under the style of Wetmore, Williams, and Company.¹¹

In October, 1856, local hostilities began in the so-called Arrow War between the English and the Chinese. The foreign factories were pillaged and

The Arrow War burned by the Chinese on December 15, 1856. The city of Canton was taken by the British a year later, on December 29, 1857. They continued to occupy and supervise it for four years. The taking of the city and actual entry within its walls occasioned intense excitement.¹² The eagerness of Consul Keenan from Hongkong to be present nearly cost him his office. During the British operations of 1856 the American and French naval forces sought to remain neutral. American guards were removed from Canton on November 16, and on the twenty-second the American and French consulates were closed. During the American withdrawal from the factories the American flag was fired on from the Bar-

rier forts, which Commodore Armstrong immediately ordered taken. This American venture brought at least temporary satisfaction, but it showed again the near impossibility of Americans' remaining in a position of insured neutrality while hostilities were occurring all about them. Consuls of some European nations went so far as to try to place the responsibility for the protection of neutral interests on the English. The British issued a notification of blockade of the river and the port of Canton from August 7, 1857.¹³

The American consulate and the residences of citizens at Canton were destroyed by fire, and the business of the consulate was done at the Legation, on

Locations of American vessels, and, on the Consulate different occasions, at Whampoa. Its temporary location at Macao in January, 1857 created the oddity of two American offices, with exequaturs from two different powers, operating at a single place.¹⁴

On the return of peace in 1858 the

¹¹In the days of the Co-hong the handling of failures by Americans and Chinese contained elements of similarity.

Cosenza (*The Complete Journal*, 178) discusses the case of Wetmore and Company. The firm had been founded by William S. Wetmore, nephew of a partner of Edward Carrington of Providence, said at one time to have been the largest shipowner and East India merchant in the United States. At Canton he established, with Joseph Archer of Philadelphia, the house of Wetmore and Company, taking over the large trade of Nathan Dunn and Company. At the time of the failure it was reported that the treasury contained \$32,000 and that the collapse was brought on only "through the rascality of Roberts", who has been given notice as vice consul at Hongkong! "The old folks were most savage and immediately sent out L. Sheppard Wetmore and paid in full!" For the Nye case of 35-2, *S. Ex. Doc. 22, II*, 763, 781, and *passim*. Liabilities were \$3,600,000 and the deficit was at least \$2,200,000. A legal complication is mentioned above, 148n, see also p. 189.

The American families represented by firms at Canton and later at other ports show interlocking personal, social, and commercial relations, e.g., those of the Forbeses and Russells with the Heards. It has not been possible to supply adequate information here on individual American merchants. This biographical aspect of the subject must be left to others, using materials such as those in the Baker Library. Certain works like Thomas Franklin Waters' *Augustine Heard and His Friends* (Salem, 1916) are useful. (See pages 49-52 of Waters' book for praise of Augustine Heard's personal characteristics. When John Heard retired as head of this house in December, 1862 he regarded it as second to none in China.)

James Murray Forbes, a son of Robert B. Forbes, lived to April 26, 1937. He was born in Boston on July 17, 1845. After a year in Harvard College he joined Russell and Company, going to China in 1865. At Canton he was also consul for Sweden and Norway. In 1869 he returned to the United States and in 1870 became the senior partner in Russell and Company. He was later president of the Chicago Burlington & Northern R.R. (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, May 7, 1937, p. 695.)

¹²It seems, however, to have been some weeks before the fall of Canton became known among Chinese at the port of Foochow. The capture of "the Gov. Gen. of Canton, by the English was an event hailed with much joy by the Canton men resident here that officer having rendered himself very unpopular among the Cantonese by the tyrannical government of their Province." (2 Foochow CL, No. 3, Dunn to Case, Feb. 18, 1858.)

See the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of Feb. 14, 1857 for amusing renderings of the difficulty with this official, Yeh.

¹³Morse, *Int. Rels.*, I, 434, 4 Canton CL, Perry to Cass, No. 27, Aug. 5, 1857. For Perry's clash with Armstrong regarding evacuation of Canton see above, 124n. An earlier difference of Sturgis with Parker and Commodore Abbot, concerning naval protection of American interests in 1855, is related on pages 117-118 and 130n.

¹⁴A description of the factories during hostilities is found in 4 Canton CL, Perry to Marcy, No. 19, Jan. 18, 1857. On the Chinese motive in burning the factories of 178n, above Perry moved to Whampoa but that place became unsafe (Jan. 13, 1857) when English and Spanish war vessels left, "the signal for a general evacuation

question of where to build new factories appeared. As a temporary location the island of Honam, across the river from the old site of the New Foreign

Where Should
the New Foreign
Section at Canton be
Located?

and outside the range of martial law, was used by most of the merchants, who converted

former warehouses into quarters. It was finally arranged that Shameen ("The Sand Flats") on the Canton

side should be developed. This district had previously had an unsavory character, in every respect, but the British government spent a large sum in successful development of it. Of the acreage allotted by the Chinese authorities, four-fifths went to the British and one-fifth to the French. Although the French lots were not taken up, applications for those of the British (ready for occupancy in 1861) were keenly competitive. The British government, lessee from the Chinese government, issued titles to individuals desiring leases. As Dennett points out, no American in authority was present who would uphold the principle previously worked out at Shanghai, where the Chinese officials leased directly to different nationalities. No section was granted the Americans at Canton, but, fortunately, the British area was thrown open to applicants of all races, except the Chinese.¹⁵

A concurrent indication of the practical difficulty of securing thoroughgoing unity of American and English or European policy was the question (1859-

Protection of Equal Rights of Americans at the Customhouse, 1859-1860

played by Americans in the organization of the new customhouse, as distinguished from British influence.¹⁶

Late in 1860 difficulties between American merchants and the customhouse

were composed, with the exception of one growing out of the regulation that vessels laden at Hongkong, and then going to Canton for additional cargo, should have a certificate from the harbormaster at the British port. A regulation affecting American citizens might not be adopted without previous reference to the consul Ward, the American minister, secured from the governor-general an admission of the impropriety of the rule. In the case of the Sea Serpent, however, the Chinese official refused a clearance because she had taken on cargo at Macao, which he called Chinese territory. American ships must pay duty, it was argued, on all cargo taken there if they later completed loading at Canton. Ward would not admit the contention, since the consul at Macao held his exequatur from the Portuguese government—a reappearance of the sovereignty issue which has already required attention at different times. Ward, therefore, allowed the Sea Serpent to sail without a clearance. This particular argument was conducted with greatest courtesy and issued in an agreement to disagree.¹⁷

During the larger part of the period of acute controversy at Canton the consul was O H Perry, son of the Commodore.

Although he was the object of some American doubtful criticism and exhibited a marked vigor of opinion, he made a creditable record. In general, he does not

suffer by comparison with the first merchant consul mentioned here, Paul S Forbes, or with the three vice consuls who substituted for this officer—R B Forbes, D N Spooner, and R S Sturgis.¹⁸ In 1853 it was remarked that for over twenty years the office had been occupied by a member of Russell and Company. In 1854 this "Russell

of the place." No American ship of war was then present. Much American property was left behind. Perry saved all the consular archives and deposited them at the Macao consulate. He was much occupied with the description of American losses at Canton and Whampoa, in view of the claims which would be entered (See above, 140n). After removal of the blockade, the American, British, and French consulates functioned at Whampoa, Canton still being under martial law (5 Canton Cl, No 4, Feb 20, 1858).

¹⁵American fear that new arrangements would aggrieve the British unduly is described above, p 174.

¹⁶See above, 152n, insistence that the American consul be properly consulted regarding regulations. According to MacMurray's list of dates of opening of branches of the maritime customs, the Canton office was established in 1859. His dates, from the Chinese government, form a convenient reference, but they do not always coincide with those given by Cordier (226n, above) (Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China 1894-1919, II, pp 1507-1508.)

¹⁷See above, 152n, Ward to Cass, No 24, Oct 28, 1860. On relations with Chinese officers at Canton see brief comment above, 167, for example, and on the difficulty regarding the services of an interpreter as late as 1859 note p 114.

¹⁸See Gravière writes fully of the hospitality, energy, ambition, personal attractiveness and culture, and alert Americanism of "Foxi" (Forbes), in his Voyage en Chine, I, 156-157. He was taken on Forbes' cutter, the "Gipsy", to visit Captain Endicott, of a receiving ship. His favorable comment on the reliability of the Chinese merchants whom he met is found in Vol I, p 158. Cf 164n, above (The French consul-general at the beginning of the period was Lancy, who signed the treaty of July 25, 1845. Cordier, Deux Établissements, 27.)

For the periods of tenure of officers see Appendix 1, and for their qualities, Chapter 13, above.

and Company era" ended what Harris called the hold of "one family of Whigs" and introduced the Democratic period of the consulate¹⁹

Canton was not primarily a place of production. With the growth of other ports it became less satisfactory as a shipping center. It was at a great

Change in distance from important Commercial sources of supply The abandonment of the old factory Canton sites and greater use of

Hongkong as a base marked a step in the commercial subordination of Canton locally to the British emporium. Figures of shipping and trade show the change, and provide a basis for comparison with the growth of Shanghai, vigorously drawing northern and inland trade to itself

Canton. Shipping

A special system of loading and unloading was used in the Canton trade, because of the necessity of lighterizing goods to and from Whampoa. Williams re-

Mechanics of Commerce at Canton details²⁰ The essential steps are described

here, for imports only. For exports the statement of procedure can be reversed. On arrival of a ship at Whampoa the captain proceeded to Canton and deposited her register with the consul, who gave him (or the consignee) a report for the custom-house. On receipt of this manifest, a permit was issued to open the cargo described therein and to place goods in cargo (or chop) boats. These lighters, generally accommodating about three hundred piculs of cargo, were roomy boats, and reasonably safe, although sometimes the boat people expertly abstracted a percentage of the goods. The shipper obtained his orders for delivery of commodities countersigned by the consignee of the boat,

and made out from these orders the list of packages to be landed in one chop boat. Application was then made at the customhouse for cargo-boat notes for the necessary number of lighters. These were hired by the individual importer, but one or two customs clerks went on them as inspectors. On the second following day the lighters were at the ship. When loaded they went to the floating customhouse at Whampoa and their hatches were sealed for the trip to Canton. There, the importer gave a memorandum of their lading to the office and applied for an order from the customs to the Bank to receive the stated duties and to issue a receipt. Then the cargo was examined and the duties were determined. With his duty receipt the importer again went to the customhouse and exchanged it for a duty-paid order, in Chinese and English, which released his goods.

A general idea of American shipping (and trade) at Canton may be gained from Appendix 4 C, but certain amplifications are necessary, as well as an indication of the relative position of Americans with reference to the total commerce of the port. There are some irregularities and uncertainties in statistics, as in the case of those American "passenger" ships taking their final departure from Hongkong. The main tendencies, nevertheless, are evident. Always there is the picture of American trade trailing that of the British.²¹

Figures follow for certain features of shipping in 1845, 1854, 1856, 1859, and 1860. In the first of these years a total

of 302 vessels (136,850 tons)

Figures for arrived and 327 (148,273 tons)

Certain cleared. Of those entering,

Years 1845; 182 (over 80,000 tons) were

British and 83 (over 35,000 tons) were American.

The Dutch followed the Americans, at a great distance, with eleven. The following table presents the comparative

¹⁹On the political and mercantile aspect of this matter see above, p 57

²⁰Chin Com Guide (1865 ed.), 155ff., 165ff., 169, 178. A score of native pilots, distributed at Canton, Macao, and Hongkong, had this whole business and divided their receipts among their three offices. Williams describes a characteristic expression of the Chinese social feature of responsibility in the pre-treaty pilot system, including amusing comment and remarks on the change in status of the former ship purveyors, partly displaced by the house compradores of individual firms at Hongkong. His account covers interesting arrangements regarding trade, details of stowing and transhipping, etc., and supplies several reproductions of such trade and customs documents as import and export manifests and a Canton port clearance. Similar forms were used at other ports. For procedure in connection with tonnage dues see the same book, 166-167.

²¹Morse states that in the first third of the nineteenth century two-thirds of the foreign trade at Canton was in English hands. Most of the remainder was American. (*The Golds of China*, pp 81-82. An important background work.) Numerous interpretations and statements of tendencies in shipping are included in other chapters of the present work, they may be located by reference to the index.

importance of American shipping, in connection with chief ports from which vessels came and those to which they went. In the columns of totals some trips to and from "scattering" ports are omitted ²²

Total	From American	Place	To	Total	American
16		Europe		79	
47	5	Liverpool, etc		20	
69	2	Bombay		29	
8	4	Calcutta		14	4
23	6	Penang, Singa- pore, and Straits		15	7
13	13	New York		40	39
4		Rotterdam, etc		14	
25		Copenhagen		15	
12		Hamburg		19	
23	19	Philippine Is		28	14

<u>American Only</u>		<u>American Only</u>
1	Macao	
5	Amoy, Chusan, Ningpo, and Shanghai	12
2	Batavia, Sou- rabaya, etc	2
2	Bali and Lombok	
6	Boston	3
2	Philadelphia	
5	Baltimore and Salem	
2	New Orleans and Mobile	
2	Mexico	2
3	Callao and Lima	1
1	Valparaiso	
3	Sandwich Islands and Polynesia	1

In this year much attention was attracted by the arrival of Forbes' *Midas*, a small twin-screw schooner of John Ericsson design. It was employed, for arrival of the *Midas*, the outer anchorage of the Canton River. It was sunk in 1846 while on a salvage venture to the Philippine Islands ²³

According to the Commercial Relations (I, 524) there arrived at Canton in 1854 a total of 320 vessels (154,157 tons), of which the British had 137 (88,795 tons) and the Americans 65 (or 66), of something more than 45,000 tons. A comparative idea of American shipping, in relation to other flags than the British, may be obtained from the following figures. Dutch, 23 (10,427 tons); Spanish, 21 (6,344); Peruvian, 18 (6,268); and Hamburg, 15 (3,274). There were vessels under twelve other flags. An interesting arrival in this year (December 12) was the American bark *Palmetto* (292) from Sitka. By 1854 the trade with California was steadily increasing. It has been noticed in other connections that there was a marked desire at this time for the right to use the United States colors on locally-built tonnage employed in local trade ²⁴.

In 1856, 46 American vessels entered from, and 56 cleared for, the following places (or were sold).

²² Chin Repos, XV, 165-172. A slight variation from these figures for American shipping will be noted in Appendix 4 C. The figures from The Chinese Repository probably include additional vessels from the end of the preceding, or the beginning of the succeeding, year.

No other American vessels were from the United States, but one non-American vessel cleared for New York. If others went to the United States, they did so indirectly. Figures appear also in Consular Returns of British Trade with China, For the Year 1845 (Hongkong, 1846). In the same series for 1847 figures are given for all arrivals, 512 (125,926 tons)—of which 221 were British (88,876 tons) and 60 or more were American. 7 were Dutch.

Of non-American vessels lying at anchor at Whampoa at one time in January, 1852 (19 British, 2 Dutch, 5 Peruvian, 1 French, 1 Norwegian, and 1 Siamese), 6 were for California and 2 were for the West Coast of South America. Each Peruvian vessel had an American house as consignee at Canton—Nye, Parkin and Company (West Coast), King and Company (West Coast), and Russell and Company (California).

Comparative figures should be read with tonnage in mind, as well as the number of vessels, and a realization that profit was governed partly by another (unrecorded) factor—speed.

²³ R. B. Forbes, Notes on Ships of the Past, 23. On the interest of experts see Chin Repos, XIV (1845), 248. See also Forbes' "Personal Memoranda", in Proc. Mass Hist Soc, Vol 7 (1863-1864), pp 410-417, with reference to his pioneering in the sending of steam vessels to the Orient (*Midas*, Edith).

The steamer *Willamette* (590, or 414, tons), used locally in China, had operated on the Astoria route on the Columbia River, at least in 1851. Being too expensive she was sent to San Francisco and then to China. Originally she had been sent from the East to the Pacific with a ship's bottom built under her (Wright, Lewis & Dryden's Marine Hist of the Pac Northwest, 35.)

²⁴ With reference to 90 British vessels in this year, it was reported that 26 entered in ballast (18 clearing in ballast), and that of 47 country (India) ships 20 came in ballast (10 clearing thus) (The Hongkong Government Gazette, N. S., I, No 3, July 21, 1855, correcting an earlier report.)

<u>From</u>	<u>Port</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Port</u>	<u>To</u>
2	New York	10	5	India	1
9	E Coast (China)	14	3	Great Britain	3
8	San Francisco	1	Boston		2
6	Hongkong	14	2	Whaling	1
5	Manila	3	2	Oregon	
			1	Siam	1

—and one each from Melbourne, Batavia, and Callao, and one to Valparaiso, five were sold

1856, During all of 1857 and part of 1858; trade was disrupted

In the last quarter of 1858, of nine American vessels entering, seven were from Hongkong, eight were in ballast. Five American vessels left for Hongkong (in ballast), three for New York (with cargo of \$352,678), and two were left in port. The Overland Friend of China (July 10, 1858) mentions 30,929 tons of shipping lying at Whampoa—British, 20,835, American, 4,527, and the rest under seven other flags

In 1859, most of the American tonnage entering during the first three quarters came from Hongkong. Figures showing the relative importance of various points of departure and destinations may be compared with earlier figures. Some tonnage continued "in port".

1859,

<u>From</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>To</u>
22	Hongkong	8	1	Ningpo	
3	Shanghai	2	1	Foochow	1
1	Amcy	1	Mamla		1
	New York	11	1	Pechili (Gulf)	
2	Macao	4	2	San Francisco	
4	Bombay		London		1
1	Japan		Havana		1

In the second half of 1860 there were entries of 406 vessels (120,098 tons), according to one comparative set of figures (540, of 178,582 tons, according to another) Used simply for the sake of general comparison, these statistics show the position of American merchantmen. The classification used in this case divides vessels into British, British river steamers and lorchas, American, American river steamers, and sundry. Of the total, sixty-six (36,028) were British, sixty-three (8,487) were British river steamers and lorchas, twenty-five (20,536) were American, 206 (or, according to Appendix 4 C, 239—39,468) were American river steamers, and

forty-six (16,698) were sundry. Many vessels entered or cleared in ballast. Of entries, 134 (57,483) were in ballast, of which forty-seven (28,770) were British, eighteen (15,870) were American, two (256) were British river steamers and lorchas, and thirty-three (3,148) were American river steamers. As against 404 departures (106,027) with cargo, there were 124 (64,202) in ballast. Of these, forty-five (28,513) were British and twenty-three (18,710) were American. American river steamers nearly always had cargo outward

According to figures presented in Appendix 4C, eighty-one American vessels, of 36,929 tons, entered at Canton in 1845. In 1860 the number was seventy-one, of 59,220 tons. The number of entries dropped, but the tonnage rose. Although there were fluctuations and temporary disturbances, American shipping remained in much the same position, with reference to British and other shipping, which it had long held. The amount of American river tonnage was notable.

Canton: Imports and Exports

In considering figures of the import and export trade of Canton it is always necessary to keep in mind the large, and officially unrecorded, import of Factors Condition—opium,²⁵ and the use of specie by the Statistics for purchases. Another con- of Imports: Opium, sideration is the fact that Specie, Hongkong the existence of facilities Purchases, and for sending goods up from Smuggling Re- Hongkong reduced the amount exports; Com- landed at Canton as American peting Ports goods before sale to native dealers. American shipping introduced large quantities of imports originating in other parts of Eastern Asia and the Pacific, with the result that imports on American vessels may not be regarded as synonymous with American imports, although the country of production of most of the articles in the detailed lists reported can be identified. Appendix 4C indicates the more important commodities. Existing facilities for smuggling to Canton (and some other ports) from Hongkong and Macao permitted a statistical leakage which seems to have been considerable. From Canton there were re-exports of cotton or manufactures of cotton and wool to other ports of China, under customhouse certificates of payment of import duties. In 1846 there were re-exported (probably to

²⁵Cf chapter 11, above, Section 5, on opium

Shanghai) raw cotton (8,800 piculs), white cotton shirtings (44,184 piculs), and broad woollens (11,180 chang, of eleven feet, nine inches each) Canton export figures were modified year by year as Shanghai drew off silk exports, as other ports attracted the Bohea (pron Bo-hee) teas and those of Chekiang and Anhwei Provinces, and as the effects of war and rebellion made themselves felt At the end of the period Hankow also became a considerable tea port Habit was strong, however, and many goods still flowed to Canton²⁶

At this port definite commercial practices evolved and formed a part of the setting for trade The Canton Consular Letters at the end of 1846 and

Trade Methods the beginning of 1852 supply and most of the following facts

Procedure October, November, and December were generally the most active months, especially in the American trade Insurance on exports to the United States varied In 1846 it ranged from 1½ to 2% if effected in the United States and was 2½ if arranged in China or in India In the winter of 1857–1858 rates were high as a result of the added fire risk

In 1846 freight to the United States brought from \$16 to \$20 a ton of forty cubic feet In 1852²⁷ freights to New York brought \$8 and \$10, to California \$10 to \$12 a ton of forty cubic feet, for tea, and \$12 to \$15, for silk, and to England £10 to £3 a ton of fifty cubic feet In that year Chinese passengers for San Francisco paid from \$35 to \$40 each In 1846, commissions for purchasing and shipping were 3%, and for endorsing and negotiating bills on London they were 1%

Goods were bought from hong merchants or tea brokers for cash or on two months' credit The statement for 1852 mentions direct exchange for foreign goods as one substitute

for cash purchases Import goods were sold at Canton duty paid and at two months' credit, 2% discount being allowed for cash Opium was deliverable at Cumsingmoon According to earlier descriptions, duties on exports of tea were usually paid by the seller, for the sake of convenience, and were included in the price Both black and green teas paid two and a half cents a pound or two and a half taels (the tael being rated by the consul at \$1.50) on each picul (133½ pounds) The Chinese sellers received the tea in packhouses, weighed and marked them, and at their own risk placed them on vessels at Whampoa The season for sale and shipment began in July Silk piece goods paid a duty of twelve cents a pound and raw silk ten cents²⁸ Wrote Consul Forbes (1846).

"Under the new system prices are higher than during the time of the British Company and also higher than prior to the treaties . . . to be attributed chiefly to greater competition among buyers and to a demand for returns for the increased importations"

It is impossible to give a detailed price history, but occasional figures are included as an indication of the range of values

The smooth functioning of the mechanism of trade at Canton owed much to the method of leaving a large part of the arrangements to the practical-minded

Chinese Facility Chinese Especially conspicuous in the mechanics was the compradore system of Trade; the term, on which much has been written The compradore was at first a combination of steward and purser for the foreign merchant, on whom he sometimes spied His usual connection with a native mercantile and banking firm facilitated transactions In his employ was a shroff, charged with the physical management of moneys In spite of changing

²⁶Attention has been paid not only to American consular figures but also to such publications as Consular Returns of British Trade with China, for individual years from 1845 to 1848, published at Hongkong This and other items enclosed with American consular letters, though scattered, form a good library of uncommon sources

²⁷"Monthly Report for the Mail and Prices-Current", No 26, Canton, Jan 28, 1852 The premium on sycee was one and one-half taels, gold stood at \$21.75

²⁸Canton CL, Forbes to Buchanan, No 46, Dec 31, 1846 A statement in No 40, Jan 13, 1846, however, sets the figure at \$10 a picul on raw silk and \$12 on silk goods Duties were specific, usually from 5 to 10 per cent on the cost in the United States, for imports, ginseng, however, paid 10 cents a pound (For the attempt to approximate 5% see Art X of the British Treaty of Nanking) For detailed schedules of duties note the annexes to the treaties After 1845 the recording of exports was largely changed from packages to pounds (Forbes estimated that to August, 1845, export duties at Canton—included in the price of goods—were 20% Noting a drop, to 5 or 10%, of a similar levy on imports, the consul pointed to supposedly heavy internal taxes as an obstacle to accurate determination of the total burden on goods, 28-2, H [Ex] Doc 73, 231) For the American tariff on imports into the United States see above, p 16

conditions the compradore remained as an essential link in the chain of commercial operations.²⁹ Mercantile attentiveness to detail possibly owed something to early reliance on oral agreements, when neither party could understand the writing of the other and each had to make his own separate notes--a commercial manifestation of what, in these pages, has been called the "translation problem."

Leading imports into
Imports, Canton from the United States
1845 and 1846 in 1845 and 1846 follow:

	<u>1845</u>	<u>1846</u>
Jeans (pieces)	15,231	30,119
Drills (pieces)	145,850	407,212
Sheetings (pieces)	364,344	31,682
Skins (pieces) (otter and beaver)	8,929	11,646
Bread (barrels) (Meats)		18,903
Lead (piculs)	29,086	7,694
Silver	\$496,000	\$50,950

Among the other items brought in were cotton (5,967 bales in one quarter), copper, locks, glass, and muskets.³⁰ British figures show noticeable quantities of some American (and other) re-exports (1846) from Canton to Shanghai and other ports of China--long ells, raw cotton and cotton yarn, cotton shirtings, cotton cloth, woollens etc.

Exports (other than teas) from Canton to the United States from September 1, 1845 to August 31, 1846 included

Exports these articles

Article	Unit	Quantity	Average Price per Picul (duty included)
Pongees	Pieces	61,255	\$ 5 20 to \$ 6 80
Handkerchiefs, silk	"	55,277	3 25 " 4 00
Levantine handker- chief's	"	500	2 25 " 3 10
Sarsenets (fine lining silk)	"	7,267	5 50 " 11 50
Satin	"	2,216	8 90 " 11 00
Senhaws	"	4,909	6 90 " 10 75
Satin Levant- times	"	874	10 00 " 15 00
Satin Damasks	"	493	17 00 " 20 00
Crepe Shawls and Scarfs	"	146,344	1 50 " 70 00
Crepes	"	218	8 00 " 16 00
Gauze		247	
Sewing Silk	Piculs	157	2 50 " 5 00 lb
Raw Silk	"	424	2 50 " 5 00 "
Grass Cloth	Boxes	561	5 00 " 20 00 piece
Nankeens	"	678	60 " 80 "
Pearl Buttons	"	220	06 " 12 gr
Rhubarb	"	1,371	20 00 " 65 00 picul
Camphor	"	2,242	11 00 " 17 00 "
Vermillion	"	281	57 00 " 60 00 "
Oil of Cassia	"	176	160 00 " 230 00 "
Oil of Anise	"	173	105 00 " 135 00 "
Sweetmeats (ginger)	"	4,541	10 " 12 lb
Chinaware	"	775	
Firocrackers	"	26,010	40 " 80 box of 40 packs
Cassia	Piculs	7,814	9 90 " 10 60
Matting	Rolls	25,651	06 " 16 yd
Split Rattans	Bundles	1,568	14 00 " 22 00 picul
Fans, and Fire Screens (embroidered)		1,391	

²⁹ Williams, *Chin Com Guide*, 161-162 Kuang Yung Pao's "The Compradore Has Position in the Foreign Trade of China" (*The Economic Journal*, XXI, Dec., 1911, 656-641) includes useful social and racial observations, and treats instructively such topics as the compradore's origin (from the time of early Spanish trade), changing status, disadvantages, international cultural influence, economic character, and probable future. Originally a purchaser for the foreign trade, the compradore came to render service to purely Chinese concerns.

For mention of a chamber of commerce at Canton see 181n, above.

³⁰ Date with 3 Canton CL, Forbes to Buchanan, No. 46, Dec 31, 1846 In Com Rels , III, 372-374, appear figures for annual imports and exports in the United States trade, 1845-1852, note also 35-1, H Ex Doc 123, 106-108, and Chin Repos , XVI (1847), 314-320 American drills, sheetings, and jeans were priced in 1852 at \$6.60, \$2 45, and \$2 25, respectively, per piece (presumably not exceeding the 50 in width and the 40 yds in length mentioned in the tariff).

In 1845, 158 British vessels and 60 Hongkong lorchas imported into Canton goods with an estimated value (in Spanish currency) of \$10,715,502 (including \$322,568 in treasure). The estimated value of exports in 181 British vessels and 24 lorchas was nearly twice as much--\$20,754,018. No direct trade with the United States in British vessels was listed, but much was carried on with other Asiatic and Pacific ports. Of the \$3,825,760 worth of goods imported in British ships and lorchas in 1847 the sum of \$4,198,089 represented British manufactures.

Prices varied from month to month, notably in the case of cassia. With the addition of teas, aniseed, gamboge, cane, soy, etc this list of exports serves for several years. By 1851 silk piece goods were sent to California.

For the same period in 1845-1846 teas sent to the United States were of the following kinds, amounts, and average prices (export duty included) per picul (1846), prices per pound (about the end of 1845) being added also:

Green

Young Hyson	9,253,172 lbs	24 to 60	taels (picul)	30 to 50¢ (lb.)
Hyson	998,674 "	32 "	50 "	40 " 65 "
Hyson Skin and				
Twankays	2,796,205 "	14 "	32 "	22 " 42 "
Gunpowder	1,321,121 "	30 "	60 "	40 " 70 "
Imperial	891,286 "	27 "	57 "	38 " 68 "

Black

Souchong and Congou	3,338,015 "	12 "	16 "	13 " 40 "
Pekoe	28,147 "	25 "	40 "	24 " 40 "
Orange Pekoe	57,508 "	14 "	18 "	20 " 35 "
Oolong	478,883 "	18 "	40 "	28 " 40 "
(Pouchong also a black tea)				
Total				
Pounds -----	20,167,563 ³¹			

³¹ Canton CL, Nos 40, Jan 13, 1846, and 46, Dec 31, 1846. According to *The Chinese Repository*, XVIII (1849), 296ff, total imports into Canton in 1847 in all foreign vessels were \$9,625,760 and total exports were \$15,721,940 (against which may be set corresponding figures for Shanghai of £1,009,229 and £1,517,298, figured at 4s 4d to the dollar). The Canton trade for 1846 was much less—imports \$6,534,597, and exports \$8,653,033.

Particular attention should be drawn to Williams' excellent and diverting descriptions of the different articles of import and export, in *Chin Com Guide*, 79ff. Drawing on I. Heddle's writings and, doubtless, on considerable personal knowledge, Williams describes the origin of the names of the different teas and silks, classifies the grades and types exported to different countries, comments trenchantly on the terrible living and working conditions of Chinese who produced the beautiful silk manufactures, and offers helpful facts concerning demand and prices of various commodities. In no better way could an intimate idea of local and foreign trade in Eastern Asia be gained than by perusal of his sketches. (A careful description of Heddle's technical observations on the growth and manufacture of silk appeared in *Hunt's Merch Mag*, Vol 15, July-Dec., 1846, p 145.)

Williams points out that the amount of raw silk produced for Chinese consumption was enormous and that, in spite of the vast increase in exports during the fifties, the average of prices was lower than when the export was but a fourth as much. Values depended chiefly upon the home market, "little or no effect being produced by the foreign exportation, except among speculative holders at the ports." The silks sent to England were apt to be of finer (Nanking) grade than those shipped to the United States ("principally Canton kinds, Kom-chuk and Keulong"). Nanking silks (named not from the city of Nanking but by an elision of Nantsin-king, the thread of Nantsin, the part of a city in northwestern Chekiang where the silkmen lived) went from Shanghai. (For differences in details see *ibid*, 137-138.)

Speaking of the steadiness of prices of silk goods of equal quality during many years, the same writer observes that goods of low cost were shipped at the expense of quality. There was an immense consumption in America of dress goods, "but for the impossibility of inducing the Chinese to use improved machinery" these might have taken the place of French silks in that market. Lack of evenness and finish of the Chinese product was not regarded as sufficiently offset by its cheapness and superiority of material. Accordingly, high-cost Chinese fabrics were avoided, the export consisting chiefly of dress silks, which were cheap and durable.

Tea was China's most valuable and important export. It was cultivated in all the provinces south of the Yellow River. The foreign names given to teas (chiefly from localities of growth or collection) changed frequently, those applied by the Chinese were usually descriptive—e.g., pekoe ("white hair"), hyson, or hichun ("bright spring"). The congou tea alone was produced in eight varieties for foreign demand, "each presenting an almost endless diversity of quality." Imitations and adulterations were frequent, although Williams recognized a large degree of mercantile honesty among the manufacturers. For the process of scenting see *ibid*, 146-147; pages 142-146 describe different teas in detail. During the latter part of this period tea exports increased, but as a result of disturbances in the tea districts and the difficulty of bringing the article to port the quality of the leaf deteriorated.

Tea exports from Canton to the United States in the year ending June 30, 1849 were 13,634,450 pounds of green (chiefly hyson) and 4,875,564 pounds of black (chiefly souchong and congou). Prices showed a tendency to decline ³²

Tea to the United States, at the beginning of the new 1848-1849 decade were twice as numerous as those going to Boston

At this time Canton was regarded as still leading Shanghai in general tea exports, although not in silk. Some persons felt that Canton had already lost its general primacy to Shanghai, however, it retained its chief place as the mart for the India trade ³³.

In 1856, American imports at Canton exceeded a million and a half dollars in value. Articles amounting to \$20,000 or more were drills (\$546,423), American Imports, sheetings (\$228,332), ginseng (\$192,681), lead (\$122,913), quicksilver (\$107,640), gold bars (\$50,000), gold dust (\$37,830), silver bars (\$34,370), copper (\$23,700), coal (\$23,407), and lumber (\$20,000) ³⁴.

Beginning about this time, the export of manufactured silks to the United States

Decrease in American Purchases of Manufactured Silks

from China generally showed a decline. Up to 1861 the annual value of these exports was about \$1,800,000, thereafter it moved almost to the vanishing point. Some of the crepe shawls and scarfs sent to the United States were re-exported to Mexico and South America. The demand for embroidered goods, which had decreased early in the period (to 1847), continued to rise ³⁵. Raw silk exports increased

From 1856 to the end of the period, trade suffered from many military and economic disturbances. In the winter of 1857-1858 there was little or no trade at Canton. In 1858 American vessels brought Trade Disturbed in Later Years from India, Siam, and Singapore. During the year ending September 30, 1859, trade was still depressed on account of military activity, the British and French occupation of Canton, and the interception by ruffians of tea in transit from the interior. In that year American vessels brought imports amounting to \$1,235,110 and took away from Canton exports of \$1,746,517 ³⁶. The latter figure may be better understood if it is compared

It was remarked at the time that use of black teas in various places succeeded that of the green, which were preferred in newly settled communities (Latourette refers, in his *Early Relations*, p 77, to the steadily growing demand in the United States in the first third of the century for better grades of tea, the increasing ability to buy, and the rising proportion of green tea taken) Naturalists had shown that although there were two or more species of *Thea*, black or green tea could be made from either, and that "the state of the leaf, the qualities of the soil, the degree of heat applied, and the foreign ingredients employed in the manipulation" explained the difference (Fortune was surprised to find that all the tea plants in certain provinces were one and the same—*Thea sinensis*—, commonly called the green tea plant, and that all yielded both black and green teas. Both of these also came from the *Thea Bohemica* (*Chin. Reps.*, XVI, 1847, p 583). It was once thought by foreigners that the metallic taste and the special hue of green tea resulted from drying on copper plates, but the hue actually was produced by artificial coloring introduced by the Chinese in imitation of their "partially dried and delicate green teas designed for home consumption."

³² *Canton CL*, Forbes to Clayton, No 51, Dec 18, 1849, encl

³³ La Gravière, *Voyage en Chine*, I, 320ff, with details, the reason for heavy imports of coarse Bombay cotton, and the effect of cotton production in Chinese provinces farther north. This writer suggests the difference of British and American interests, as between Canton and Shanghai, with the development of California—much closer to Shanghai than Suez was to Hongkong. He includes remarks on the Philippine, Dutch, and French trade

³⁴ *Canton CL* Some other items in the long list were liquors, fish, beef and preserved meat, ice, timber, cordage, turpentine, oakum, copper nails, canvas, spelter, powder, and dollars (\$15,000). Several of these items were ships' supplies. For details of articles imported, and for a list of exports to the United States in the second half of 1855 see *Com. Rels.*, I, 525. Mexican and Spanish dollars were prominent, and gold bars in 1854 and 1855 exceeded half a million dollars in value

³⁵ Williams, *op cit*, 157-158 Comparative figures of trade are sometimes hard to adjust, and can only be used as indications of tendencies

In 1854-1855 the raw silk exportation to England from China was 51,500 bales (about 41,000 piculs). At that time the best quality brought from \$280 to \$360 a picul (*Ibid*, 187). In the latter part of the period the average annual export of raw silk (apparently from China generally) was 78,000 bales. At Shanghai the best tsatlee (one of the superior "Wanking" varieties) ranged from 400 to 450 taels (equivalent to \$525-\$600 at Canton). Failure of a crop in Europe occurred at a time when China was least prepared to supply the deficiency

³⁶ *Canton CL*, Perry to Cass, No 8, Oct 9, 1859

with American exports of nearly ten and one-half million dollars in 1847. By the autumn of 1860 customhouse returns showed that the port was gradually recovering from its three years of trial. In spite of much British commercial activity, American trade was doing well.³⁷ Principal exports to the United States were tea, cassia, firecrackers, and matting. In 1860, imports at Canton were above \$18,400,000 (opium being legal) and exports exceeded \$16,200,000.

A sharp decline, however, was imminent. Already hard hit by the local disorders of earlier years and by the competition of other coastal ports, Canton almost immediately felt the effect of the opening of Hankow, far up the Yangtze River. Its trade statistics exhibited absolute as well as comparative losses. In 1860, 263,000 piculs of tea were exported, but the figure soon dropped to a small fraction of this amount. The import of cotton piece goods fell. Tonnage dues as prescribed by recent treaty arrangements ended the earlier exemption of foreign vessels which imported rice, and damaged that form of foreign commerce, thereafter rice was usually transshipped at Hongkong into native craft. In 1865 total imports were down to \$7,900,000 and exports to \$13,500,000.³⁸

These figures must be qualified. They represent that share of the trade passing through the foreign customhouse at Canton which was carried on by foreigners in foreign vessels. It has been seen that at Canton and other ports native traders

Figures absorbed many dealings formerly profitable to foreigners. Hongkong was a great Statistics purchasing center for the Chinese; much smuggling reduced figures for imports which might otherwise have been a part of the commerce entering through the native customhouse.³⁹ Even after legalization of opium imports, much of

this drug going to Canton was smuggled. An estimate of the total ocean trade of this or any other port of China at the time is practically impossible. Calculations are uncertain, and foreign and coast traffic cannot be precisely divided. Some of the trade was without oversight by any consulate. Writes Williams:

"... In 1836, when the entire trade was centred at Canton, the total value of the import trade, goods, opium and treasure, was reckoned at \$38,597,358, and the export in the three articles of tea, silks, and treasure, at \$35,257,148, leaving less than four millions for sundries. In 1844, the total was underestimated by Mr[] Robert Thom at fifty millions, by at least ten millions of dollars. A rough estimate at the close of the season 1854-1855, gave the entire total of the China trade at about 125 millions of dollars."⁴⁰

The Canton trade had ceased to be synonymous with that of China.

Figures for the general commerce of Canton, and the American portion of it in the second half of 1860 illustrate the way in which Occidental and Asiatic American Trade commodities were mingled in the Second Half of 1860 lists and figures which have Given in Detail been given for earlier years. The following list of exports includes almost exclusively (1) names of commodities of which American ships took portions and (2) those (regardless of the flags under which they were shipped) which Exports reached a value of \$10,000 or over. Commodities in this second group in which American vessels were interested are underscored. Quantities and values running to more than \$10,000 allow an easy calculation of average unit prices. Fractions are omitted, as well as some other features of the extremely detailed table which

³⁷ 5 Canton CL, Perry to Cass, No 5, Sept. 20, 1860

³⁸ Consular figures, and Denny, *Treaty Ports*, 199. Imports and exports of the second half-year were larger than those of the first six months, particularly in the case of exports. Williams states that the opening of the Yangtze trade in 1860 greatly increased the amount of capital and shipping employed but that the imports and exports did not grow proportionately.

Tonnage dues totalled more than \$200,000 (river steamers included), of which American tonnage paid well over half. Import duties were about a third more, Americans paying about the same proportion. Export duties were more than twice those on imports, the British being responsible for about three-fourths of the total and the Americans for about one-fifth.

³⁹ In native, as distinguished from "foreign", customhouses see Morse, *Trade and Admin*, 111, and 400-401.

⁴⁰ Chin Com Guide, 151. Williams gives an estimate of the entire trade of China for the year ending June, 1862, as follows: tea, \$55,000,000; silk, \$35,000,000, opium, \$68,000,000, raw and manufactured cottons, \$27,000,000, and remaining imports and exports, \$37,000,000—totalling \$200,000,000. "The Chinese coast trade and that to Siam, Japan, Manila, Java, and India, are so connected with the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, that the estimates here given have not been, and cannot be gathered from the Customs' returns, but have been derived from those parties who have a general knowledge of the course and value of the commerce."

has been drawn on. Figures for goods taken by American vessels do not indicate necessarily all the goods taken to the United States. Some cargoes taken by them went exclusively to non-American ports. In the cases of a few of the more important commodities, initials exhibit the relative order of the different amounts taken by four groups of

vessels (A, American, B, British, R-L, river steamers and lorchas, and S, sundry).⁴¹ There were included sixty-one British vessels (31,810 tons), seventeen American (14,522), thirty-one sundry (8,587), and 295 passages (50,108) of river steamers and lorchas. The total export was valued at \$10,678,511.

<u>Article</u>	<u>Total Amount</u>	<u>Value(\$)</u>	<u>Order</u>
Aniseed Star			
Arsenic			
Artificial Flowers			
Bamboo Ware			
Bone Ware			
Birds' Nests, 1st quality	4 piculs	10,318	
Brass Buttons	170 "	11,911	
" <u>Foil</u>	307 "	16,818	
" <u>Ware</u>	955 "	32,470	
<u>Canes</u>	563,789 pieces	22,551	S,B,R-L,A
Caps (cloth)			
Cardamoms			
<u>Cassia Ligneaa</u>	3,838 piculs	63,913	R-L,S,A,B
China Root			
<u>China Ware</u>	59,900 pieces 1,087 piculs (Amer., 138 piculs)	30,591	S,B,A,R-L
Clothing	265 piculs	17,107	
Corals			
" Imitations			
<u>Crackers, Fire Works</u>	16,104 "	193,254	A,R-L,B,S
Drums			
Earthenware			
" , Other	324,928 pieces	5,505	B,A
Fans, Feather			
" , Gauze			
" , Palmleaf	1,769,900 "	35,398	A,R-L,S
Galangal			
Ginseng, Clarified	356 piculs	53,408	
<u>Glass Bangles</u>	656 "	26,592	R-L,B,A
" Beads			
" Ware	610 "	18,302	
Glue			
<u>Grass Cloth</u>	46 "	13,839	
Guitar Strings			
Hatwall			
Hats, Pith			
" , Rattan			
" , Straw	206,057 pieces (Amer., 202,205)	22,936	
Hemp			
" Cloth			
" Cord			

⁴¹Returns enclosed by the consulate, in 5 Canton CL,—Returns of the Import and Export Trade, at the Port of Canton, For the Half-Year ended 31st December, 1860

In the year ending June 30, 1901, exports from Canton to the United States were chiefly mattings, silk

<u>Article</u>	<u>Total Amount</u>	<u>Value(\$)</u>	<u>Order</u>
Indigo, Dry			
Ivory Ware	23 piculs	14,322	
Joss Sticks			
Kittysols	844 "	10,406	
Lacquered Ware	514 "	25,704	R-L,B,A
Leather Ware			
Lung-nan (Seeds)	2,257 "	19,204	
Mattting	22,938 "	183,512	A,B,S,R-L
Medicines			
Mother-of-Pearl Ware			
Musk	2 "	18,760	
Nankeens	146 "	11,872	
Nut-galls			
Oil-Cassia			
Paper	1,377 "	19,766	
Paper Ware	1,189 "	17,184	
Pictures, Rice Paper			
Pewter-Ware			
Preserves	6,366 "	76,400	S,B,A,R-L
Rattans			
Rattan Ware			
Rhubarb	275 "	11,039	
Sandalwood Ware			
Scales			
Seeds, Lucraban			
Shoes			
<u>Silk, Coarse</u>	3,226 "	264,194	B,A,R-L
	(2,714 piculs to Bombay direct,		
	512 piculs to Hongkong, for		
	Great Britain, the Continent,		
	and Bombay)		
Silk, Cocoons (All to U S , 23 piculs)			
" , Clothing	60 piculs	48,540	
" , Handkerchiefs			
" , Pce Goods	1,885 "	1,319,773	R-L,A,B
" , Raw	3,963 "	1,624,998	R-L,B,A
	(2,872 to Hongkong, for Great Britain, etc ,		
	633 to Bombay direct, 402 to U S , and		
	55 to Japan)		
" , Refuse (All to Great Britain direct, 124, and U S , 7)			
" , Ribbons	40 piculs	20,425	
" , Thread	79 "	44,020	R-L,A
" , Thrown	76 "	41,074	R-L,A
	(All to Hongkong, 52, and U S , 23)		
" and Cotton Mixture	140 piculs	30,941	
" Fans			
" Fish Lines			
<u>Silverware</u>	4 piculs	3,814	
Soy	5,195 "	23,429	B,S
Stonework			
Sugar Candy	5,833 "	54,843	B,R-L
" , White	22,567 "	135,525	S,A,B
Tea, Black	184,961 "	5,405,322	B,R-L,A
" , Green	11,625 "	329,234	B,R-L,A,S

(raw, waste, and filature), wooden wares, cassia, chinaware, fans, firecrackers, paper, preserves, rattan wares, silk piece goods, tea, and "sundries"--valued at \$5,832,577 98 (57-1, S Doc 411, 59)

<u>Article</u>	<u>Total Amount</u>	<u>Value(\$)</u>	<u>Order</u>
Tin Plateware			
Tortoise Shell Ware			
Toys			
<u>Vermilion</u>			
Wax, White	582 piculs	40,769	S,R-L,B,A
" , Yellow			
Wood, Sandal			
" , Ware	1,794	25,111	S,R-L,B,A

Imports for the same six months had an estimated value of \$6,285,349--in sixty-six British vessels, twenty-five American, forty-six sundry, and 269 passages of river steamers and lorchas. The values of those articles running to \$10,000 Imports or more are given. It is not profitable to arrange the different groups of vessels in order after single commodities, according to the amounts carried, for in nearly every case the imports in British and American tonnage (merchantmen) were inconsiderable. This was largely true of the "sundry" vessels also. In other words, the river steamers and lorchas dominated the local carrying trade up the river. The only considerable item in the British and American columns was cotton (189,584 + piculs in British tonnage, 82,883 + in American, 28,084+ in sundry, and 13,138+ in river steamers and lorchas.)

<u>Article</u>	<u>Value(\$)</u>
Belts	
Blankets	10,189
Bombazettes	
Brocades, Dyed	43,567
" , Woollen	
Buttons	
Camlets, English	74,781
" , Dutch	
" , Imitation	
Cotton	3,283,030
" , Yarn	449,928
" , Dyed	49,941
" , Fancy	52,916
" , Grey Shirtings	458,579
" , White "	150,985
" , Printed	26,061
Damasks	48,955
" , Drills, Grey	224,976
Flannel	40,920
Ginseng, American	251,087
" , Korean	
Glass, broken	
" , Plate and Window	10,420
Glass Tumblers	

<u>Article</u>	<u>Value(\$)</u>
Habit Cloths	45,650
Handkerchiefs	17,834
Jeans	12,529
Lastings	47,262
Long Cloth	
" Ells	148,268
Lustres	
Matches	
Medium Cloths	23,705
Metals--Iron, Nail Rod and Bar	96,688
" , Hoop and Wire	31,926
" , Nails	
Lead	84,151
Quicksilver	97,242
Spelter	42,839
Steel	
Tin	19,188
" Plates	12,874
Sheetings, American	
Spanish Stripes	145,120
Twills	
T-cloths, 24 yds	152,851
" , 36 "	20,075
Velvets, cotton	17,430
Woollens	23,442
Woollen and Cotton Mixture	

Shanghai: General and Consular

"Shanghai, on the Woosung river, about 12 miles from the sea, stands on a level and highly cultivated plain, and is enclosed by a wall 5 miles in circuit, outside of which are populous suburbs. There are numerous manufacturing establishments in Shanghai, and the native trade at this port is, perhaps, more extensive than at any other in China. The population is supposed to reach about 200,000. The chief manufacturers are flowered silk, of beautiful and delicate texture, glass, paper, ivory and bone, gold and silver, and iron wares. Shanghai is an important entrepot of the commerce between the northern and southern provinces of China, exporting manufactured goods to Tien-tsin, in the metropolitan province of Chi-li, and importing large quantities of pulse, flour, meats, rhubarb, and skins, from the shores of the Yellow sea. An extensive

internal communication by water facilitates its trade with all the northern half of China, and it is stated to have a direct trade with the countries of Central Asia. Its coasting trade is also very extensive—as many as 3,000 junks being often crowded together in its river—from Hainan, Canton, and the Asiatic archipelago. The chief exports of Shanghai to foreign countries are silk, tea, camphor, drugs, cassia, and the best porcelain" (*Commercial Relations*, I, 514.)

Substantial portions of preceding chapters have been devoted to Shanghai. These are too numerous and detailed to permit of restatement in the present Shanghai: Intro- narrative section, but it is difficult and possible to correlate them by Description means of a summary chronology and the employment in text and footnotes of cross-references which lead to such extensions and details as may interest individual readers. As an introduction to this chronology, there follows a preliminary statement of the beginning of the port and a description of some of its features.

Shanghai had acquired trading importance as early as the eleventh century, and much Chinese shipping went to the port according to Pott's A Short History of Shanghai.

History and (p 2), depredations of Japanese pirates in 1554 led to Uncertain enclosure of the city by a Beginnings wall. European contacts began in 1832, with a British visit. Shanghai was captured in 1842 during the Anglo-Chinese war. Europeans knew little of the place before this time. It was opened to trade on November 17, 1843.⁴² In that year the British Captain Balfour was sent as consul. For a short time there seemed to be little encouragement for foreigners to establish themselves, and it was not certain that this place would develop as the feeder of the trade of the Yangtze valley. The approach for navigation was difficult, one of the most dangerous, in fact, at the open ports, and at first there were many collisions and losses of vessels.⁴³ The anchorage was limited, 2,900 feet long and about 1,700 feet wide. Business was slow to move far from the settled establishments in the South of China.

At the end of its first year as an open port Shanghai had but twenty-three foreign "residents and families", eleven merchants' houses, two Protestant missionaries, and one consular flag.⁴⁴ Only forty-four vessels had arrived. A French consul

⁴² Shanghai is located in latitude 31°, 14', 42" N and longitude 121°, 29', 55" E. It is on the same parallel as Charleston, S. Ca., and Alexandria, Egypt. Its province is Kiangsu.

For a comparison of the state of Shanghai in 1846 and 1859 see Alcock's The Capital of the Tycoon, I, 57-58. No IV of The Chinese Miscellany (Shanghai, 1850, a copy being available at Columbia University) gives a general description of the city and its environs, from native sources. A sketch of earlier history appears in Couling's Enc Sin, 506. Shanghai was the port of Soochow, being located at the mouth of the Woosung River, later called Soochow Creek. There has been much change in the waterways of the district. The city is on the west bank of the tidal channel (Whampoo, Whangpu, etc.) leading to the Yangtze-kiang and meeting that river where it debouches into the sea. An idea of the setting may be obtained by consulting the sketch map on p 254, above. For a map of Shanghai in 1855 see Pott, op. cit., p 120. A description of the waterfront after the foreign community was established is given in Robert B. M'Inturn's From New York to Delhi, 27-28. A useful descriptive account of Shanghai and of Chinese office of government appears in Chin Repos, XVI (1847), 529-565. For a sketch relating to the Battle of Muddy Flat, Apr 4, 1854, see the picture facing page 129 of Morse's In the Days of the Taipings. An excellent detailed map of Shanghai in 1855 faces page 454 of the first volume of the same writer's Int Rels. Dennys' (Treaty Ports, 550-413) gives abundant information, including the details of boundaries. Note also Williams, Chin Com Guide, 192. Train reported a number of pulmonary and rheumatic complaints among residents, which were ascribed to rapid changes in the autumn and spring weather. Features of the weather—an important practical consideration—are noted in Taylor's A Visit, 340ff. On the development of Shanghai note particularly Footham, Report to the Shanghai Municipal Council, I, 29ff, and Koteney, Shanghai Its Municipality and the Chinese.

⁴³ For pilot regulations of Dec. 10, 1855 see Com Rels, I, 529ff. Early in 1860 they were superseded by new ones, made necessary, in the judgment of the consuls, by the increase in tonnage and cargoes. On navigation problems and accidents in different years see above, p 140. Interesting facts regarding early foreign piloting and ship repairing may be found in Chapter 1 Cf 4 Shanghai CL, Smith to Cass, No 7, Mar 5, 1860.

⁴⁴ See above, 258, n 6, for 1850 figures—141 adult male foreigners were resident (possibly as many as 175 in all). In 1848 the foreign population was about 100, including representatives of 24 firms—3 American and the rest British. In 1855 there were 243 adult male foreigners, and in 1859, 408. Train, writing in 1856, spoke of a community of about 280, including 4 or 5 "medical gentlemen" (An Amer. Merchant, 126) P 83, above, speaks of American property.

Among the American firms established by 1854 were Russell and Company, A. Heard and Company, Wetmore and Company, Bull, Nye and Company, King and Company (or Smith, King and Company), and Hiram Fogg and Company.

Early Foreign Population, Increasing Attention, Silk Trade, New Consuls arrived in November, 1847.⁴⁵ In 1849 a French settlement was created. Americans began to appear. The facilities of the port for the silk trade attracted increasing attention, particularly as the rebellion later emphasized the advantages of the shorter route to Shanghai. In 1846 the first American there, Henry G. Wolcott, agent of Russell and Company, stressed the need of the presence of a consul, and requested the appointment,

partly as an official convenience to his own mercantile operations.⁴⁶ This was given him (March 30, 1846) by Commodore Biddle, then in charge of the Legation. As at Canton, the foreign settlement sprang up outside the native city, to the north, and later eclipsed it in importance.⁴⁷

In 1848 the (British) settlement contained five stores, twenty-five private residences, a church, a hotel, a clubhouse, gardens, a race course, and a cemetery.⁴⁸ Commissioner Marshall described the exceeding

See also Appendix 2, below, and the names of landholders in 3 Shanghai CL, October 19 and December 7, 1855. The Shanghai Almanack and Directory, for the Year 1856 lists the following persons connected with mercantile establishments

Bull, Nye and Company—C. D. Nye, R. Francis, G. F. Green, T. Place, Jr.
 Hiram Fogg and Company—J. A. Wheelock, C. Reynolds, A. L. Freeman, C. M. Holm, P. Lacy
 Heard and Company—C. A. Fearon, A. F. Heard, E. Deacon, L. Macandrew, E. Stuart
 Reiss and Company—N. Weismann, A. Fineham, W. H. Andrews, R. Goddard
 Russell and Company—E. Cunningham, G. G. Gray, F. Loureiro, G. W. Orne, R. Sturgis, Jr., J. Saur,
 E. B. H. Boyd, F. G. White, F. Loureiro, B. J. Pereira

Wetmore and Company—W. S. Wetmore, W. W. Cryder, T. Rothwell, B. A. Wardwell, D. Barros

(This publication also lists missionaries, by boards)

For a list of foreign firms at Shanghai in earlier years see Chin. Repos., XV (1846), pp. 3-8

Much information is supplied in J. W. Maclellan's The Story of Shanghai from the Opening of the Port to Foreign Trade, or a foreign consul see p. 19, and for mail arrangements (by opium clippers) in earlier years see p. 32. Until opium was legalized, the mails for mercantile firms were taken by the receiving ships at Woosung and sent by pony express to Shanghai. Twenty animals were in use. Arrivals of mails were exciting occasions.

⁴⁵ For a rather extraordinary story of impending slavery in China for the crew of a French whaler and the activities of the French consul at Shanghai see Minges, Recollections, pp. 196-197.

⁴⁶ Cf. p. 57, above. In his Americans in Eastern Asia (195ff.) Demett gives a careful account of the early situation of Americans at Shanghai.

Wolcott had arrived at Shanghai before Gusheng reached China. Just two years before his appointment, however, he had been made vice consul at Ningpo by Consul P. S. Forbes of Canton. Forbes stated that he would have made a similar arrangement at Shanghai had any American established himself there. Cushing's mission reached Macao on Feb. 24, 1844, Wolcott was appointed to Ningpo under date of Mar. 22. If he was at Shanghai before Feb. 24 and if by Mar. 22 Forbes knew of no American established at Shanghai—and yet knew enough of Wolcott's whereabouts to appoint him to Ningpo—it follows that Wolcott probably left Shanghai for Ningpo in the intervening weeks, possibly for but a short time. This supposition assumes the correctness of all dates in various consular papers used.

⁴⁷ The French occupied the space next to the walls, on the north side, being separated from the British concession by a creek called the Yang-king-pang, and ran along the east wall to the river bank. The British settlement reached from the creek named about one mile north to Soochow Creek and westward into the country more than twice as far. (Its area in 1846 was about 830 mow, or 133 acres, extended, on Nov. 27, 1848, by agreement of the British consul and the taotai, to a total of 470 acres.) A large native population grew up there, some of the Chinese seeking the place as a refuge. North of Soochow Creek, and connected with the British area by a drawbridge, lay Hung-kan (Hong-que, or Hongkew), named from a creek leading through it. This section was not a formal concession and had no definite limits, but Americans began informally to settle there and it came to be known popularly as the "American concession." (Attention has already been given the land taken up by Americans and the procedure used. At the outset there was much difficulty with the British regarding this point, and also concerning use of the American flag.) The boundaries of this American area were not arranged until 1863 (1309 acres in 1853). On the occupation of tracts of land, there is comment in Huyssen de Katten-dyke's Le Japon en 1859, 116. On Americans' holdings see 3 Shanghai CL, Murphy to Marcy, Dec. 7, 1855, enclo. Hisia states that, at first, foreign residents probably took whatever quarters they could secure, whether inside or outside the native city. (The Status of Shanghai, 6-7.)

⁴⁸ Lane-Poole, The Life of Sir Harry Parkes, I, 123. At one time California horses were used at Shanghai (Medhurst, The Foreigner in Far Cathay, 24.)

Features and Advantages of Community Life at Shanghai
beauty and great prosperity of Shanghai in 1853, with the fine architectural style of the foreign buildings, its comfortable residences, and its means of living agreeably
The yards and gardens, set with plants and trees, attracted much notice from the Chinese
Merchants had an abundant social life, and the arrangement of the spacious hongs was suitable for entertaining "In a word, one feels as in a prison at Canton, but here he realizes that he is free" At the time of which Marshall wrote, residences for rent were scarce and especially expensive In May, 1853, the five American mercantile firms set the value of their property at \$1,000,000 or more⁴⁹

Chronology

(Selective, with reference to American interests)

1845 Nov 29. Land regulations (followed by others in 1854, amplified in 1869 and 1898) gave foreigners the right to levy rate taxes on land or buildings and wharfage dues, for making roads, buildings, public jetties and bridges; keeping up the physical condition of the settlement, and establishing a police force The regulations were approved by the foreign diplomatic representatives and the chief Chinese local authorities. An Executive Committee exercised authority This was never disputed by the Chinese residents, but foreign taxpayers questioned the Council's and the ratepayers' right to levy and collect taxes and wharfage dues The right was later upheld, as belonging to a body with the right of self-government. In the middle fifties, a young American, George Griswold Grey, who had lost a leg in the attack on the Imperialist camp, was referred to by Train as "mayor", "in connection with two English gentlemen" In 1854, wharfage dues were fixed at one-tenth of one percent of the value of goods passing the customs at Shanghai, collectible

directly by the Council from the foreign importers (For arrangements regarding payments by Chinese merchants and cooperative adjustments see Kotenev, Shanghai: Its Municipality and the Chinese , 92-93
The burden tended to shift to the foreign merchants On early difficulties in securing land, and the devices utilized, see the same writer's Shanghai Its Mixed Court and Council , 4)

1848

Collisions in harbor and recognition of need of a foreign harbormaster Difficulties (involving Americans) regarding the shipping of sugar (169-170)

1850 Late summer Publication of The North-China Herald began

1851

Customhouse regulations, continuing to the time of the foreign inspectorate of customs

Objection of American merchants to inclusion in manifests of additional information which might be useful to the merchant consul (their competitor) (6 China, DD, Sept 24, 1851, Encl G)

British consulate built by an American, Hetherington, in years 1851-1852

Consul Griswold's vigorous action against the Chinese authorities in connection with the seizure of merchandise from the ship Panama Rapidly increasing number of American vessels, and disorganized state of the crews arriving from California, creating severe problems for the consulate Difficulty of controlling sailor outrages (1 Shanghai CL, Griswold to Webster, Dec 1, 1851)

Report that the opposition of the Chinese to Russian participation in the maritime commerce was prompted by a fear that, if permission was given, other foreigners would demand the Russian right of inland trade Suggestion that foreigners had only limited scruples in aiding the

⁴⁹ 34-1, H Ex Doc 125, 100, 150 Part II, above, considers land arrangements at Shanghai For an interesting description of entertainments see Train, op cit , 128-129 Of the 17 ladies, 2 were American The verse of the English traveller Smith was less imaginative than Marshall's prose, he wrote at length and with considerable humor to explain his refusal to accept the universal advice to go from South China to Shanghai—

"Those Chinese tone is confined alone,

To Opium, Silk and Tea "

(To China and Back, 63-64)

	Russians Parker regarded as irregular trade reported cases of entries of Russian import cargoes, and taking of export cargoes, in American vessels at Shanghai (the <u>Nicolaï</u> 1st--?, and the <u>Sitka</u>), and advised discussions with the Russian minister at Washington (6 China DD, Parker to Webster, Sept 24, 1851, referring also to the "Finnish" vessel <u>Fraje</u> , at Shanghai)	1854 Feb (?) U S consulate established in Hongkew, east of Soochow Creek (and later moved to the British settlement on account of the unfavorable situation) (<u>Hsia, The Status of Shanghai</u> , 9 For the embarrassing situation and bad physical state of the American consular building see above, 169.) ⁵⁰
1852	Chinese admission of American freedom from intermediation of the British consulate in securing tracts of land Establishment of American naval depot	Entry on duties (Mar 4—or, possibly, Mar 6) of the new non-merchant consul, Robert C Murphy, eliciting expressions of gratification (According to one account he reached Shanghai on February 15, the Department of State gives the date as February 17) His finances were given an immediate and thorough airing by <u>The North-China Herald</u> (IV, No 188, Mar 4, 1854, p 128), which stated, with reference to the assertion that he was a paid consul "We think the United States merchants should come to his rescue and make such a protest against this 'penny-wise and pound-foolish' system as would effectively raise their Consul above the ten thousand embarrassments that will engulf [sic] him and peril his independent action, if he has to keep up the dignity of official life on a pitance less than that received by many a mercantile assistant."
1853	Attempt to establish a police force at the consulate handicapped by lack of funds at the Department of State (109) (As late as 1858 difficulties continued on account of the lack of a suitable jail) Problem of control of the smuggling of arms to belligerents in Chinese domestic hostilities	(British import trade at Shanghai in particularly unsatisfactory condition, causing losses) Cessation of purchases by the Chinese brokers except in cases in which foreigners were buying back through them goods at prices below cost of production, to be stored again and held for speculation (<u>The North-China Herald</u> , Mar 1, 1854) Commissioner McLane asserted in November, 1854 that the inability and unwillingness of the Imperial authorities to open the interior for the transit of American merchandise caused unexampled accumulation of property at Shanghai and great loss (of interest as well as of value) and led to forced sales At the same time, taxes in the interior
1853-1854	Problems of neutrality during Chinese rebellion, constant unrest and apprehension among foreigners Rebel occupation of Shanghai native city for over a year Ruinous state of the currency (1853-1857) (214 ff , cf <u>Williams, Chin Com Guide</u> , 199) Prolonged difficulties regarding the duty question, destruction of the attractive customhouse, and collapse of the customs administration, leading to the foreign inspectorate and the creation of subsequent problems for the consul, extending to the end of 1858 (226-227, of Appendix II) The taotai Wu refugee with Russell and Company, then the American consulate, native feelings turned against foreigners (Fairbank— <u>Chin Soc and Pol Sci Rev</u> , XVIII, 490-491—says Wu also found shelter in the American Legation and in a boat on the river, after September 24, 1853 he disappeared from the scene for a time)	

⁵⁰ In the Perry Narrative (I, 145) appears a view of the "American Consulate" at Shanghai, which, by comparison with the excellent map of Shanghai (1855) in Morse's Int Rel (I, facing p 454) and the view of the Shanghai bund in 1857 (I, facing p 464), appears to have been the home of Russell and Company Correct for the years when a Russell and Company merchant was consul, this picture does not apply for the period of the non-merchant consuls, the first of whom appeared on the scene during the second visit of the Perry expedition to Japan The map in Morse shows the undesirable Hongkew situation which was soon occupied The account of the consulate used in the present work dates from 1856, when Dr Wood saw it

	were unusual. Because of enhanced cost of money (<i>i.e.</i> , Carolus dollars) the duties paid were up about one-third.	nese population in 1855 was about 20,000.)
	The battle of Muddy Flat occurred early in April, 1854.	In spite of a return of civil order for nearly a month in the spring, unrest continued. The native city was in ruins, unlikely again to attract rebels. According to Murphy, trade was greater than ever before at that time of year (Mar.). Of the 27,000 tons of shipping in the harbor 10,000 tons was American. Abundance and comparative cheapness of teas and silks resulted from clearance of the avenues of trade from the interior.
	New land regulations, July 5. The British, French, and American consuls at Shanghai, acting under instructions of their diplomatic superiors, issued (jointly with the chief Chinese local authority at the port) a new code of municipal and land regulations. The foreign landholders met on July 11 to hear the report of the powerful committee on roads and jetties. The Regulations related to boundaries, acquisition, title deeds, land for public use, Chinese land tax, usages, roads and jetties, assessment on land and wharfage, liquor and public houses, breaches of rules, changes and interpretations. (85-2, <u>S Ex Doc 22, I, 158-165</u>) The prohibition of selling or leasing land to Chinese (Art. XVI of the regulations of 1845) was dropped, because of its unenforceability and its conflict with foreign mercantile interests. ⁵¹	The important work of marking and buoying the river was completed at a cost of about \$20,000, with liberal provision of funds by the Chinese authorities. Maintenance cost was placed at \$3,000 a year. (See <u>Shanghai CL</u> , Murphy to Marcy, Dec 7, 1855.) (By 1859 a new dock was completed on the Hongkew side.)
1855	Murphy's efforts to check new inland taxes on tea (225n). (Regarding Shanghai in the rebellion see above, 180n and 188, and, for difficulties relating to Chinese in the settlement, Koteney, <u>Shanghai Its Mixed Court and Council</u> , 10. The Chi-	1856 Continuance of unrest and apprehension. For example, the situation was quiet in August, but late in December chaos prevailed and fear of the rebels was renewed.
		1857 Among Americans attention was given to the matter of stealing of sailors, producing many suits in consular courts (156n).
		Difficulties between American consulate and other consulates— <u>one</u> (August and September) with the consul for Portugal (Beale) arising from the

⁵¹ Koteney, Shanghai Its Municipality and the Chinese, 27-29. Koteney's remarks suggest that, once again, the "real estate" promoter's interest stood against the general policy of the community. On the land question see MacNeir's Readings, 208-210. Regarding the 1845 and 1854 municipal and land regulations Morse comments at length, in Int Rels, I, 350-355. Under the "Constitution of 1854" a selective representative body exercised control and had compulsory taxing power (See also Koteney, 90ff.). A common police force was created. The former committee on roads and jetties was dissolved. An important public meeting was held on July 11, 1854.

The pages first cited in the work by Koteney contain comments applying both to this period and to following years. He points out that the diplomatic and consular right of dealing with Chinese authorities was preserved from encroachment by the various foreign municipalities which arose in China. Ministers and consuls converted the privilege of representing the municipalities into an unlimited authority contrary to the spirit of the land regulations. To the Chinese, he states, the Shanghai community and council were an anomaly, the treaties gave but one indisputable right—that of foreigners to reside, lease land, and build houses without being confined to the grounds and houses set apart by local authorities and consuls (See, however, Art XVII, Treaty of Wanghia.) The Chinese officials held that the crowding of the settlement by natives was the fault of the foreigners, who admitted the Chinese residents in spite of their own regulations. This author discusses the right of extension of the area used by foreigners. The limits were extended, through diplomatic pressure, in November, 1848, under the plea of "adjustments" of boundaries (an international act of territorial substance suggestive of "rectifications" of frontiers elsewhere), and again in 1893. There was frequent crowding as the native population grew steadily. In the face of constant practical necessity in a specific situation not subject to established precedents, legalistic considerations and justifications seem to have been somewhat unrealistic.

Arnold gives the assessed valuation of the land in the International Settlement, exclusive of improvements, as being over \$200,000,000 silver, in the present century. (Chin Soc and Pol Sci, Rev., VI, No 1, p 57)

	<p>murder of a seaman from the American ship <i>Wandering Jew</i> (182), and another involving the French consul and Russell and Company in connection with a disputed right to tranship rice from the <i>Quickstep</i> (150-151). (For difficulties regarding the taking of coolies on the <i>Wandering Jew</i>, in 1858, see above, 185-197, and for reference to another argument respecting re-export of rice, by Wetmore, Williams, and Company, in 1860, p 151.)</p>	<p>Foreign population (of entire foreign community?), according to an informal census by <i>The North-China Herald</i>, 569 (294 British, 125 American, 59 Indian, and 91 "other") Business was very much at an end and merchants were eager for the departure of the Allied forces (Oct report) <i>Yangtsze Valley trade increasing</i> (Cf Williams, Chin. Com Guide, 206ff) (1863 American and British settlements amalgamated.)</p>
1858	<p>Merchants' dissatisfaction with rapid succession of temporary officers in charge of the American consulate during a short period</p>	<p>The American consulate at Shanghai was moderately fortunate in its relations with the local authorities, but in other respects it was confronted with numerous and vexatious problems, frequently involving large interests and principles and generating much ill-temper Disorders affecting different races were many, as the sketch of judicial cases has shown (94ff.). Pay was insufficient, and special allowances were inadequate The translation problem was particularly acute (e.g., 112-113, above), and illness played a major part in determining the history of the office, as in the case of Murphy From the earlier part of the period, consular officers had occasion to complain of lack of support and naval protection In 1851, for instance, Consul Griswold wrote that during the past few years naval vessels had appeared but twice (of 121 and 145 above, and <i>passim</i>.) Before Shanghai became the nerve center of foreign activities the consulate suffered from its remoteness from the south of China During this period "China" came to mean "Canton" less and less and "Shanghai" more and more Perhaps the isolation of the new port, its comparative freedom from tradition and precedent, the severity of its frontier problems and the vigor of its conflicts of interest were favorable conditions for the development of a lusty and inquiring spirit At any rate, Shanghai became notable as a "liberal center" in Sino-American relations (167) and a unifying force in the spirit of contacts between officials of the two governments Relations were so good that unpleasant exceptions drew special attention ⁵² Some instances of official dislike for foreigners, and the troublesome character of arguments concerning the Carolus dollar, were attributed to the unfortunate "Canton influence". Appendix 1 supplies the names and periods of tenure of the different men who served at Shanghai. At the beginning of</p>
1859	<p>Growing consciousness of the "Yangtsze Valley trade" as a definite commercial opportunity, but with uncertainties of its own (Cf 18 China DD, Williams to Cass, No 5, Feb 12, 1859 Williams also pointed to the rivers of China as a field for the development of steam navigation)</p> <p>Continued increase of new buildings on both sides of Socchow Creek Danger to all foreigners on account of indiscriminate popular indignation at the stealing of coolies for a French ship (See reference, above, in note 50 of ch 11)</p>	
1860	<p>Almost every large city in the province was under rebel control, and Shanghai was virtually in possession of the Allies, a double limitation of Imperial authority According to the American minister (June 29, 1860) the taotai executed Allied orders (cp Canton) and also proclaimed a 50% reduction on duties on English and American goods, alleging that this was done at the insistence of the British consul The Taiping rebels were near Shanghai in August The British naval force was active and American marines were stationed on shore. (Details are given in 5 <i>Shanghai CL</i>, Nov 3, 1860 For many details see Morse, Int Rel's, I, <i>passim</i>) On March 14, 1861 Consul Smith reported the exemption from tonnage duty of vessels from the United States laden entirely with coal (4 <i>Shanghai CL</i>) Chinese population of the settlement, in this year, about 55,000</p>	

⁵² E g , 18 China DD, Ward to Cass, No 4, Feb 24, 1860, regarding coolies Wood (*Fankwei*, 500-501) asserts

Consular Officers at Shanghai, Outstanding Character of R C. Murphy foreign intercourse Commercial Biddle visited Shanghai and established relations with the local authorities⁵³ As at Canton, there was a "Russell and Company period", ending in 1854 Wolcott and Griswold were men of ability, and the latter in particular exerted himself effectively on behalf of American interests. In the later, more complex years he might have proved as distinctly superior a consular officer as he was a business man⁵⁴ Another vigorous Russell and Company member served as his vice for two years Robert C. Murphy, the first political consul, was in office for three years, and by his intelligence and devotion made a record of special distinction Immediately after his arrival, the confused state of affairs plunged him into the midst of complex problems. He is credited with having averted serious hostilities—even a "war"—at this port⁵⁵ He saw some issues through to partial settlement Others persisted beyond his period of service His chief satisfaction must have been in his achievements, for his health suffered and his financial gain was negligible At the end of his work he had five hundred dollars, or less, left to his credit⁵⁶ Problems created or intensified for him by the Legation in regard to customs duties and other matters placed a great tax on his energies There was frequent diffi-

culty in securing the cooperation of his British colleague⁵⁷

Murphy was followed during the larger part of 1857 by William Knapp, acting vice consul In the first quarter of 1858 occurred the succession of Various Tempo four different men, which rary Officers, caused much criticism The 1857-1858, rest of the period was covered by a regular appointee, W L G. Smith, from 1858 W L G. Smith, author of a biography of Lewis Cass, then Secretary of State He served with at least average competence

The history of this consulate during the larger part of the period was characterized by attitudes and policies which imparted a quality of leadership The American Position at Shanghai to the American name In some respects it calls to mind features of the consular work of Harris, at Shimoda

Shanghai: Shipping

Discrepancies between figures, often very detailed, from various sources make it difficult to secure statistical consistency with respect to shipping, Shortcomings of Statistics although tendencies are usually discernible Appendix

that the tactful Lan, who figured in various dealings with Consul Murphy, died the "golden death" (by poison) after his disgrace Note also comment in Appendix 11 on Lan's predecessor, Wu Chien-chang.

⁵³Paullin, Dip. Negocios, 215

The Caleb Lyon of Lyonsdale, New York, mentioned by Hasse (Foreign Affairs, Vol. 2, 920) as consul at Shanghai to 1849, never served Other men were doing the work at the time he accepted an appointment (confirmed on Feb 15, 1847) He "resigned" on Apr 17, 1848

In 1826, the Legation's archives contained no correspondence with the Shanghai consulate during this period. The earliest despatches (to the Department) preserved in the consulate date from August 7, 1856

For the names of some consuls of other nations see Morse, Int. Rels., I, 546-548

⁵⁴Writes (1934) Mr. F. Gray Griswold, his nephew "As a young man he went as supercargo to China on one of my grandfather's ships and was made a partner in Russell & Co. He retired when he had \$500,000 to his credit, as was the custom in those days. He died in Newport R I [.] about 20 years ago leaving about three million" For a French diatribe against Griswold (1851) and the latter's protest against a French territorial concession see p 17 of Cordier's Deux Etablissements Français, the consul was described as "un marchant Américain, reconnu ici pour l'illegalité de ses actes" and "publiquement placé à la tête de la contrebande considérable qui se fait à Shang-hai au détriment du gouvernement Chinois" La Gravière (Voyage en Chine, I, 288-289) wrote of "Mr. Griswold in much more flattering vein, after certain social contacts

⁵⁵In Morse's In the Days of the Taipings The language ascribed to him, perhaps imaginatively, is that of an Irish-American Cf ibid., p xi, ch XVI, and pp 118, 127, 152, 160-161, on the affair of the Compton see pp 122-127.

⁵⁶55-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 627-629 For references on living expenses see above, 105n Murphy was from Columbus, Ohio, but newspapers and local histories of that place are reliably described as silent concerning his appointment

⁵⁷For some of Murphy's sharp differences with Parker in 1854 regarding unpaid duties, nomination of an American for a place on the foreign inspectorate (1856), and currency problems involving American merchants (1856) see above, 129-130.

4 C is based on direct consular returns, but other figures which it is necessary to use in the text for comparative purposes are from tables sometimes constructed along different lines. Some of the differences are noted at suitable points. The problem of discrepancies was of concern to officials at the time, figures of shipping from Shanghai, in American ports, for example, not coinciding with consular returns of clearances from that Chinese port, on account of the number of vessels going to other countries.⁵⁸ Moreover, the first consul, Wolcott, appears to have kept no record of shipping, the first volume of letters from the consulate begins with 1849.

From 1846 to 1860 the number of American entries and the amount of their tonnage was almost continuously upward, tonnage in-

creasing much more than the
Steady Increase number of vessels Omitting
in Number and from the comparison entries
Aggregate Ton- and tonnage (1860) of small
nage of Ameri- local boats owned by Ameri-
can Vessels cans, one finds that in the

latter year the number of entries was nearly ten times what it had been in 1846, whereas the tonnage was almost twenty times as great as that at the beginning of the period. Using figures from various sources and for shipping under different flags in order to place the American share of the total in its relative place, the following statistical record exhibits its condition during a few of the intervening years.

Of the 17 American vessels (5,322 tons—British figures) at Shanghai in 1846, all entered from and cleared for Hongkong.

In the following year the American Shipping total number of arrivals Far Behind the under all foreign flags was British, Indirect Trade, 102 (26,735 tons), showing Subordination to Ports in the South, 10 (5,454 tons) second to the British (76, of 19,361 tons). Far behind, with one or two each, were Spanish, Dutch, Hamburg, and Prussian shipping. No British vessels cleared for the United States,

Indeed, in one later report, for part of 1849, not one of the American vessels mentioned was in direct trade with the country of its registry. Almost all of them discharged their cargoes at Hongkong and Whampoa into vessels trading directly with the United States and Europe. In this way Shanghai was still subsidiary to South China—on a branch line, so to speak. Again, according to other (British) figures, a group of 17 American vessels at Shanghai in 1849 arrived from Hongkong (14), Ningpo (2), and Manila (1), they sailed for New York (6), Hongkong (9), and Amoy (2). The two sources used are not necessarily contradictory.

Figures in 38-1, S Ex Doc 123 (p. 374) interestingly give the tonnage at Shanghai during the year ending September 30,

1855 Shipping Classified by Rig	1858 (175 vessels, of 83,656 tons) under five headings— ships, barks, brigs, schooners, and steamers. In number of vessels, but not in ton- nage, British shipping greatly exceeded that of the United States. Under the former flag, ships and barks each accounted for about one- third of the number, while of the total under the American flag, ships constituted nearly four-fifths, with barks following. The table noted covers eight other flags also, as was often the case at different ports, the Dutch stood third, with 7. The total reads (with corresponding figures for 1852 added in pa- rentheses): ships 86 (67), barks 53 (71), brigs 7 (15), schooners 18 (24), and steamers 11 (5). The number of vessels in the year ending September 30, 1852 exceeded the number for the following year, but the tonnage (78,165) was less.
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Vessels with Imports, 1854; Freight Rates	In 1854, vessels bringing imports were given as British, 137, American, 57, Dutch, 8, Prussian, Hamburg, Swedish, Spanish, and Siamese, 2 each, and Danish, Russian (sic), French, Aus- trian, and Portuguese, 1 each ⁵⁹ . Freights from Shang- hai to Europe were stated by one master to be twice as much as to New York, quoted at \$20 a ton, but for new teas he
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⁵⁸ Com Rels., III, 577. A systematic table showing at a glance the comparative development of shipping at Shanghai under different flags in all years is an impossibility, on account of the variable nature of reports. As early as 1849 the consulate commented on the need of having Canton returns report only merchandise paying duty there, since some vessels went from Shanghai to Canton to tranship. Speaking of the trade statistics, Williams remarks (Chin. Com. Guide, 188) that before the time of the foreign inspectorate (1854) the Shanghai returns were so imperfect as to be untrustworthy, and that until 1859 the omission of opium and treasure vitiated those returns. The proverbial grain of salt is, therefore, much needed in reading them.

⁵⁹ The North-China Herald, IV, No. 208 (Jly 8, 1854), p. 196. The figure for American vessels may include some not qualifying under the consular figures in Appendix 4 C. The year was confused, and records formed on different principles could easily vary. The page cited contains much shipping data. Attention may be called here to the fact that a departure table and a consular clearance table might differ.

reported taking some at \$36 (with silk at \$26 a ton) His average on all cargo was \$22 50 a ton, better than the market He had 689+ tons of general freight, and 247+ tons for account of his owners—a total of 917 16, paying \$20,721 17 ⁶⁰

In 1855 the total number of vessels entering was 437 (157,191 tons), of which 249 (75,131 tons) were British and 96 (56,792 tons) were under the American flag ⁶¹ From July 26 to Entries in 1855, November 19 of this year every American ship leaving Destinations Shanghai for the United

States with tea was for New York ⁶² Of those clearing in the entire second half-year, 13 went direct to New York with tea and silk, and the remainder (with 3 possible exceptions) proceeded to foreign (*i.e.*, non-American) ports, including London (5, British 16), Australia (1, out of 7), and Hamburg (1) ⁶³ In this same period of six months, 4 American vessels arrived from Atlantic and 10 (13?) from Pacific ports of the United States, 36 from foreign ports, and 7 from ports not stated ⁶⁴

According to The Shanghai Almanack and Directory, for the Year 1856, over one-third of the 141 British vessels (82,365 tons) arriving in the second

Second Half of 1856 half-year were in the coasting trade This portion consisted chiefly of light' craft Of the 51 American arrivals (27,262 tons) also, about one-third were of the same

description From Australasia came 1 American vessel with sundries, it (and one other) went back to the Antipodes with tea To Manila went another, in ballast, to London, 6, with tea and silk, to Hamburg, 1, with tea The remainder were sent to Chinese ports or the United States Total payments to the Chinese treasury on account of American vessels and their goods were slightly over 458,813 taels—tonnage, over 13,000, import, above 19,000, and exports, in excess of 456,000 The grand total, under all flags, was 72,462 tons for entries and 72,928 tons for departures, with payments of taels 1,180, 351, comprising in round numbers tonnage dues of 36,000, import duties of 117,000, and export duties of 1,026,260 Some vessels remained long in port ⁶⁵

In October of 1858 Consul Smith reported over 120 vessels, of all nations, in port at one time, a figure much above that given by Wood on his visit Shipping a couple of years before—in 1858 over 80 ⁶⁶ In the second half of 1858, 156 British vessels (62,398 tons), 41 (or more) American (30,321), and 222 "sundry" (43,592) totalled 421 (137,311) ⁶⁷

Shanghai Imports and Exports

The 1863 edition of The Chinese Commercial Guide comments (197-198) as follows on the trade of Shanghai just after the close

⁶⁰ Gale, Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes, p 14 Of p 25, above Four years later (on Mar 29, 1858) Shanghai freights to Great Britain were £5 for tea and £4 10 for silk For the United States they were \$10 and \$20, but with very little cargo offering (Overland Trade Report, of Hongkong) In 1860 freights to London were £1 10 to £2 for tea and £3 10 for silk, and to New York they were \$5 for tea and \$15 for silk (ton of 40 cu ft)

⁶¹ Morse, Int Rels, I, 558n Though not varying greatly in total tonnage, the figures in Appendix 4 C, for Shanghai, give a much smaller number of American vessels (*i.e.*, merchantmen) The discrepancy is accounted for chiefly by inclusion of small coasting vessels in the larger figure

⁶² The North-China Herald, VI, No 280 (Dec 8, 1855), p 76

⁶³ Com Rels, I, The Shanghai Almanack and Directory, for the Year 1856 (Imperial Maritime Customs figures)

⁶⁴ Com Rels, I, 527-528, varying from the consular manuscripts for the same period

⁶⁵ According to one set of figures, 14 American vessels (and no others) went to New York during the six months, with raw silk, silk piece goods, nankeens, straw braid, rhubarb, and fans

12 British vessels entered in ballast and with coals and sundries from Australia and New Zealand, 5 sailed for those regions, with tea Still there were no British vessels for United States ports Tonnage under that flag paid tonnage dues of over 16,000 tael, import duties of more than 83,000 tael, and export duties of over 551,000 tael, producing total payments to the Chinese treasury in excess of 651,442 tael

For figures relating to the shipping of different nations at Shanghai in the summer of 1856 of Overland Friend of China, Jly 10, 1856, fourth page, numbered 44

⁶⁶ Shanghai CL, Oct 4, 1858, Wood, Fankwei, 135 Wood had known 22 vessels to arrive in one day

Liberal navigation laws permitting registry of small vessels built in China gave the British a lucrative advantage in the coasting trade

⁶⁷ Returns of the Import and Export Trade at the Port of Shanghai, for the Year 1858

Two-thirds of one group of 36 vessels of over 800 tons at Shanghai in 1858 were American, all of the seven exceeding 1500 tons each were under the same flag

of our period:

"The trade at this port has been artificially stimulated during the last two years by the opening of ports along the Yangtsz' and in Northern China, and its population vastly multiplied by the capture of Szechau and other cities in the province, whose terrified inhabitants have fled hither to escape the ruthless insurgents. These two conditions of the port will probably change in a few years, the consumption of the ports along the Great River, and their exports severally to other native places and to foreign countries, will not be confounded with those of Shanghai. The refugees, who are waiting in suspense by thousands, will diminish the population by their return home, and the real business and importance of the port appear. The prospects are, that in point of trade and population, Shanghai will become the greatest emporium in Eastern Asia, the center of the steam navigation throughout the Yangtsz' valley and across the Pacific ocean, and its commercial influence pervades the whole of China."

"When the trade opened in 1844, it was carried on more directly with the merchants who brought produce from the interior than it was at that time at Canton, where the routine of the old co-hong still kept them at a distance from the foreigner, and as those country-people could not talk English, they came with brokers to interpret for them, or the foreigners learned to converse with them, the compradors of the Houses became thus more necessary to the conduct of the trade, and formed a sort of guild among themselves. Produce is received in the warehouses, and weighed, examined and prepared for shipment under the eyes of the exporters themselves, and payment made after the goods are found in order. Specie was occasionally sent into the interior on foreign risk to contract for tea or silk, according to the state of the market, but the disturbances during the last three years have rendered this procedure rather hazardous."

In its service as a collecting and distributing point for trade in the Yangtsze valley Shanghai had some resemblance to Hongkong, the great transhipment center. The uncertainties of statistics have been noted

Shanghai shipping continued to grow. In 1869 total entries were 1,823 (915,763 tons), of which the British claimed 863 (445,771) and the Americans 568 (382,487) (42-2, H Ex Doc 517, p. 68). Figures are given also for French, Chinese, Dutch, Danish, and Siamese shipping, a very cosmopolitan set of statistics.)

⁸⁸ For an estimate of the raw cotton shipped from Shanghai in Chinese vessels to other ports of the Empire see Chin Repos., XVII (1848), 375ff.

⁸⁹ The North-China Herald, IV, No. 186 (Mar 4, 1854), p 123. One table gives imports for 1853, with estimated stocks, sales, and value. On cash and barter prices in the early Shanghai trade see Cooke, China, 201. British import and export duties in the first half of 1845 were £42,156, tonnage dues being but £965. British imports in 25 vessels amounted to £442,757 and exports in 29 vessels were £257,339.

Confusion in Fact and in Figures in the discussion of shipping, and the many disturbances occurring in and about Shanghai have received attention. It need occasion no surprise if the trade statistics employed now and then suggest an inconsistency. No attempt has been made here to equate figures giving silk exports in bales and in piculs. American figures lose some of their meaning if torn from the comparative context of general trade, particularly that of the British. Accordingly, part of this statistical context is retained. Such material as can be placed in order provides the following moderately consistent picture. It should be remembered that, ordinarily, the business of the second half of the year was larger than that of the first.

In 1845 the quantities of a number of imports showed a gain over 1844. A table covering the years 1844-1853 reveals some recessions in quantity in

Early Fluctuations in Some Textiles 1848. The price of the important article of import, foreign cotton, had to be satisfactory to the Chinese

in order to compete with the fine native grade. The following items show the sharp fluctuations which occurred in white shirtings (in piculs). (1844) 176,819; (1845) 493,818, (1846) 315,754, (1847) 213,540, (1848) 252,957, (1849) 334,579, (1850) 371,031, (1851) 351,090, (1852) 216,000, and (1853) 213,025. Though fluctuating, grey shirtings achieved a greater gain—from 275,244 piculs in 1844 to 1,541,988 in 1853.

Beginning with the split year 1844-1845 (ending June 30), the following figures indicate the exports of tea and silk from

Shanghai in selected years
Tea and Silk Materials found in The
During the North-China Herald (VI, No.
Period 280, Dec 8, 1855, p 76,
and IX, No. 449, Mar 5,
1859, p 124) and in The Chinese Commercial
Guide (198) provide a table for every year
in our period. They agree through 1856,

thereafter the newspaper figures greatly exceed those in the Guide

partment of State by Consul Murphy places the amount for the calendar year 1856 at

Year	General (tea in pounds)			To United States			Silk
	Black Tea	Green Tea	Total Tea	Bales Silk	Black Tea	Green Tea	
1844-1845	3,026,803	765,824	3,800,627	6,433	---	---	---
1845-1846	8,726,065	3,733,923	12,459,988	15,192	---	---	---
1847-1848	11,827,088	3,874,104	15,711,142	21,176	226,636	1,514,151 ⁷⁰	
1848-1849	11,849,637	6,449,637	18,303,074	18,154	616,287	2,370,075	35
1849-1850	16,609,257	5,754,113	22,363,370	15,237	1,648,829	3,974,879	415
1850-1851	25,954,806	10,767,734	36,722,540	17,243	3,571,899	7,516,641	250
1852-1853			69,431,000	28,076	2,934,700	19,965,600	534
1854-1855			80,481,577	54,263	1,042,016	21,888,564	667
1857-1858			51,317,003	66,391	315,203	17,625,806	1,668?

The variable character of the trade is easily recognized. In the troubled year 1853-1854 tea exports dropped, but the number of bales of silk sent out more than doubled, to reach a new high of 58,319. To the United States went increased shipments of black tea and silk (1,074 bales) and a sharply decreased amount of green tea. In 1855-1856, 1,168 bales of raw silk were exported to the United States. American consular figures give the total export of raw silk to the United States in 1860 as 492 piculs, an amount difficult to accept as accurate. In any case, however, the United States took but a tiny amount in comparison with that exported from Shanghai by the British. In 1857-1858, as against the 215,303 pounds of black tea and the 17,625,806 pounds of green tea going to the United States, Great Britain took (direct and coastwise) 23,042,968 pounds of black and 7,188,875 pounds of green.

The highest figure for raw silk exports in any year given by The Chinese Commercial Guide is about 76,000 bales, in 1856-1857. The figure supplied

A Possible High by The North-China Herald. Figure for for the same period is Exports of about 92,000 bales, a surprisingly high total, but Raw Silk; Prices evidence sent to the De-

more than 90,000 bales.⁷¹ Insofar as his sources of information were independent, this item would support the high figure given in the newspaper. Moreover, increased demand in Europe followed reduced output in France, where inundations had occurred. The consul gave the average price per bale in the first and second halves of 1856 as \$212 and \$230, respectively; from 1853 to 1856 prices had run \$260, \$192, \$188, \$202, \$197, \$208, \$212, and \$230. Perhaps too generously, Murphy placed the total export for the calendar year 1855 at 43,307 bales, valued at \$9,375,087. Against this may be set a valuation of \$20,245,624 on the more than 90,000 bales in 1856.

The export of silk products from Shanghai to the United States in 1857 (with an aggregate value of \$732,600 20 Carolus) was divided as follows:

Class	Silks to the United States, 1857			
	No. Pieces	No. Piculs	Value, piece	Value, picul (Carolus)
White pongees	17,498		\$4.00	\$ 69,992
Ranking pongees		55,099	1.80	85,178+
Sarsenets		15,669	5.50	86,179+
Mixed kinds		4,275	3.50	14,982+
Raw Silk		711.84		\$250 498,288

⁷⁰First year recorded in the figures for American exports. Many figures on tea and silk sent to different countries are in the May 25, 1857 issue of the newspaper cited, and detailed statements of silk exports to the United States in twenty specified American vessels from July 1, 1855 appear in the number for March 11, 1854. The information on which most of the table in the text is based goes into detail regarding the different kinds of black and green tea, for which the largest entries were, respectively, under conou-souchong and young hyson. One vessel went to Boston and all the others went to New York.

⁷¹Of 3 Shanghai CL, figures on silk from Shanghai to all the world for four years ending Dec 21, 1856.

Returning to general trade in earlier years the inquiry encounters a period of uncertainty in 1847 and 1848. In the former year there existed optimism concerning the great expansion of the China market. Uncertainty, 1847-1848, Commodities In 1848, however, apprehension was created by the coolness of the season and possible injury to crops, as well as by famines, floods, and other factors. In 1847 foreign imports were chiefly cotton and wool manufactures, metals, woods, and miscellaneous articles, with an estimated value of £1,009,229. Exports reached £1,517,229 (1,517,298?). Goods on British vessels paid nearly ten times the amount of duties yielded by those on American tonnage—in a total of 625,055 tael. British reports for the next year place imports from all countries at £806,495 and exports at £1,205,615.⁷²

Imports in 12 American vessels during the first half of 1849 possessed a value of \$389,671 grey shirtings, 31,524 pieces,

Imports on white shirtings, 6,382, long
Some American ell, 1,700, figured cottons,
Vessels in 1849 600, cambrics, 300, sheet-
ings (American), 16,430,
American white shirting,
2,980; American drilling, 33,215, Spanish
stripes, 1,690 pieces, sugar, 5,383 piculs,
sandalwood, 1,015 piculs, sapan wood, 2,702
piculs, and China cargo, 4,796 packages

By 1850 Shanghai was exporting 50% of the tea leaving China at the ports, and three-fourths of the silk, in this way reducing the superiority of Can-

Gain in ton, except in the India 1850 and 1851 trade. During the summer, usually a dull season, there was busy activity. This was even more the

case in the following year, on account of the early export of tea and silk.⁷³ During these years a feeling of isolation from South China persisted in the community, and a sense of being left to shift for itself. Just as the entire foreign community in the Far East came to feel the necessity of a trans-Pacific steamer line, so at this time the residents in Shanghai hoped for a P and O steamer connection from the south. Keeping step with another rising young community on the opposite shore of the Pacific, Shanghai developed an important trade with San Francisco. It also built up a commerce with the European Continent and possessed the greater portion of that with Australia. Tea and raw silk exports from 1847 to 1851 were set at 105,237,784 pounds and 87,065 bales, respectively.

During the serious and prolonged disturbances which began in 1853, silk exports made notable gains, rising to 58,319 bales in 1853-1854, but total tea exports dropped to 50,343,847

Disturbances and Fluctuations from 1855 ports dropped to 50,343,847 pounds, figures comparable with those in the table

which has been provided for selected years. The same general tendencies were present in the American portion of the trade. The volume of silk exports held firm thereafter, but, following a sudden lift in 1854-1855, tea shipments fell back notably. This divergence may have been the result of wider effect of the rebellion on tea-producing regions than on silk areas, of differences in perishability and size of stocks, or of special circumstances.⁷⁴ From this time occurred a great decrease in American buying of black teas. Morse gives total exports from Shanghai in 1853 as \$28,913,480—\$14,445,300 in British vessels and \$8,444,550 in American vessels.⁷⁵

⁷² Chin. Repos., VI (1847), 562, 5 China DD, Davis to Buchanan, No. 5, Sept. 26, 1848. For greater detail see figures in 3 Canton CL.

⁷³ Com Rels, III, 376ff To July 30, 1861, 5,000,000 lbs of tea and nearly 3,000 bales of raw silk were exported. The North-China Herald stated that actual exports exceeded the statistics, and that the native authorities could remedy the existing laxness if they only would. It is possible that this circumstance accounts for the generally higher figures reported by the industrious Consul Murphy.

Shanghai exported one-third of the tea going from China to Great Britain and nearly one-half of that shipped to the United States. During the calendar year 1852, 101 British vessels (34,583 tons) carried tea and silk chiefly, exports taken by this tonnage, figured at exchange of 5*s*, were worth £2,141,485. Of imports on British vessels (£1,104,882), the chief item was 1,207,477 pieces of grey long cloths (£633,975).

The issue of The North-China Herald for August 2, 1851 (II, No. 58) gives information useful for price studies of special commodities, including opium, and lists exchange rates

⁷⁴ Remer states that during the Taiping Rebellion looms about the silk centers were destroyed and that producers desired silver instead of stocks of silk, which were difficult to hide, with the result that raw silk exports mounted (The Foreign Trade of China, ms., p. 41).

75 Int. Rela., I, 558n.

British trade was over half the total, and the American share was something more than a third

In 1855 imports were small, time being required to dispose of enormous quantities collected during the occupation of

Shanghai by the rebels New Murphy's Optimism Nevertheless, Consul Murphy believed that events of the Trade, 1855 two preceding years proved and 1856 Shanghai to be the leading port of China, and the best in its freedom of access to the interior, as well as in other respects. In the following year he defended the new customs arrangements and vigorously attacked merchants' assertions that the trade was declining, showing statistically an upward tendency. To \$12,000,000 worth of opium and \$11,000,000 in specie, in the trade for the year ending June 30, 1856, he added customhouse figures to secure a total import trade of \$23,492,299, about one-fourth of which was handled by American merchants (\$7,375,000, as estimated in the cur-

rency of the port) His calculation of the American import trade, represented chiefly by opium, treasure, and cotton goods, came to about \$12,000,000 when stated in terms of American money. Of total exports in this period of twelve months, amounting to \$23,000,000, over one-half was raw silk. Decline in tea exports has been mentioned. The value to Americans of the coasting trade was considerable, as the Chinese fear of pirates led them to use foreign vessels. Murphy insisted that the merchants' ascription of commercial difficulties to the rigors of the new customs administration (as compared with other ports) and the "disadvantage" caused by full tariff collections was not a *propos*, but that their own currency manipulations and the enormous exchange were important causes—a matter discussed in an earlier chapter.⁷⁶

Setbacks to the trade in staple products of China in 1858 were attributed to the monetary crisis which had afflicted several parts of the world. For a part of this year, domestic rebellion blocked the transportation

Of the 69,451,000 pounds of tea, 36,604,100 pounds were sent to Great Britain, 22,900,500 to the United States, 4,560,000 to Australia, 2,414,000 coastwise, and only 366,400 to the Continent. *The North-China Herald* of July 8, 1854 (IV, No. 206), p. 196, gives a table of commodities and amounts in five columns (British, American, and others, with aggregate quantities and estimated values). In this year Commissioner McLane sought, through Murphy, the sanction of local authorities for the purchase, by American merchants, of rice within the foreign settlement and transportation of it from port to port, as had been arranged by the British consul at *Ancy* (35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 499-500).

⁷⁶ *Shanghai Col.*, No. 6, Oct 30, 1856, and No. 5, Sept 24, 1856, with encls. The latter communication is an illuminating document, revealing connections between mercantile, diplomatic, and consular policies and personalities, as well as much *ex parte* reasoning. Among the enclosures note especially Nos. 5-6. See also *Ibid.*, No. 13, Dec. 31, 1856. In 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 937-940, is printed a circular trade letter (Sept 14, 1856) of Russell and Company, which contains much data regarding Shanghai.

Of certain silk exports to London the division was 20,532 bales of raw, 1,848 bales of thrown, and 519 bales of coarse. See *The Shanghai Almanack* 1856, which supplies (96-101) various exact data regarding local passenger rates, parcel and freight charges, mail steamers, and postage rates. First-class passage from Hongkong to Shanghai, for an adult, was \$120. Arrivals and departures of the Hongkong mail steamers varied, but they occurred, roughly, at intervals of two or three weeks. Postage from Shanghai to the United States via Southampton was 1^s 2^d and from Shanghai to Hongkong it was 4^d for each one-half ounce.

The value of opium imports for 1856, as given by Cooke, was more than fifty per cent greater than imports (from the whole world) going through the customhouse. The amount of bullion imported was almost as large as the value of the opium (*China*, 96.) A Shanghai opium table for 1856, supplied by the English firm of Jardine, Matheson and Company and transmitted by Murphy, supplies the following information, for three selected months.

	Stocks		Imports		Deliveries		Av. Prices	
	Malwa	Patna	Malwa	Patna	Malwa	Patna	Malwa	Patna
Jan 31	2,000	1,500	2,650	1,450	2,450	900	\$400	\$500
June 30	3,550	1,600	3,950	1,500	1,850	900	555	275
Dec 31	2,400	1,200	1,500	150	2,200	900	580	320
	(Including Ningpo, supplied from Woosung.)							

Enclosed with the consular letters of this year are extensive statistics of trade prepared by the maritime customs. In view of subsequent use of import statistics, of different commodities, for 1858, extensive data drawn from the 1856 report regarding imports may be omitted. Similar information regarding exports (in the

of imports into the interior, and the market became overstocked when new arrivals appeared Native dealers who had already laid in their stocks sustained

Factors Unsettling heavy losses, in the decline Commerce, 1856, of prices Furthermore, Wide Responsiveness of the Shanghai Market disturbances at Canton bore a close relation to the condition of business at Shanghai, and special inland levies on commerce were a burden The commonest congou teas, costing Tls 6 to 8 a picul in the country, could not be laid down at Shanghai for less than Tls 18 or 20 Superior teas were still higher, although they could be sold without loss Fluctuations were less in the green tea market, of particular interest to Americans, than in the trade in black teas, which were out of stock At this time the Northern market began to affect the supply of teas, and the Russian inland trade exerted some influence ??

In the first half of 1855, American entries numbered 56 (25,959 tons) in a total of 333 (105,313 tons), as against 134 British (56,807 tons) and 143 sundry

Explanation of a List of Imports declared value of imports by in the First Half of 1855 all this tonnage was Tls 10, 247,906 (or £3,117,076,

Cottons (dyed),	<u>Tls</u>	557,270, 174,147 pc ; BBB
" (fancy),	"	530,451, 230,631 " ; BBB; 10,890 pc (Amer share) (2,000)
" (printed),	"	254,493, 133,944 " , BBB

Drills (grey),	"	556,357, 179,470 " , AA; 171,095 " (243,510)
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Flints	BB
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quarter ending June 30) taken by 48 British vessels (18,854 tons), 10 American vessels (3,531 tons), and 29 sundry vessels (5,895 tons) relates to 75 different items Only 14 of these appear in the American column In the larger share of this small group, quantities taken by American vessels were far below those taken by British tonnage, e g, 128 piculs of silk as against 15,294 piculs Apart from silk, silk piece goods, tea, nankeens, and straw braid, the articles taken were foods and medicines For the year ending June 30, 1856, total exports of a (declared) value of \$23,427,215,51 were recorded in 2,888,208 pieces, 558,889 piculs, and 2,418 packages In the quarter noted, American vessels took 24,800 pieces and 23,441 piculs, while the British were responsible for 737,289 pieces, 58,575 piculs, and 57 packages Sundry vessels carried 752,522 pieces, 12,146 piculs, and 145 packages

⁷⁷Supplement to the Overland Register & Price Current, No 5 (Victoria, Feb 15, 1859) Reasoning as to causes and effects in trade requires cautious reading Differences of opinion were strong and were not always supported at the time by sufficient statistical proof Cf the remarks by "Old Canton", in this paper, on accepted fallacies regarding China's trade, such as the belief that there was always a large reserve stock of tea in the interior The comparative disturbing effects of foreign hostilities and domestic rebellion formed a subject of debate.

1856 American vessels brought from Russian America skins of the beaver and land otter Exports in American vessels included many new items (Returns of the Import and Export Trade 1856)

⁷⁸Returns of the Import and Export Trade at the Port of Shanghai, for the Year 1856, printed for the custom-house

Not in the list above, the following articles were imported in great quantities by the British cambrics, camlets, damasks, dimities, British domestics, fustians, and twills

at 6s 1d, the average rate of exchange) The following reconstruction of a list names the different articles brought in by American tonnage (fractions omitted) For those of which the total declared value was 20,000 taels or more the values and total quantities are supplied here In such cases the quantity of the American share, unless relatively small, is stated--in pieces (pc), piculs (pl), and packages (pk) The relation between American, British, and "sundry" shares is indicated by use of the capital letters A (Amer) and B (Brit) The letter which appears shows the leader, if American or British, otherwise "sundry" vessels may ordinarily be assumed to have carried the largest quantity If the disparity between the American and British shares was very great the degree is indicated by use of two or three letters (AA, BB, AAA, BBB) In some cases the quantity of American imports in the second half-year is added in parentheses In the second, and longer, part of the list, comprising chiefly East Asiatic products, some points of origin are indicated by abbreviations Am (Amoy), By (Bombay), C (Canton), Foo (Foochow), For (Formosa), M (Manila), N (Ningpo), O (Oregon), S (Singapore), Si (Siam), St (Straits), Sw (Swatow), and W (Wanchow) ??

Glass,	<u>Tls</u>	29,136,	9,712 pk , BB,	1,000 pk
Hdkchfs (doz),	"	46,114,	65,878 pc , BE,	15,500 pc
Jeans,	"	53,248,	16,640 " , AAA,	14,640 " (26,815)
Long cloths (grey),	"	2,568,414, 1,284,207	" , BBB,	25,848 "
" " (white),	"	265,097,	202,832 " , BBB	
" Ells,	"	115,192,	16,940 " , BBB,	2,100 "
Metal, Copper Nails, etc			BB	
" , Iron (Nail, Rod, & Bar),	"	177,626,	61,250 pl , BBB,	1,999 pl
" , Lead,	"	135,156,	24,575 " , BB,	3,520 "
Muslins				
Sheetings, Amer ,	"	58,240,	22,400 pc , AAA,	19,000 pc (14,000)
Spanish Stripes,	"	248,320,	15,520 " , BBB	
T-cloths, 48 yds ,	"	32,392,	14,724 " , BBB	
(" , 24 yds , 210,364 pc brought by the British)				
Velveteens,	<u>Tls</u>	68,100,	12,620 pc , BBB	
Velvets	"	74,075,	14,815 " , BBB	
Woollen & Cotton Mixtures	"	57,757,	6,795 " , BBB	

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(Besides the articles listed below, the British brought in bamboo canes, C, cocoanut shell, Si, kingfisher feathers, St, mats, N, sandalwood, C and St Sundry vessels brought also alum, W, aniseed and bean cake, N, bamboo canes, C, chinaware, Am, mats, N, and sandalwood, C and St)

Valued at Tls 20,000 or more.

Béche de mer, white,	(M and St)	<u>Tls</u>	20,880,	1,740 pl , BB;	498 pl
Birds' Nests, 1st quality (St)		"	41,125,	16 " , BB	
" " , 2nd " "		"	34,425,	22 " , BBB	
Brass Buttons	(C)	,	48,840,	814 pk , B	
Coal (foreign, Great Britain and U S),	"	124,615,	166,154 pl , B, (9,890 tons)		51,559 "
Copper Cash	(C and N)	,	119,600,	10,400 pl ,	658 "
Fans		,	60,891, 13,581,375 pc , B,	2,416,700 pc	
Ginseng, crude	(U S)	,	62,028,	221 pl , A,	125 pl
Grass cloth, coarse	(Sw)	,	30,990,	1,033 " , B,	184 "
Indigo, dry	(C)	,	53,965,	2,248 " ,	120 "
Lung-nan	(C and A)	,	20,556,	3,737 " ,	
Medicines		,	41,038,	2,051 " ,	
Pepper, black	(St and Si)	,	33,040,	4,405 " , B,	1,158 "
Potato Flour	(Sw)	,	22,410,	7,470 " , BB,	1,633 "

Rattans	(St)	,	Tls	37,814,	12,604 pl	, BB,	1,232 pl
Rice	(St, Si, and Bengal),	"	"	694,008,	304,448 "	, B,	73,871 "
Sugar, brown	(C, M, Si, Am, and Sw),	"	926,752,	267,643 "	, B,	55,739 "	
" , white	" " " "	"	157,733,	28,678 "	, B;	9,851 "	
" , candy	(Am)	,	"	53,002,	8,548 "	, B,	1,419 "
Timber, masts and spars	(St, Foo, and O),	"	210,600,	2,106 pc	, AAA,	1,834 pc	
" , planks, hardwood	(Si and St)	,	"	25,940,	43,234 "	, AAA,	37,145 "
Tin	(St)	,	"	229,802,	8,888 pl	, BB,	2,811 pl
Tobacco, prepared	(Sw)	,	"	34,423,	3,824 "	, BB;	278 "
Vermilion	(C and Am)	,	"	20,104,	365 "	,	81 "
Wood, sapan	(M, St and Si),	"	57,337,	26,062 "	, B,	8,906 "	

of lesser value.

Agar-agar (S), BBB

Bamboo ware (C), B, bêche de mer, black (M and St), BB; birds' nests, 3rd qual or un-cleaned (St), B, brass foil (C), B

Camphor, baroos ("icicle flakes") (St), BB, camphor, native (For), cardamoms (Si and C), A, cardamoms, husk or inferior (Si and C), AA, cinnamon (C), B, cloves (St), BBB, cordage (M), cornelians, beads (C), A, cotton thread (C), cow bezoar, Indian, B

Dye stuff (Sw)

Elephants' teeth (St and Si), BB

Fish maws (St), fish skin (St), A, fruits, dried (Am)

Gambier (St), BBB, glass or vitrified ware (C), B, grass cloth (C), B

Hemp, inferior (For), B, hides, rhinoceros (S), AAA, horns, rhinoceros (S), BB

Indigo, liquid (M), ivory ware (C), A

Lead, white (C), lead, yellow (C), AA, lucraban (properly, lucrabau) seeds (Si), AAA

Mangrove bark (St and Si), BB, mats, tea, and silk (?) (C), B, mussels, dried (Si)

Nutmegs, BB

Oyster shell (Sw)

Paper, native (C and Sw), peel, orange (Am, C, and Sw), B, peel, pumelo (C and Sw), B, pepper, long (St and Si), AAA, prawns, dried (C and Si), preserves (Am, C, and Si), BB
Salt fish (N), seeds, flower (Foo), BBB, sharks' fins, black (St), shoe soles (C and Sw), A, shoe cloth (C and Sw), B, silk piece goods (C) (Amer vessels only, 12 pl), silk ribbons (C), BB

Timber, beams (St and O), BB, timber, softwood (N, O, and U S --sic) (Tls 9,813), tin foil (C), B, tobacco leaf (Sw), B, tortoise shell (St), BB, twine (M), AAA

Umbrellas

Vegetables, salted (C)

Woods, kranjee (Si and St), B, woods, red (Si), AA, wood, piles, poles, joists (N, Foo, and S), wood ware (C)

It will be observed that most entries in the second division of the list are items of East Asiatic commerce. Sugar, rice, tin, and timber were the only ones at all comparable in value to the Occidental textiles in the first division. Comparison with the export list supplied above for American shipping leaving Canton shows identity of some of the commodities. The figures again bring out the leadership of the British in

general. In the first half of 1858, 27 American vessels entered, with an aggregate tonnage of 19,172 tons, as against 88 British, of 40,484 tons, the total having been 181 (69,865 tons)⁷⁹. A native preference appeared for American drills.

Following the fluctuations of 1858, recovery set in during 1859. Williams estimated the total value of the trade of Shanghai in 1858 and 1859, respectively, as Tls 65,683,066 (tea, Tls 11,677,088, silk, Tls

⁷⁹Black teas to the United States dropped to an inconsiderable amount. Some tea went to Montreal and some to Manila. Silks went chiefly to Great Britain, directly, or by way of Hongkong (also transhipping for Bombay and

Figures for 22,367,041, other legal imports, Tls 20,635,130, opium, Tls 16,128,350, treasure, no estimate), and Tls 73,434,086 The total duties levied in 1859 were slightly under three million taels, said to fall far below the amount of the duty levied on tea imported into Great Britain from Shanghai alone ⁸⁰

Recovery continued in 1860 In the summer of that year American commerce for the preceding twelve months was reported to be larger than for any previous

Improvement in 1860, in Spite of Foreign and Domestic Hostilities partly attributed to the opening of Japan to foreign trade, providing a (probable) stimulation of coast-wise trade in the active interchange of commodities between Japan and China High hopes were entertained for the future of the Yangtze Valley commerce, in spite of the diversion of money to the North (during Chinese hostilities with the English and the French) which would otherwise have been available for control of parts of the Yangtze area ⁸¹ Actually a sudden rise did occur in 1861 on account of the development of the carrying trade on the river and to coast ports in the North ⁸² Gains were made in the face of obstacles, however In the spring of 1860 the hazards of internal trade and of commerce with Shanghai had been increased by movements of the rebels on their withdrawal from Nanking, and trade had diminished In fact the usual trade of that season was virtually suspended, according to the consulate The British and French forces then arriving at Shanghai and the impending hostilities added

much uncertainty Large amounts of American property were accumulating, ashore and afloat, as trade slackened ⁸³ It has already been seen that the sending of specie into the interior for the purchase of tea and silk became hazardous

In 1845 Canton was the center of foreign trade in China Shanghai was but a young outpost, partly dependent on the older port In 1860 the tables 1860—Canton and Shanghai had commerce of Canton was changed hardly more than half that Positions of Shanghai, and was declining in relative importance The imminent opening of the cities of the Yangtze Valley and of ports north of Shanghai made that place, instead of Canton, the geographical, diplomatic, and commercial center of foreign relations with the Middle Kingdom Entrance into Canton city, long-cherished hope of foreigners in the South, had hardly become a settled reality before Peking, goal of the diplomats, was entered (1860) This event, and the penetration of Manchuria years later, were again to shift the geographical, diplomatic, and commercial axes in some degree, but in spite of changes Shanghai has retained its general economic primacy and has remained—as Canton formerly was—the symbol of the China trade As builders of its foundations and as witnesses of its early growth, American consular officers had a prominent and often useful part In their letters (and enclosures) to the Department of State they left informative messages to which we have here been indebted

the Continent) Raw silk exports (1857-1858) were in the neighborhood of 65,000 bales, of which the United States took over 1,600 bales To this country also went 6,494 bales of thrown silk The existence at Shanghai of a market for anthracite coal may be noted

⁸⁰Chin Com Guide, 198 In 1858 the tael was rated at 6s 4d Williams defines the Shanghai tael as "merely a tael's weight of dollar-silver, and consequently inferior to the *halkwun* sycee, and to that found in other northern ports" At the end of this period, or shortly afterward, bank bills issued by the Oriental and other banks passed in Shanghai and gradually worked their way into nearby areas (*Ibid.*, 199)

The China Mail of Jan 12, 1860 (XVI, No. 778) gives the quantities of different Shanghai imports ⁸¹5 Shanghai CL, No. 25, Jly 25, 1860 The goods from Japan were largely foodstuffs and a few manufactures, to Japan went textile manufactures (in increasing amounts), spices, wood, etc

⁸²Chin Com Guide, 199 The customhouse returns for the trade of Shanghai with Chinese and foreign ports in 1861 made the entire commerce passing through the port \$4,181,146 taels Of this, Tls 10,081,567 was treasure (in and out), and Tls 74,079,579 was produce (including opium, Tls 12, 138,232, tea, Tls 5,917,769, and raw silk, Tls 18,702,927)

⁸³5 Shanghai CL, Smith to Cass, No. 18, Ap 26, 1860

Exports from Shanghai to the United States in the year ending June 30, 1901 (chiefly silk, tea, and hides) were invoiced at \$10,940,105 88 (U S gold) Imports from the United States (chiefly cotton goods, kerosene, flour, lumber, tobacco, and household stores) were estimated at \$20,000,000 (57-1, S Doc 411, 71) Comparison of these figures with trade in 1860 must take into account modifications in the commercial character of the port, in relation to nearby consumption, transhipment, and similar considerations

Chapter 16
TWO OUTPOSTS. MACAO AND HONGKONG

Macao is a reminder of the vanished glory of an empire dating from the sixteenth century. Many years ago it was characterized by one traveller as "a fifth-rate bit of Portugal." Portions of Two Detached dropped down here by mis-China; Their take "Almost from its Varying Char- founding Hongkong has ful-acters filled its promise as a new stronghold on the margin of the still vigorous British Empire. These two outposts are located close to each other, and during the years considered here their affairs were often related. Events in South China affected them both. At the beginning of this period each derived its chief meaning from Canton and the China trade, and some of the most annoying difficulties which arose took their character from the fact that these ports were, in a sense, in the China foreign trading system, but not of it. The island of Hongkong and the near-island of Macao were areas lost to the Chinese Empire, and became refuges for Chinese and foreigners during times of trouble in the southern provinces. Hongkong gave much force to British arguments with China, but Macao served as a much less effective weapon, for Portuguese interests were no longer imperial. To some degree, Portuguese subjects resident there were assimilated in position and status to the character of an East Asiatic race. Racially, many of them were Eurasian, as Macao was Eurasian in its political and cultural composition. This anomaly produced ambiguities which became embarrassing when Portugal, as a western state, joined the line of Occidental applicants for treaties with China.¹

For Americans, the ports of Macao and Hongkong had no other commercial value than that of centers of information, direction, and

Interest of Americans in Hongkong and Macao, the Naval Depot transhipment Local production and consumption of commodities were negligible. Macao, in particular, offered a convenient place of residence for the families of Americans (chiefly merchants at Canton). Officers of naval vessels were frequently there and sometimes the American commissioner was in residence. These two colonial stations took turns in serving the American government as the location of its naval depot. Not long before Cushing went to China (early 1844) an American "naval depot and a consulate" had been established at Hongkong. Commodore Foxhall A. Parker, in command of Cushing's expedition, moved the naval part of the establishment to Macao, which he regarded as more convenient.² His knowledge of Macao must have been insufficient, if this was his reason, for when it was returned to Hongkong in 1853 by order of the Secretary of the Navy the inconvenience of Macao harbor was given as the reason. Perry's *Narrative* attributes the first shift of location to the threatened rupture with Great Britain over the Oregon question.³

Macao

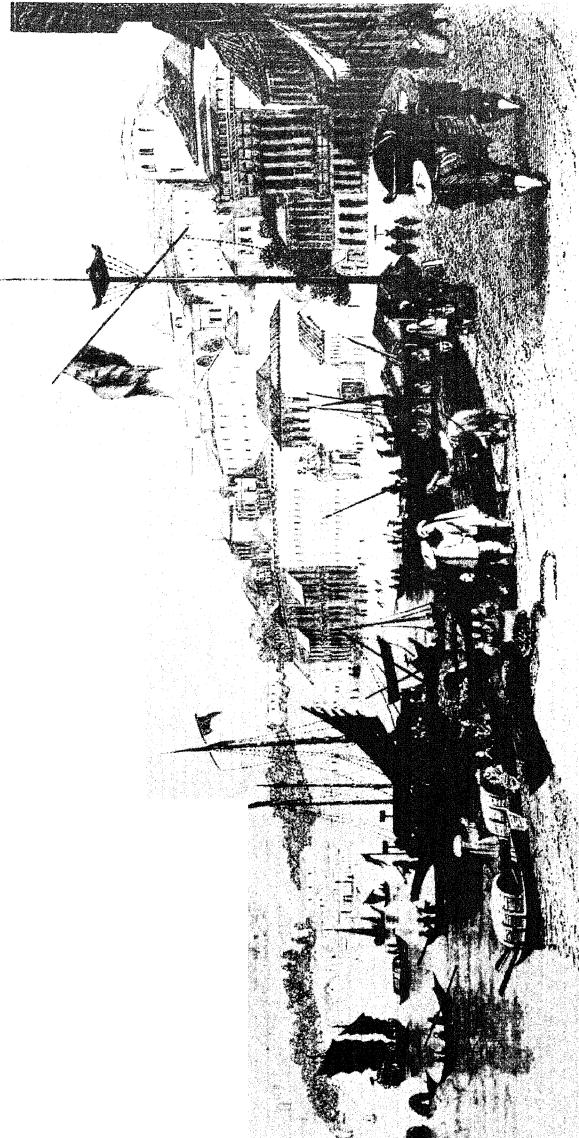
"The Postoffice Department is encountering secret international opposition to its plans for extending the Trans-Pacific airmail service to the Chinese mainland. So far it has only been able to obtain landing rights on the Portuguese island of Macao."
(News item, from Washington, February 17, 1935.)

Macao was first occupied by the Portuguese in 1557, after their traders were expelled from Foochow and Ningpo. The Chinese

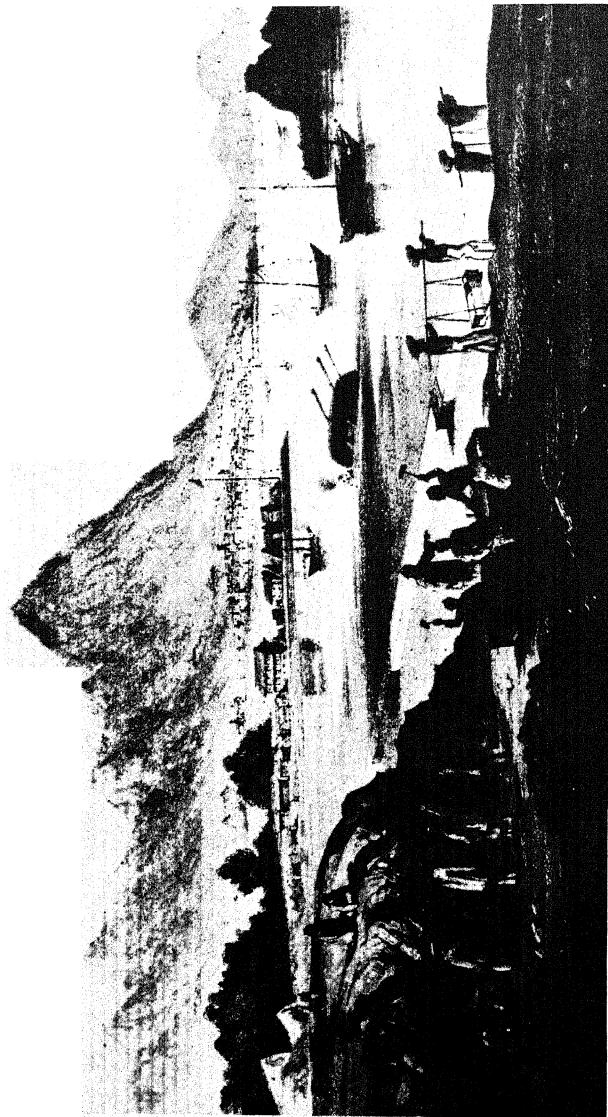
¹On the peculiar status (as foreigners) of Macao Portuguese in the eyes of the Chinese see a note on p. 179, above, and Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, I, 321-322.

²Paulin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1883*, 207.

³Vol. 1, 299. The arguments for the return of the depot to Hongkong are given in the same volume, 297-299, including the difficulty—and, in bad weather, the impracticability—of naval vessels' getting in touch with shore. Such vessels, and large merchantmen, anchored from three to five miles from the town.



The Praça-Grande, or Promenade, at Macao
(From A. van Otterloo's China)



Hongkong from East Point
(From the Narrative of the Parry Expedition,
Vol. I, facing page 155)

The Port; Liberalizing of Portuguese Policy and Termination of Chinese Customs 1848⁴ The harbor could not easily receive more than twenty ships. The larger ones had to lie off the Barra Fort or the Typa (a channel between two barren islands about a mile and a half south of Macao, and the usual anchorage during the typhoon season), to which Portugal extended her jurisdiction in 1844. The Portuguese area was about twenty square miles, containing about four square miles of land.

The free-port policy of Hongkong early began to tell on the commerce of the Portuguese settlement. Local imposition of a tonnage duty of seventy cents a ton drove vessels to the English possession.⁵ A change of policy was indicated by a royal Portuguese decree of November 20, 1845, which declared Macao free to the commerce of all nations, except the Chinese, who were under special rules. Pursuant to this decree a local notification dated February 28, 1846 declared that the place would be free from April 1 following. Although Governor Amaral closed the Portuguese customhouse the Chinese customs establishment remained. It has been seen that sometime later (March 8, 1849) the governor emphasized the free-port policy by ordering the closing of the Chinese customs offices. In the same year these were removed to Whampoa and, presumably under secret pressure, Chinese merchants followed with their families and staffs, leaving Macao barren. Taxes increased and population diminished.⁶ Expenses were met by returns from monopolies and a real estate tax.

Maintained a taxing station there and the Portuguese government paid the Chinese vice-roy at Canton an annual rent of five hundred taels, to Macao vs. Hongkong; Some Commercial Changes At the time, it was anticipated that the Portuguese action would increase trade and bring merchants there from Hongkong, reputed to possess a poor climate and subject to criticisms because of unpopular enactments of the British authorities.⁷ Hongkong, nevertheless, had secured too much momentum for its aged rival to check it. Gains at Macao were largely the result of disturbing events in the Canton area which have been related at the beginning of Chapter 15. Some early signs of revival about 1851-1852 were increased during the nearby insurrection in 1854-1855, when Macao trade almost equalled its level of 1843.⁸ Yet, in the second half of 1855, only one American ship (615 tons) entered (from Singapore), and it was bound for Hongkong.⁹ Of course Macao was not dependent on "foreign trade" alone, for it had its own local merchant marine of a hundred lorchaes and other craft trading with neighboring ports.¹⁰ As years passed, important Chinese merchants settled at Macao, where they secured control of much of the trade. After the closing of Canton many shopkeepers and business men found Macao a convenient abode. The prices of raw silk and "Chintz produce" became higher as a result of the demand for exports.¹¹

Consular figures for American commerce at Macao have an increased usefulness in view of the lack of customhouse requirements regarding cargo reports and tonnage and anchorage dues during most of the period. The free port is no paradise for the statistician. Reference to Appendix 4 C shows an exceptional number

⁴ Macao CL, De Silver to Clayton, Aug 21, 1849, Morse, Trade and Admin, 286. In his Int Rels, I, also, Morse writes of the early history of Macao. Cf the sketch in Great Britain, Foreign Office, Historical Section, Macao, 18, 19-20.

Views of Macao appear in Morse's Int Rels, I, facing p 42, in A van Otterloo's China, facing p 308, and in the Perry Narrative, Vol 1, facing p 298. The last of these, a very clear view, was taken from a different point from the ones used for the other pictures and for that reproduced with the present chapter. See also the sketch shown on page 235, above. The Chater Collection, edited by James Orange, is useful. On the appearance and somnolent condition of the port see the Perry Narrative, Vol 1, p 140. Taylor's A Visit speaks of Macao. For difficulties resulting from variations in local currency and weights, and for assimilation of these to the systems of Canton, see Williams, The Chinese Commercial Guide, 237. Early customhouse regulations are given in Chin Repos, XIV (1845), 151-152. Vessels importing rice were exempt from anchorage and customhouse duties. The reputation of some customs officers was unpleasant. For very extended and useful remarks on Macao note Dennys, Treaty Ports, 202-229.

⁵ Canton CL, Forbes to Sec of State, No 29^a, Jan 1, 1845.

⁶ Chin Com Guide, 250, The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1846.

⁷ Note, for example, Sirr, China and the Chinese, I, 123.

⁸ Chin Com Guide, 230 Com Rels, 1856, 84

⁹ 1st Macao CL, Rawle to Marcy, Jly 1, 1855

¹⁰ Com Rels, 1856

The Chinese merchants at Macao, Canton, Hongkong, and Whampoa exhibited an easy commercial cosmopolitanism,

of American vessels at Macao in 1857 and 1858, with increased tonnage, but theirs was not the kind of business which yielded large fees to the consular treasury. Subsequently the figures dropped somewhat, but not to their level of a decade before.

As a partial offset to the advantages of Hongkong, the disturbances at Canton, and the effects of the commercial revulsion in

America in 1857, Macao found

The Coolie Traffic in the Commerce of Macao itself in possession of a growing portion of the business of shipping Chinese coolies. It is not possible to say how much the toleration of the evils of this traffic (like the activities of Portuguese lorchamen along the coast) was the result of a general administrative attitude, and how much it was a response to the waning of more substantial commerce. The fact is that Macao, like Swatow and Amoy, became a symbol of the business, and that American vessels had a part in it, during a large part of the decade of the fifties. In 1857 heavy shipments were made to Havana. In the last quarter of the year two American ships loaded with coolies¹² British regulation of the coolie traffic conducted by vessels leaving Hongkong emphasized by contrast the part played by Macao. For many details of this part the reader is referred to sources mentioned in Section b of Chapter 11, above.

The American naval depot and consulate created at Hongkong early in the life of that colony joined duties of two executive departments of the government in

Officers of the American Consulate the person of one officer When the depot was moved to Macao the connection was retained in the same manner

The Chinese Repository of 1845 (p. 18) mentions W. P. Pierce as vice consul and naval agent. It is unlikely that the consular aspect of his duties was anything more than an informal incident to his duties as naval storekeeper. His service must have been short, since in writing from Shanghai on March 30, 1848 to decline an appointment as consul he stated that he had not lived at Macao for three years.¹³ T. G. Peachy, appointed next, resigned without serving. The appointment and confirmation of Robert P. De Silver of Pennsylvania occurred on February 6-7, 1849, and by June 18 he had received notice of it. In the absence of the usual exequatur the governor of Macao recognized him. His commission was sent to the United States legation at Lisbon, and after some delay he received his exequatur on May 20, 1850. The Chinese authorities would have been happy to grant him an exequatur as an evidence of non-recognition of Portuguese authority, but the Portuguese officials would not allow him to perform his duties under such an arrangement. It has been seen that the erroneous inclusion of Macao in the list of Chinese ports in the act of 1848 relating to judicial authority of consuls was regarded by them as sufficient justification for refusal to receive an American consul.¹⁴

De Silver seems to have served also as keeper of the naval depot. Early in 1854 he felt himself obliged by the Navy's transfer of this unit to Hongkong to accompany the property under his charge. The consular Naval Depot Again late alone did not support the salary him. He left as vice consul Question S. B. Rawle, a man in whose confidence¹⁵ in 1856 Rawle was made consul

even in time of military hostilities. At the last-named place the governor-general is said to have offered inducements to them to leave Macao and establish themselves. Besides its major competition with Hongkong, Macao had a minor rivalry with Whampoa.

¹²Com Rels., 1858, 130. In Williams' Chin Com Guide, 234-256, are useful remarks on the coolie business. Different decrees of 1856 and 1860 reduced, but did not eliminate, abuses. Using unsatisfactory data, Williams placed the emigration from Macao at 2,493 in 1856, at 10,064 in 1858, and at 3,634 in 1860. He believed the total shipped from all parts of China since 1847 was at least 150,000 (with only a few women and children) and that the free emigration during those years was twice as great.

The same work draws attention to the large place occupied by opium in the trade of Macao. Most of it went into the interior.

¹³The appointment of William P. Pierce, of Massachusetts, was completed on March 2-3, 1847.

¹⁴The expulsion of the Chinese customs officials had occurred only a few months previously. Actually, correction of the mistake in the act of 1848 was not completed until September, 1850. On the relation of Macao to China and on relevant American legislation see references noted above, 14n., 45n., and 51n.

¹⁵1 Macao CL, De Silver to March, Jan 28, 1854. In October, 1856 Keenan described the officer at Macao

and continued until his death in 1858 Macao was still an unsalaried post Rawle had expected a salary of one thousand dollars (and the right to trade) under the act of 1855, but the subsequent legislation of 1856 dropped the salary provision¹⁶ W A Macy served as deputy for Rawle, and in 1858 Gideon Nye, Jr., followed as vice consul.

Nye had been consul of Chile at Canton from 1845 to 1855 He was interested, with Robinet, in the Formosan camphor monopoly, and has received frequent notice in these pages.

During his service the situation of Macao as a possession within the Portuguese administrative system was productive of uncertainty, delay, and disputes, illus-

trated by earlier discussion of the Fame case and the Ricabey affair¹⁷ As late as 1860 the earlier "status question" reappeared in connection with the refusal of Chinese authorities at Canton to clear the American vessel Sea Serpent without payment of duties on goods taken on at Macao, held to be Chinese territory¹⁸ Yet the problems affecting Americans and the American consulate at Macao were few in comparison with those which appeared a short distance away at Hongkong.

Hongkong

Hongkong ("Fair Haven") is located in latitude 22°, 9' N and in longitude 114°, 8' E During the hostilities of the Opium War it became a resort of all British shipping and a settlement of the Colony of Hongkong was formed. The island was

formally occupied by virtue of the British proclamation of May 1, 1841, and there the ratifications of the English Treaty of Nanking were exchanged on June 26, 1843¹⁹ Hongkong became a colony by an order in council of April 5, 1843 The executive head was in a dual position as governor and as superintendent of trade (and diplomacy) with China This situation continued until the capture of Canton in 1857 changed the Chinese system of foreign affairs (largely administered locally in South China) and a British legation was subsequently established at Peking It has been seen that the American commissioner to China also had a second connection, with Hongkong, when he exercised a somewhat limited authority over American consular activities in the colony In 1860 two square miles of territory on the mainland at Kowloon were added by cession.

The early years of the new community were disturbed, and Chinese pirates continued their depredations in nearby waters. The difficulty of controlling their operations was enhanced by the presence of many inlets and islands, some of Hongkong which are shown on the outline map on page 225, above.

Even at the present time pirates have not been fully exterminated Partly on account of the rebellion in China, the Chinese population of Hongkong grew to such size that, as at Shanghai, it became an important factor locally A notable difference, of course, was the unqualified authority of the British officials at Hongkong The habits of the Chinese residents manifested their influence in such connections as price problems, currency matters,²⁰ and local

(Rawle) as an invalid (35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 1887) By the spring of 1856 De Silver had left for the United States (For Consul Keenan's interest at that time in the place as naval storekeeper see *ibid*, II, 758-759)

¹⁶ Macao CL, Rawle to Sec of State, Apr 1, 1857 Many American vessels entered to secure pilots, and there was some trouble for the consulate in connection with ships and seamen It has been pointed out that fees were too small to repay the officer for his trouble Rawle felt that Macao was acquiring some consequence

¹⁷ pp 190-191 and 193n

¹⁸ of Chapter 15 (section on Canton)

¹⁹ Morse, *Trade and Admin of China*, 287 See E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China*, 211-352 and parts of Chapter XVIII, for many interesting phases of Hongkong life in this period An excellent view of Hongkong harbor may be seen facing p 26 of Blakney's *On the Coasts of Cathay and Cipango Forty Years Ago*; different points of interest are named and located This view appears to be somewhat later than the one reproduced in the present work Note also Dennys, *Treaty Ports*, 1-116, see p. 2, and pp 55ff for the years to 1841 The *China Mail* was the official organ of the port from 1845, and *The Chinese Repository* was published there from October, 1844 Newspapers issued in South China are essential sources in any detailed study of local history

Regarding correspondence of Edward Everett, minister to Great Britain, on difficulty concerning American trade privileges at Hongkong, 1844-1845, see F O. 5/437, America Domestic Jan 8, 1845 and related letters

²⁰ Of p. 215, above Merchants at Hongkong in some years kept accounts in Spanish dollars, of one hundred cents. Fractional parts of the cent were coined and were much used (Com Rels, III, 34.)

development They early exhibited a rebellious fear of a Hongkong registration act, and further difficulties appeared in 1856-1857, when an attempt was made to poison the food of Western residents of the colony At that time, "foreigners" were provided with arms, and many Chinese departed ²¹

Hongkong, like Shanghai, became a center for the dissemination of Western ideas as well as goods The first Chinese newspapers there on foreign lines

Influence of were shipping and market Hongkong on sheets, well received by the Chinese Chinese who shared in the boom of the port and were "denationalized in its alien environment" ²² Hongkong became a great purchasing center for Chinese buyers from different ports, and thus affected the American and other foreign merchants who formerly acted as middlemen These Chinese traders possessed abundant facilities for introducing their purchases into the interior ²³ The growth of a Chinese emigration problem from the early fifties and British regulation of it by an act of 1855 have been related in discussion of the coolie problem ²⁴

A foreign population of about four hundred adult males in 1850 rose to 1,462 in 1859, in this "city of palaces" The first American resident on the island, and for some time the American agent of all American houses, Representation; was Charles V Gillespie In Mail Service 1851 there were only two well-known American firms present, one (possibly Rawle, Drinker, and Company) under the management of Sandwith Drinker, Townsend Harris' particular friend Bush and Company had been discontinued.²⁵ Americans complained (1849) of the difficulty of get-

ting mail by the British service Good mail service was a very important consideration at a time when advance possession of the latest advices meant the opportunity of increasing profits before the market responded to news British post offices at Canton and Hongkong dated from 1834 and 1842 In January, 1853 a fortnightly mail service to Europe was established There was daily communication with Canton, about a hundred miles away, and Macao, some forty miles off The important part played on these lanes by small river steamers owned by Americans has been noticed at several points

Acrimony was characteristic of Hongkong history, as might be expected in a new and diverse community One observer wrote

"A peculiar feature in the society of Hongkong is, that Relations at everybody pitches into every Hongkong Ex-body else The young men in amplified by the different large houses the American have a sad mind-mouldering Consulate time of it" To this generalization

the internal and external relations of the American consulate, certainly in the latter half of the period, were no exception The first consuls were privileged to trade The reorganization legislation allowed a salary to the incumbent, but it seems to have been insufficient ²⁶ Relations of consular officers with the British authorities were not uniformly hostile, but a distressing amount of animosity was released between these two sets of representatives of the English-speaking nations Problems involving the American commissioners to China, particularly Peter Parker, created awkward situations At the same time, the influence of American naval officers is seen Consistently with the character of

²¹See above, 166n , references to Fortune and Foote, who provide certain details

Culture contacts produced many special problems Smith (*To China and Back*, 49) relates the excitement caused by cutting through a spur of Victoria Peak west of the city and a meeting of Chinese in a temple to avert a plague of white ants which they were sure would be visited upon them The diary, *Seaweed*, of Marie Antoinette Kinney, relates features of life among commercial and military people at Hongkong

²²Roswell S Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912*, 58

²³Hongkong CL, No 54, Oct 14, 1856, 16 China DD, Williams to Cass, Jan 14, 1859

²⁴Regulations (Dec 26, 1860) regarding Chinese passenger ships issued by the Emigration Office at Hongkong are given in *Chin. Com Guide*, 221-222 Of 1,974 coolies (including 1,567 adult males) sent through English and French emigration houses at Canton in the 1859-1860 season, 1,087 sailed from Hongkong and the rest from Canton direct

²⁵China DD, Parker to Webster, Dec 19, 1851 For names of foreign residents in China (by firms), as well as those of government officers at Hongkong and earlier members of British consular establishments in China, see *The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1846* Regarding Harris and the firm of Armstrong and Lawrence (and Davis and Lawrence) see Cosenza, *The Complete Journal*, 47, 180, and 389 In the Kinney diary, *Seaweed*, *passim*, occur references (1856) to an American merchant named Crosby (d Dec , 1856), of Wiscasset, Maine, these comments indicate that he had long resided in Hongkong, where his house seemed to be "the headquarters of the Americans"

²⁶See 3 Hongkong CL, Jan. 15, 1856, for Keenan's complaint regarding inroads made on his salary (\$3,000)

Hongkong as a shipping center and transhipment point, the consulate had innumerable difficulties relating to seamen. In 1850, for example, many distressed seamen were dropped there from numerous vessels arriving from the South Seas, Manila, India, and the East Indies. This tonnage simply touched at Hongkong before going on to Canton, in case that port was the destination. Disputed authority over ships and seamen in port produced several outstanding controversies, some of which have been related in other connections.²⁷ In the case of Consul Keenan, the British authorities would have welcomed his recall.

In 1857 occurred the much discussed flag incident, in which Keenan was alleged indiscreetly to have carried the American

Keenan's
Contro-
versies

Canton. This produced an acute controversy between Keenan and the American Legation in China.²⁸

In 1858 Keenan's controversial versatility was turned with apparent good reason toward the subordinate who was in charge of the office during his absence. Control of the office, financial considerations, treatment of shipmasters and seamen, and other matters were involved in this prolonged dispute, already noticed.²⁹

Appendix 1 gives the essential information regarding the consular officers who served at Hongkong. It may be added that

there is no record of service

Consular Officers; Corrections

by the W. Shaler mentioned in one published list of officers. The same is true of the William Spieden, acting consul under appointment by Peter Parker (June 5, 1857).³⁰

by expenses for clerk hire (\$1,100), house rent (\$1,200), Chinese interpreter (in a non-Chinese port, technically), and personal expenses combining the costs of English and Chinese ports

²⁷ See above, p 157 and n 79 (cases of the Reindeer, 1855, Annie Bucknam, 1856, etc.) Besides cases of seamen and shipmasters, note that of Buckler, in the matter of an unlawful arrest (189, above)

²⁸ See p 151, above. For Keenan's earlier trouble with Capt Ringgold of the American navy see 122n, above

²⁹ See pp 107 and 158, above

³⁰ On the earlier agency of Commodore F A Parker of the Navy, see p 57n, above

The Kinney diary, Seaweed, mentions "William Spieden" as United States Naval storekeeper at Hongkong. He and his brother had come from Batavia (Item of Dec 8, 1856, p 63)

³¹ Cf a British reference in 1851 to the excessive duty at San Francisco on tea from Hongkong, noted in Paul Lin and Paxson's Guide to the Materials in London Archives, etc., 123 (F O 550) Hongkong was not a point of origin, cf the comment on p 16, above

³² Hongkong CL, Bush, No 6, Jly 1, 1846

Appendix 4 C presents the fluctuating rise in the number of American vessels at Hongkong, and the amount of their tonnage, from 50 (17,297 tons) in 1846 to about 185 (approximately 178,000 tons) in 1859. In earlier years trade was less active than some merchants anticipated and there was dissatisfaction with the policy of the British authorities.³³ The consulate reported that many of the firms established to find there a market for manufactured goods and Straits produce had removed to Canton or Shanghai. The greater number of the houses left were concerned with the "Drug trade," remaining on account of the facilities for receiving and dispatching their vessels to the different coastal stations. American vessels stopped there only for instructions. The value of American goods landed was not worth reporting.³⁴ Whalers from Fairhaven, Massachusetts resorting to Hongkong may not have recognized in its name another "Fair Haven," but such it was for increasing numbers of whaling vessels from 1848 on. The first American ship to carry teas to England under the new navigation laws sailed in 1850. In the first half of that year, thirty-five American vessels entered the port, and in the second half there were sixty-two (ships, forty-one, barks, eighteen, brigs, one, and schooners, two—a typical distribution). In the spring of 1851 a report for the preceding nine months gave the tonnage as more than 60,000 tons. The greater portion of the vessels came from California, whence, after landing their cargoes, they proceeded to China for freight for the United States and England. In a total number of 1,097 vessels (442,353 tons) entered in 1852, 174 (96,282 tons) were American and 542 (232,558 tons) were British. These figures are higher than

American Vessels
Continued (from
1852),
Comparisons;
Americans Again
in Second Place;
British Hos-
tilities at
Canton, 1856

those followed in Appendix 4 C, but are used here in their comparative setting. In the first half of this year most of the American merchantmen which entered in ballast cleared in ballast or with Chinese passengers. The larger part of American tonnage arriving with cargo departed with the same items which it brought. Similar statistics for 1854 give a total of 1,100 vessels (444,354 tons), of which 142 (97,703 tons) were American and 425 (169,992 tons) were British. Barring steamers from India and over 200 entries each year of Canton River steamers, the Dutch tonnage was next (11,898 and 22,822 tons), followed by that of Spain and Hamburg.³³ In the summer of 1856 the shipping in Hongkong harbor at one time included British, 10,704 tons, American, 15,284 tons, Dutch, 2,583 tons, and Spanish, 149 tons.³⁴ In the three final months of this year—the most active trading season for Americans—British hostilities were being conducted against the Chinese

about Canton. Much merchandise from the United States for Canton was landed at Hongkong for transhipment in small steamers, which brought Canton exports for the American market to Hongkong in similar fashion. Quantities were unknown.³⁵ After the burning of the Canton factories in December Hongkong took control of the foreign trade from Canton. Thereafter trade and shipping at the British port increased more rapidly than before.³⁶ This occurrence may be linked in importance with the earlier coming of whalers and the effects of developments in California on Hongkong commerce.³⁷

American shipping was sensitive to California legislation regarding Chinese immigrants. In 1855 it was injured by a capitation tax which almost equalled the amount of the External usual passage money.³⁸ In Events 1858 adverse legislation stagnated American shipping at Hongkong.³⁹ Yet in spite of British military operations in China and California legislators, American tonnage continued in the final years of the period to show an impressive total. Countervailing influences

³³ *Com Rels*, III, 640; cf. *ibid.*, 638-639.

³⁴ *Overland Friend of China* July 10, 1856. For colorful descriptions of the varied shipping at Hongkong see Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, I, 41-42.

³⁵ *Canton Cl.*, No. 20, Mar. 16, 1857.

³⁶ *Chin. Com. Guide*, 229. Statistics were not available to indicate the amount and tendencies.

³⁷ According to Cooke's *China*, p. 14, a one hundred per cent increase within forty-eight hours in the local price of rice at Hongkong was entirely the result of mounting demand at Canton. The insurgents stopped rice from one source, locusts destroyed crops in another. British and American merchants were buying up rice from Siam and elsewhere and Canton was kept from starvation by the very people who had shortly before been driven from the factories—at a time when mandarins were inveighing against Chinese who supplied foreigners with food.

³⁸ *Com Rels*, III, 635-636, for the chief trade of British vessels at Hongkong see the same volume. It gives (638) the usual freight to San Francisco as from \$18 to \$20 a ton, to New York (tea) \$18 and (silk) \$55, and to England £5-7 a ton. An unsigned letter from Hongkong (May 21, 1854), in *S. Hongkong Cl.*, gives much the same figures. Tea to Australia brought £8, and to California \$26 a ton for first-class vessels and \$20-22 for ordinary craft. According to the *Commercial Relations*, III, 23, the following commissions were charged in the middle fifties:¹ procuring freight or charters for vessels, 5%, collecting freight inward, 1%, certain other commissions, 2%². Insurance was usually 3%. The average price of rice (100 lb.) was \$2 50 and of No. 1 sugar, \$4 75.

³⁹ *Com Rels*, 1858, p. 29 (Oct. 5).

In an account of vessels and freights in 1858 *The Overland Trade Report* of Hongkong for March 29, 1858, notes freights on certain vessels to London as £4 to £4 2 6. Two steamers for England were engaged, full, at £5. For New York the *Grey Feather* was chartered to load at Whampoa at \$12 a ton. For San Francisco tonnage secured engagements readily, but at lower rates than previously—\$9 to \$10 for cargo and \$55 to \$38 for passengers. For the Australian trade, in which Americans were interested, the berth was overdone; freights were low and passenger rates were the same as those to San Francisco. The *Magnet* was chartered to load at Manila for New York at \$12. The charter from Rangoon to China was at 80 cents, and from Penang at 50 cents.

Demys (*Treaty Ports*, 52) gives the total number of vessels at Hongkong in 1859 as 1,158 (626,556 tons) and in 1860 as 1,534 (875,199 tons). The increase continued.

Regarding some small American and British steamers plying between Hongkong, Canton, and Macao see above, 140n. Engines used in vessels at Hongkong were built in England, except in the case of the *River Bird* (527), running between Canton and Hongkong. She was built in New York at a cost of \$95,000, of which \$25,000 was spent for the engine. The *Willamette* was to arrive later.

have been mentioned from time to time, such as the use of American vessels during the months of the Great Mutiny in India Ready

to follow where profit offered, the ration's ships played a mercantile game in which the rules were those of "catch-as-catch-can "

Chapter 17

INTERMEDIATE PORTS IN CHINA AMOY, FOOCHOW, NINGPO, AND SWATOW

Dwarfed by the greater commercial stature of Canton and Shanghai, intervening ports along the coast of China present some mutual similarities in regard to their initial obscurity in foreign trade, the conflicting predictions made as to their future, the financial, protective, and other problems faced by the Relation of the Four Ports Here Considered

American consular officers tardily assigned to them, and features of their commerce. Differences existed between them, and the last to be opened (Swatow) figured officially only toward the end of our period. Nevertheless, the similarities, and a measure of competition between the American consulates located at the four cities, provide a convenient grouping of them in a single chapter.

One consul, C. W. Bradley, officiated both at Amoy and at Ningpo, in different years, and his son served at Amoy and at

Swatow. Appendix I permits a study of the periods of Consulates, tenure of the regular consuls. In most instances Location of Ports they were of respectable length. The first regular consuls entered on their duties, at Amoy, in 1849, at Foochow, in 1854, at Ningpo, in 1857 (prior subordinate or temporary appointees dating from 1844), and at Swatow (where a vice consul served temporarily in 1860), in 1861. Ningpo, in Chekiang Province and first to have an officer, was nearest to the young treaty port of Shanghai, in Kiangsu Province, to which it was subordinate in respect to commercial and consular matters. By

contrast, Swatow, the last to appear on the list, was closest to the old port of Canton, in Kwangtung province. Amoy was north of Swatow, in Fukien Province, and Foochow was still farther north, in the same province. The ports of China considered in this work were thus distributed in Kwangtung, two, in Fukien, two, in Chekiang and in Kiangsu, one each. The two in Fukien are first discussed, then Ningpo, and, finally, Swatow.

Amoy General and Consular

This port is located on the island of Hiamun in latitude 24°, 40'N and longitude 118°E. The harbor is good and pilots are not needed. Nearby is Kulangsu (or Drum-Wave) Island, on which foreigners finally located. A foreign population of 29 adult males in 1850 (7 American citizens, including 5 missionaries) rose to 34 (31¹) in 1855, including 22 merchants (all British), and to about 60 toward the end of the decade. At that time most of the foreign residents were English, although a few Americans were present.¹ The Chinese population was said to number about 500,000. Difficulty encountered in securing a location for the American consulate at Amoy has been related. The office was finally established on Kulangsu Island.² Trade developed on a sound basis. It depended rather on sugar than on tea. Human labor was an important "export", and opium, though unrecognized until near the end of the period, was a large import. The Chinese commercial community relied on an extensive overseas trade of its own, with the

¹For different accounts of Amoy see Dennys, The Treaty Ports of China and Japan, 245-273, and Morse, Int. Rel., I, 362-363. The latter summarizes the first modern foreign relations of Amoy. Bonacossi (La Chine, 571) compared Amoy to Brest in appearance. Philip Wilson Pitcher reminisces interestingly in his In and About Amoy (Shanghai and Foochow, 1909), see pp. 118-119 on Kulangsu and the question of the meaning of the name. Pitcher states that in 1909 the only one of the old Amoy firms remaining was that of F. C. Brown and Company, and presents a list of older names (p. 25). See also Amoy GL, Dec. 26, 1850. La Gravilère describes the harbor and local products, rating Amoy sugar far above that of Manila and Java. (Voyage en Chine, I, 339-352.)

²Cf. also 35-c, S. Ex. Doc. 22, I, 636-647. One consular building under construction was demolished by a typhoon. (It may be added that years later, in 1904, the consular archives suffered damage by fire.) By

southern island groups, the Philippines, and Formosa.³ Minges suggests that the Philippine trade and the large numbers of Amoy men who had been in Cuba accounted for the singu-

lar fact that at Amoy Spanish was somewhat understood. The fiery, hardy Fukienese manifested a strong disposition to go abroad, and were not slow to oppose their own

March 5, 1856, Consul Hyatt was finally in residence on the island. See the list of illustrations for views of the consulate. A picture of the first British consulate (1844) faces page 370 of the first volume of Michie's *The Englishman in China*. Speaking especially of the coolie traffic, Persia C. Campbell refers to the inefficiency of the British consular establishment at Amoy and mentions direct dealings with the Chinese officials (in the presence of disregard of consular authority) (*Chin Coolie Emigr.*, 103)

³Although Amoy was not the only coastal city to trade with Formosa, it had such a large share of the business that passing reference may be made at this point to some features of business on that island.

Formosa (Port, "the beautiful") lies between 21°, 56' and 26°, 23' N lat., and between 120° and 122° E long., about one hundred miles from the mainland. Its length is 210 miles and at its widest point it is 70 miles across. It originally was known under the name of Loo Choo. The Portuguese were in Formosa in 1624, and the Spanish two years later. The Dutch expelled the latter in 1642 and in 1660 the famous Chinese leader Coxinga drove out the Dutch.

Among the different works outlining the history and features of the island are Couling's *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 192, Denys' *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, 291-325, and James W. Davidson's "A Review of the History of Formosa," in *T. A. S. J.*, XXIV, 112-136 (relating the unfortunate background of hostilities which conditioned foreign trade, esp pp 132-135). Davidson also published a book entitled *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*. Henri Cordier's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Relatifs à l'Ile Formose* (Chartres, 1893) contains some other titles, especially of travels and miscellaneous books. Note also M. Jomard's "Coup d'œil," etc. (a report by the French Consul Montigay) in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.* (43 pp.), Dec., 1858. The index of the present work leads to a few facts in the history of American contacts. Details of American trade arrangements appear in 55-2, *S. Ex. Doc. 22*, II, 1208ff. Walter A. Durham writes in *Pacific Affairs* for September, 1932, of C. D. Williams' activities and gives an incomplete idea of the American part in the history of the monopoly of Formosan camphor (p. 798), a privilege later passing to an English firm; these facts are useful background for later Japanese control. On his return from Formosa on June 9, 1859, Consul Hyatt prepared a report on its resources and on conditions there. (*2 Amoy CL*, No. 8, June 18, 1859, and *Com. Rele.*, 1859, 372.) He found fifty junks or lorchas in the harbor of Taiwan.

Early in 1860 the Chinese authorities by proclamation opened Taiwan to American trade, as soon as the government could send a consul. (*2 Amoy CL*, Hyatt to Cass, No. 3, June 30, 1860) (Actually, commerce had existed for some years under special local arrangements.) Shortly before, Ward had reported his inability to find an American willing to go there for the fees of the office, and his fear that this difficulty would persist until Congress provided a salary (*18 China DD*, No. 23, Dec. 10, 1859, on Jan 25, 1858, Cass had asked the House committee on Foreign Affairs for a consulate.) As early as 1850 Consul Bradley reported that Amoy had become a depot for Formosan coal (*1 Amoy CL*, No. 9, Dec. 26.) In 1851 this coal brought seven and eight dollars a ton at Macao. The exports of Formosa, in 1855-1856 (part?), were valued at \$1,666,000 (*3 Hongkong CL*, memorandum preceding No. 27, Feb. 12, 1856.) In 55-2, *S. Ex. Doc. 22*, II, 1216, a table gives exports in 1856 as \$1,654,000, the point of valuation is not at hand. Much of the export value taken from the island was accounted for by junks and lorchas. Besides camphor and coal, quicksilver, copper ore, and livestock were procurable (*5 Hongkong CL*, Keenan to Marcy, No. 40, Feb. 14, 1857.)

Robinet was concerned with Formosa, and Crosby's *Louisiana* went there in the middle fifties. In addition to these men, Nye Brothers and Company, and Williams, Anthon, and Company, already established in South China, were interested, particularly in camphor. To avoid opposition these American groups joined forces. A fixed amount to be paid on each ship that sailed, and an obligation to give aid against pirates (the ships supplied to be temporarily under Chinese control) seem to have been part of the bargain by which they secured a monopoly. The bark *Science*, armed, was sent to Formosa as a store ship, under Captain George A. Potter. Other vessels despatched were the *Isabella* [*Isabelle?*] *Hyne*, the *Architect*, and the *Frolic*, with \$80,000 and with presents to gain the good will of the authorities. These Americans built an eighty-ton schooner (the *Pearl*) at Whampoa for use in the shallow harbor at Taiwan. Captain M. Rooney, who succeeded Potter, made improvements in local navigation. Difficulties arose with the Chinese camphor contractors. Robinet bought out the rest of the group. From the start these men loaded seventy-eight vessels (presumably seventy-eight loadings of a much smaller number of individual vessels) with cargoes costing over \$400,000. On the passage of the camphor monopoly to English hands within a short time (after the Americans failed to interest their government in securing a degree of control of the island), and then to certain Chinese, see *Pacific Affairs*, as cited above. It is said that in less than two years over one and one-third million pounds of camphor (costing about six cents a pound) were disposed of profitably at Hongkong.

officials bally Foreigners were apprehensive of the motives both of officials and of the local population at Amoy

Commodore Kearney, in 1843, was at Amoy, the first port north of Canton to be visited by a vessel of the American navy⁴

Commodore Biddle reported in Apprehension, 1846 that he found no American and Defence of ican consul or resident merchant Foreign Interest American vessels had been there after the opening of the port⁵. Such a situation left American interests, then mainly those of missionaries, in the hands of the navy, an interesting combination. Following the hostilities of the first Anglo-Chinese war, the English continued their occupation of Amoy until 1846. Their consul arrived in June, 1844. A fire which consumed many of the largest mercantile houses on December 23, 1849, proved less of a setback to commerce than was feared. On this occasion it was necessary for the Chinese authorities and the British consulate to protect the American consulate against plunderers. Chinese troops brought to Amoy ostensibly to repress a secret society were regarded as being really a means of intimidat-

ing foreigners, and a British war vessel was summoned. In 1851 Amoy was taken by the "Small Swords," a branch of the Triad Society. Three vessels from Commodore Perry's squadron visited the port, but as business increased the consulate complained of embarrassing neglect by naval vessels and by the Legation. In 1856-1857 uneasiness existed on account of hostilities between the British and the Chinese at Canton, but, once again, fear of injury to trade proved unwarranted, for the commerce of 1858 showed a great gain. Minges relates that in these years each merchant had an armory in his house.⁶

Although Amoy was opened to trade in 1843, an American consulate was not established until 1849, when Consul C W Bradley

arrived, to begin more than American Consuls at Amoy a decade of conspicuous and varied service to his government.⁷ From archival and printed materials investigators gain the incorrect impression that at Amoy, as at some other ports, consular officers served before those listed in this study. It is therefore necessary to point out, in the present instance, that the Thomas G. Peachy, of Williamsburg, Virginia,

⁴Paullin, Dip Negots, 205

⁵East India Squadron Commodore Biddle Cruise (1845-1847), in Navy Department archives

⁶China DD, Parker to Webster, No. 10, Jan. 28, 1851, Hsia, The Status of Shanghai, 11; 2 Amoy CL, Hyatt to Cass, Dec. 31, 1859. For an account of conflict between Europeans and Chinese see Power, Recollections, 188-146.

"A brief biography of Charles William Bradley, by Louis H Gray, appears in Volume II (pp 568-569) of the Dictionary of American Biography. It corrects information from an unidentified clipping found by the present writer in the front of a Bradley family history, and supplied by Mr R P Bradley, of Seattle, a nephew of the consul. Fourth child of Luther Bradley, Charles William Bradley (1807-1865) took part of a college course at Washington (now Trinity) College in Hartford, and then went to the General Theological Seminary in New York. He spent several years at a minister. Disagreeing with the church, he turned to public and scholarly interests. In 1846-1847 he was Secretary of State for Connecticut. Bradley was awarded the honorary degrees of M.A. (from Yale and Trinity) and LL.D. (from Hobart, 1846). His health and his general nervous condition were seriously and permanently affected by an injury sustained early in life.

During this officer's later consulship at Ningpo he was consulted by Reed regarding the proposed new treaty. It is probable that through him and Consul Murphy at Shanghai the aggregate consular influence on this diplomatic matter was considerable. It is known that Reed invited Bradley to go North with the Legation; the clipping used here states that the invitation was extended at the suggestion of Lord Elgin, on account of the consul's superior knowledge of Chinese jurisprudence (sic). At different times Bradley's health suffered from his work as consul and as claims commissioner. After leaving China he travelled in the United States and in Europe, meeting scientific and literary men.

When the letters of Bradley's sister are made available more light will be shed on this important man and his associates.

The American Oriental Society has a Charles W. Bradley Fund (the Bradley Type Fund, to 1916), which originated in 1864 from a draft of approximately £158 received from the "Hoh C W Bradley, as a donation to the Society from eight American merchants in Shanghai, for the purchase of a fount of Chinese type." (Quoted from the Proceedings of May, 1864.) The type arrived in 1869 (Ibid., Oct., 1869). Apparently the Fund is not a memorial. The writer is indebted to the Society for these details relating to the gift. Bradley brought back a young Chinese to Yale, perhaps in the early fifties, it is thought that he finished his course.

who was appointed early in 1844 resigned on October 29 of that year to accept a medical appointment elsewhere. For nearly five years the question of an appointment seems to have rested. At this time no salaries were available. When Bradley was sent to Amoy in 1849 the only salary was that provided the preceding year for judicial services. This officer was fortunate in having his able son to relieve him.⁸

The Bradleys, father and son, were followed by the Hyatts, father and son. By an interesting coincidence the two sons were given training for language work and similar duties. Hyatt's differences of opinion with the Legation do not erase an impression of his ability and care. His trips in search of commercial knowledge brought useful results,⁹ and in some respects he appears, like

Bradley, to have been a twentieth-century thinker in a mid-nineteenth century position. His son was described by Flag Officer Stribling as having an unexceptionable character.

Besides the question of better naval protection in the presence of local disturbances, there were the usual consular prob-

lems relating to finances, The Usual appointment and payment of Problems substitutes, translation and Present relations with local offi-

cials, and withholding of customs duties. The coolie traffic flourished vigorously. Consuls were personally troubled by the slowness of the mails and the effects of the trying climate. Genuine ill-health among consuls at different ports was a cause of more necessary visits to the United States than has been recognized.¹⁰

⁸Bradley desired the appointment of his son as vice consul simply to strengthen the position of the consulate with local authorities, inasmuch as the British consulate was staffed with many officers. He was willing to pay the cost from his own funds. (The record of the service of C. W. Bradley, Jr. appears in Appendix I.) Bradley felt that the authorities were more friendly to the Americans than to the English, but that the American lack of display placed the nation's consular office hardly above the French and the Spanish offices, rightly regarded as those of "mere merchants." For the same reason Bradley appointed a well-qualified Chinese (Lin-King-Chiu) as linguist, to be paid from his private funds. Bradley sometimes used the services of the well-known W. A. P. Martin for language work, and secured for him a place with Reed as interpreter of the "court dialect" (Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay*, New York, etc., 1900, 147.)

In 1850 it was necessary for Bradley to suspend relations with local officials, pending action by the Legation, on account of their insulting attitude in connection with the adjustment of difficulties of missionaries (1 Amoy CL, Dec 26, 1850.) The British consulate, backed by warships, had less difficulty with local authorities, in regard to judicial matters, than was experienced by the American consulate.

Consul Bradley drew up regulations (1850) for the small American community there, rules not unlike those of the British. Particular conditions called for particular prescriptions. In view of the narrowness of the streets horseback riding in the city was forbidden, as foreigners annoyed the Chinese by beating their dogs, even chasing them into houses to do so, such conduct was discouraged; attention was also given to the distance which Americans might go outside the city. Parker advised Bradley however that most of the proposed regulations had already been cared for by the treaty or by correspondence between the Legation and the Imperial Commissioner Bradley, an able officer, doubtless knew what he was about, in spite of Parker's somewhat officious attitude (6 China DD, Parker to Webster, No. 9, Dec 26, 1850, with enclosures.)

⁹For example, to Formosa and the Pescadores Islands (2 Amoy CL, May 31 and June 14, 1859; Com Rels., 1859, 372.) The British consulate at Amoy commented in 1854 on the value of one of Hyatt's excursions in relation to inland water communication (Accounts and Papers 1854-55 [2006], LV Abstract of Reports of the Trade for 1854 , p. 16.)

¹⁰Some letters from the Department once were found in the unclaimed letter division of the British consular post office. On appointment of substitutes and an argument regarding duty payments, see above, 151-155. On duties, note also 14 China DD, Parker to Cass, No. 22, May 22, 1857, enclos.

38-1, H Ex Doc 123, pp. 116-117, gives the number of emigrants from Amoy from 1847 to 1853. In 1847 it was only 640, but the total to 1853 was 11,861. See 1 Amoy CL, Bradley, Jr., to Webster, No. 17, Apr 22, and No. 18, May 25, 1852, for a report on the rising of coolies on the American ship Robert Bonne, Leslie Bryson, of New Haven, master. The case abounded in thrilling and quite typical occurrences—murders, shipwreck, plunder, confusion, and rescue by British naval and merchant vessels. It appears that the trouble began when the captain's zeal for sanitation led him to have the queues of many coolies cut off and to order the men scrubbed with brooms. For the owner's concern note Amoy CL,--14, 3, p. 505, Everett to Bradley, Mar 1, 1853. Vice Consul Doty was active in 1858 in bringing coolie agents to grief, their vessels were confiscated and four men were said to have been sentenced to death in accordance with Chinese law Cf p. 195n , above.

Suitable and not too costly means of travel to the consular post, with the officer's family,¹¹ arrangement of the uncertain time of the beginning of salary, and the question of Aspects of the Financial Problem cashing and securing reasonable exchange on drafts were complications of the financial problem. Its chief aspect, of course, was the gap between income and expenses. The cost of supporting a family and paying office rent at Amoy was placed by Hyatt at \$2,000 above the salary. In 1858 he stated that in the preceding four years the difference totaled \$4,605—really a gift to the government and people of the United States. He had also put \$5,000 into the building of a consular residence and office. Prospective losses pointed to resignation. Hyatt's son acted as marshal, July, 1855 to 1861. In 1860 absence of an appropriation prevented payment of the consul's bill for prison rent and presented the possibility of his having to free prisoners whom he could not support.

The appointment of Elihu Doty as a substitute and the bitter quarrel between him and Hyatt over division of the salary have been related. The incident reveals the hostility between Official and Missionary and suggests that both men thoroughly enjoyed this venting of spleen. Hyatt asserted, nevertheless, that before appointing the "quasi-American" Hunter, who for a time preceded Doty, he had unsuccessfully sought to interest each of the American missionaries in holding the place during his own absence. This consul was also troubled by the impropriety of using the services of missionaries in the work of translation. Such an attitude was consistent with his views in general, although it is true that he wished to secure the position of interpreter for his own son.

T. Hart Hyatt, Jr., was given training for this work during his first years in China and was finally appointed interpreter by the Department on June 17, 1858, under Section 6 of the act of 1858. This young man gave the consular business much time. In 1858

Outside Competition with Government for Services of a Trained Consular Officer he received an offer of a place in the Chinese revenue department at an extremely tempting salary.¹² Cherishing his connection with the American service and hoping for better pay from his own government, he continued as interpreter until May 20, 1863. This is another of the cases of early competition between the consular service, on the one hand, and foreign governments or business firms, on the other, for the abilities of superior and well-trained Americans.

Accounts of American shipping and trade at Amoy suggest the contemporary uncertainty regarding the future of the port. In 1855 Consul Murphy at Shanghai regarded Amoy as lacking commercial advantages or any future consular business, and erroneously stated that it had not over three (American) ships a year, could show no American residents (presumably merchants), and created no judicial business or need of correspondence with local authorities. Although judicial cases were then few they were not negligible, and in 1860 there were six criminal cases alone, court expenses in the second half-year running to what at the time was the considerable sum of \$575. Such advantages as Amoy possessed commercially became apparent in following paragraphs.

Amoy. Shipping

For native craft Amoy was probably the greatest mart in China. Hundreds of such vessels made a colorful picture in the harbor. Junks arrived from Malaya, Formosa, and Japan. Many Hong merchants resided at Amoy and conducted their overseas trade from that place. Consular correspondence gives detailed information on imports and on this Amoy trade, in Chinese vessels, with Malaysia at one extreme and points farther north in China at the other. Amoy was

¹¹As late as 1854 there was difficulty in getting transportation to Amoy. There was no direct passage, as the Hongkong-Shanghai British steamer stopped only for profitable inducement, the English opium clippers were reluctant to take passengers, and American naval vessels had no authority to convey them (1 Amoy CL, Hyatt to Marcy, Mar 11, 1854)

¹²2 Amoy CL, No. 12, Sept 30, 1859. In writing to the Secretary of State, Mar 13, 1861, Flag Officer Stribling (temporarily in charge of the Legation) mentions Hyatt's resignation as consul and the temporary appointment of the well-qualified son, pending the pleasure of the President.

a stopping point for the exchange of cargo, breaking each trip North and South

Many vessels from Northern Europe made a good freight in this East Asiatic trade, usually in Chinese service, some of them by the month and some on European charter. They usually were and American of small tonnage. The largest tonnage in Local Trade vessels in port were ordinarily American. Probably the greater number of vessels noted as British and Dutch were on Chinese account.¹³ It was natural that American vessels, also, should participate in the same commerce. Yet, to the end of the period, many of them which came for exports were obliged to enter the port in ballast, and some left without cargo. These remarks supply a setting for the statistics presented below and in Appendix 4 C.

In 1845 the 33 British vessels entering Amoy had an aggregate tonnage of 6,655 tons, largely concerned with the coastwise

and distributing trade. According to Commodore Biddle, Small American Share in Early Shipping the few American vessels entering in 1846 came chiefly from Manila, with rice

British figures show only two under the American flag. One of them (426 tons) brought imports of \$28,618 and took exports of \$1,080. Vessels under other flags were: 45 British, 1 Hamburg, 12 Portuguese (lorchas), 14 Spanish, 4 French, 2 Malay, and 7 Dutch.¹⁴

Such was the state of shipping when Consul Bradley opened his office on August 1, 1849. Five American entries were recorded in that year. In the second

Increases to 1860 half of 1850 not one appeared. A decade later the number had risen notably. An increase in 1855 and 1856 was maintained, with the ex-

ception of 1858, a troubled year in which freights to the United States brought only about half the usual rate.¹⁵ In the year ending September 30, 1859, American tonnage nearly doubled, and imports and exports carried by it mounted to a total of more than a million dollars, while that

Increase of Direct Trade with the United States under the British and some other flags decreased. More over, the direct trade with the United States the United States was advancing. In 1856, only two merchantmen went there directly—one to San Francisco and one to New York,¹⁶ but in 1857 nine went to New York. During part of that year three foreign vessels took to the same city 1,108,250 pounds of tea (\$187,950). In the middle fifties there appeared one ship from California and one from Puget Sound, direct. In 1860 Amoy shared with other ports a setback to shipping as a result of unsettled conditions in China. Many vessels were used by the Allies for transport service. Hyatt estimated the total number of entries during the first three quarters of the year at 402.¹⁷ American vessels for the calendar year numbered twenty-three.

Amoy: Imports and Exports

In 1845 the largest item of imports was cotton, from British India. Over half of the imports of £147,494 came from England, only one item was listed as

Small Be-ginning of American Trade at Amoy being from "America"—muskets. The American drills mentioned may have been imitations of the American type. Exports in British vessels (£15,478) showed sugar candy for the Straits as the largest single item. There were no direct exports for the United States.

¹³Bonacossi, La Chine, 371, 2 Amoy CL, Doty to Cass, Jly 12, 1858, and No 9, Oct, 12, 1858. For interesting features of this trade and for competition of junks with European craft see Power, Recollections, 122-125. There is comment on the considerable trade with Formosa, Swatow, etc., in 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 847-848.

¹⁴For ships at Amoy (and at Canton and Shanghai) in 1847 and 1848 see page 303 of Volume XVIII (1849) of The Chinese Repository.

¹⁵Amoy shipping in 1856 shows, besides 22 American vessels (8,642 tons), 202 British (51,657, some coasters and lorchas), 43 Dutch (16,364), 142 Portuguese (13,352, lorchas), 27 Hamburg (5,581), 10 Siamese (5,010), 16 Spanish (4,377), 10 Peruvian (4,535)—totaling, with those under thirteen other flags, 491 (113,705). Other figures give the arrivals as 397.

¹⁶Com Rels., 1858, 366, and Com Rels., 1859, 344, 373.

At this time there existed need of a lighthouse in the harbor, and individuals levied small light dues on ships. In 1859 foreign capital constructed a substantial dry dock at Amoy.

¹⁷Com Rels., 1860, 427. In a valuable review of commerce in Com Rels., 1858, p 366, Doty placed the total number at Amoy in 1857 at 492.

or Europe. In 1846 foreign vessels entered cargoes worth \$1,137,078 (about two-thirds British) and carried away exports of but \$68,647 (over one-half British). Imports and exports in British tonnage paid duties of Tails 20,916. 1847 showed a total of imports of \$1,180,314 and exports of \$72,494, the British leading in each case with \$629,552 and \$32,948.¹⁸ American vessels imported goods of a value of \$104,781 and took exports worth \$2,244. While trade under some other flags lost, that under American and British colors increased several thousand dollars in each case. In 1848 imports were \$849,677 and exports \$130,705.¹⁹

In 1850, Consul Bradley noted an increase in American trade at the port, and anticipated improvement when the California demand for American tonnage

Appearance of Tea as an Export, Position of Cotton hills," costing about one-third less than at Canton and Shanghai. The consul early pointed to the need of a large American firm to open up direct trade with the United States in teas and other products. The demand for cotton fabrics, previously exported from the United States to China, had lessened, and accumulated stocks were a drag on the market. Native dealers preferred the raw staple and cotton yarns (at \$24 50 to \$27 a picul) to the manufactured product.²⁰

The system of foreign inspectors of customs was not established at Amoy until April, 1862. On reported irregularities to the detriment of the Chinese revenue see above, 224n.

¹⁸Data supplied by the consulate at Canton, in 3 Canton CL. For increases and the nature of cargoes on American vessels see Appendix 4 C, below.

¹⁹ Chin. Repos., XVIII (1849), 296ff, cf. *ibid.*, p. 302, for re-export from Canton of British manufactures

The first coolies by a foreign ship left on Mar 7,

²⁰ Amy CL, Nos. 5 and 6, Mar 23 and Apr 24, 1850
Cooke (China, 88) describes preparation of teas in merchants' go-downs—those too coarse for the English market were labelled "superior" and sold for the western part of the United States and Canada and the British colonies. Cf. 23-1 N. Fw. Dec. 12th, Bradf.th Nov. 26, 1852.

²¹The ten firms of the South arranged their business through commission merchants at Amoy. The proven value of river navigation, partly the result of Consul Hyatt's investigations, and the excellence of Amoy harbor were other advantages.

²² Much of the British trade, also, was carried by way of Hongkong and the Straits. Doty reported that, according to the British consul, most of the raw cotton was probably from India and the yarn and long cloths from the United States. Cf 1 Amoy CL, data bound after the letter of Dec 31, 1856, and 2 Amoy CL, Doty to Cass, No 4, Apr 8, 1858. As late as 1900 a difficulty remained regarding determination of the proportion of imports direct from the United States, since they were chiefly re-shipped at Hongkong and read, in customs reports, as being from a British port. (57-1 S. Doc. 411.)

²³² Amy CL, Hyatt to Cass, Nos 4 and 5, Sept 30 and Oct 1, 1860 On the later decline of the tea trade see Couling, Enc Sin, 26 In 1900 foreign commerce at Amy totalled \$5,196,802 80, as against a possible \$5,000,000 in the year ending September 30, 1859

In 1856 there were no direct imports at Amoy from the United States, but as a result of the rupture at Canton²¹ there were considerable direct exports to that country. There doubtless existed an important indirect trade, but the proportion is not known. It will be observed that in the recorded table exports were overtaking and passing imports in value. Opium was probably of greater value than all other (British) imports combined, and the American consulate complained of its escaping payment of duty when the bulk of American goods was taxed. It has been seen that the financial needs of the local authorities at some ports (including Amoy), however, soon led to a tacit recognition of opium as an article of commerce and to the collection of a "duty" on it from the Chinese holders.²²

1858 was an unsettled year. There was unrest among the Chinese, tea prices were high, a short (local) crop of cane in 1857 had sent sugar prices up nearly one hundred per cent, and the world commercial crisis harmed the trade. Exchange on Hongkong was at four or five per cent discount in March.

In spite of disturbances in shipping the commodity trade of 1860 improved and American business at Amoy showed an increase. In the third quarter, direct exports to the United States broke previous records at \$515,000.²³

THE 1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION REPORTS AT 400,000

Gains in While the American trade of
1860 the year did not approach
that at Canton, Shanghai, or
Foochow, it was comparable in value to that of Ningpo, and showed a gain since the opening of the consulate which made the cost of that office a trifle in comparison with the profit taken by Americans. As consuls facilitated this business they attempted also to curb attendant irregularities and, thus, to preserve the American good name.

Foochow. General and Consular

Foochow proper (in lat $26^{\circ} 02'N$ and long $119^{\circ} 25'E$), on the north bank of the Min River, was reached by the stone bridge of "Ten Thousand Ages,"

The City connecting with the island of of Foochow Nantoi, on which foreigners lived. The head of navigation for large foreign vessels was at the Pagoda Anchorage,²⁴ eleven miles below the city, and about twenty miles from the sea. The bold beauty of the surrounding scenery has been compared to that of Switzerland. The castellated wall had a circuit of nearly ten miles. Foochow is 185 miles distant from Amoy, and 410 miles from Shanghai.

In the midst of an estimated Chinese population of half a million, the resident foreign population in 1850 numbered 10, of whom 7 (all but one Ameri-

The Foreign cans) were missionaries, and Community in 1855, 28, of whom 17 were merchants. American residents in the following year were less than 20, although American property was valued in the millions. In 1857 the foreign population gained fifty per cent. Train, publishing in 1857, mentioned 50 foreign residents, including 3 or 4 ladies. Of the community he wrote that, in spite of its "energetic youth", it gave the traveller a sense of isolation.

"commerce and commissions may keep a man here for some time, and officials may be kept alive by the cares of government, while the messengers of the sacred mission in duty bound find contentment in remaining, but as for me, who have no such cares on the China border, give me any place on the world's face to reside in but Foo-chow."²⁵

Foochow early attracted the attention of foreigners. Before Portuguese traders occupied Macao in 1557 they had been driven from this port, and from Early Foreign Ningpo. The English East Interest in India Company had tried to Foochow open the Foochow tea trade as early as 1830.²⁶ It is said that after the first Anglo-Chinese war the Emperor objected to the opening of the port on the ground that it would check the shipping of teas to Canton, where his subjects had an established business.²⁷ True or untrue, this statement described the change which foreign merchants desired.

The first English consul, T. Lay, arrived in June, 1844, ten years before the American Consul Jones appeared, in the autumn of 1854. By the time Jones

Occurrences at began to serve American interests at Foochow, the relations between Chinese and foreigners had taken on a definite character and the main trend of commerce had shown itself. The British had had difficulties with the fiery population over losses sustained by Englishmen in a riot, the securing of satisfactory consular quarters, and other issues.²⁸ There was no foreign residential concession or settlement at Foochow, and as late as 1860 the housing question was troublesome for foreigners.²⁹ In March, 1846 a mob attacked their houses. It must not be supposed that the inhabitants of Foochow confined their lawless acts to foreigners; they have been described as "the most determined pirates who infest the seas". It was said that

²⁴57-1, S. Doc. 411, 63-64, this document gives a later account of Foochow and of foreign residence on the island. For a view of the bridge over the Min see the illustration facing page 120 of the first volume of Michie's The Englishman in China. Note also Dennys, Treaty Ports, 272-290, page 285 describes Foochow currency and the system of weights.

²⁵An American Merchant in Europe, Asia, and Australia, 137. This comment may explain, or soften, the apparent callousness of remarks by Consul Gouverneur on Foochow and his work there; see above, 184n

²⁶57-1, S. Doc. 411, p. 65.

²⁷Anon., China, Pictorial, etc., 263.

²⁸On consular quarters see the article by George Smith, in Chin. Repos., XV (1846), esp. pp. 193-194.

²⁹This was one of Jones' first problems (1854). The American missionaries and merchants had had difficulty in securing land on which to build, although not as much as the British. At this time the British consul cut off communications with the Chinese authorities, withheld duties, and awaited the coming of a man-of-war, a

"every junk meeting another weaker than itself becomes a pirate". Such generalizations may exaggerate, but in a keenly competitive commerce, and without the restraint of a strong Chinese naval force or any other equivalent of local village government, many people of this province found use for conspicuous violence and the exercise of physical courage.

Insurgent disturbances in 1853 led the Americans lacking official leadership, to form an autonomous committee. In April, 1855, men from a British warship blew up several landmarks erected by Chinese on tests, 1853-1856 ground previously purchased by a British merchant. During disorders on the river in

June a boat belonging to Americans was attacked. On October 18, the United States Ship Vandalia was in port. An official visit with the Chinese prefect on this occasion was productive of many promises of cooperation. These did not prevent a mob attack on some of the ship's officers, on shore, when they were arresting deserters. In the same year foreign consuls and merchants had occasion to protest against Chinese proclamation of an additional duty on tea exports, to be collected sixty miles up river from Foochow.³⁰ The year 1856 produced much unrest.³¹ The Chinese created an issue by detaining one of Russell and Company's boats engaged in loading the ship Samuel Russell. On July 3 the American merchant Howard Cunningham was murdered. The situation in regard to the currency problem became acute at this period.³² Americans desired the presence of a war vessel.

In the spring of 1857 domestic disorders in the interior caused foreigners to consider fleeing the port. Fortunately, the difficulties at Canton failed to prompt any attacks by the four thousand Cantonese at Foochow. An American boat used to carry mail was seized by officials and its operators were attacked.³³ Although the spring of 1858 brought some improvement in "foreign affairs" at Foochow, much local disorder remained. The populace were hostile to their own officials, on account of unredressed wrongs, and broke into the Viceroy's dwelling. Many soldiers were about. As a complication, and perhaps as a partial consequence, there arose serious controversy over alleged abuse of the United States flag by American merchants and others.³⁴ Their apprehension, and the protection of foreign interests by an American naval force after a battle between rival lorcha factions, on June 25, 1860, have been related (page 146, n. 38).

It was to the accompaniment of such commotion and risk that American consuls discharged their duties to resident American merchants and the Consular Task of Protection were complicated by it.

As in the case of Amoy, the American government made an early effort to provide an appointee. It was even more unsuccessful. On August 14, 1844, the Department notified Robert L McIntosh of Virginia of his appointment. His commission was not sent until the

precedent which American merchants urged Jones to follow, under the most-favored-nation clause, and one which he hesitated to use. The English soon effected a settlement of their controversy (For a case of Heard and Company relating to building on a lot in 1854 see 55-2, S. Ex. Doc. 22, I, 434-435). In 1860 Ward instructed the consulate that Americans desiring to rent houses within the walls of the city might do so, but that "any objection offered on the part of the inhabitants against any particular locality would authorise the authorities to interfere" and to prevent the rental. (19 China DD, Ward to Trescott, No. 24, Oct 28, 1860. On this question cf. section b of Chapter 10, above.)

³⁰ 1 Foochow CL, Jones to Marcy, No. 11, May 21, 1855, June 20, 1855, and No. 14, Nov. 16, 1855. In this year, thirty-four pirate junks from the neighborhood captured sixty-seven junks under convoy of an English ship, in a calm, when the protector could give no aid.

³¹ For remarks on the possibility of rebel control of cities dominating rich commercial areas, the relation which capture of Foochow would bear to affairs at Shanghai, and fear that the rebels, remembering foreign aid in compelling them to evacuate Shanghai in 1854, would not continue even the limited existing trade privileges, see 5 Shanghai CL, Murphy to Marcy, No. 1, Sept. 1, 1856. The Taipings never occupied Foochow.

³² For the Cunningham case see above, p. 194 and note 56 on page 225, and for the currency problem, p. 217. The Knapp murder case in 1859 (noticed on pages 122 and 145n.) exhibits a phase of difficulties with local authorities.

³³ See above, 142n.

³⁴ Cf. p. 134, above; the West Larratry case is related on page 189.

beginning of 1845. Although confirmed by the Senate, he did not proceed to his post. Four years later (February 7, 1849), Henry Fries of Ohio was confirmed.³⁵ There is no indication of his ever having served. In August, 1850 the Department wrote to ask him to deliver the (non-existent) archives to Dwight Webb (of Detroit), who had just been confirmed. Webb sent his bond, and communicated with the Department on September 2, apparently his final message. On March 1, 1853 a letter was addressed to him by the Department, inquiring whether, in view of his long silence, he was at his post.³⁶ During this time occurred the curious local appointment of the Rev James Calder as special vice consul to take care of a marriage, the disallowance of which has been related.³⁷

The unsuccessful, or possibly dilatory, procedure of the Whig administration of the Department of State under Clayton, Webster, and Everett was not repeated by Secretary Marcy in Success in the following period of Democratic control.³⁸ On August Securing a Consul, Jones, 11, 1853 (Colonel?) Caleb Dunn, and Jones of Richmond, Virginia, Gouverneur was appointed. He reached his post by November, 1854.

In the earlier part of that year there were apparently two local and temporary appointments—C W Orne and a merchant, D O Clark. The latter seems to have been also at Bangkok as agent for Russell and Company.³⁹ Weakened by the effects of illness and strenuous work in China, Jones returned to the United States

in 1857, in the summer of 1859 he died, at the age of forty-two. It seems fair to regard him as a genuine and honorable casualty in line of duty.⁴⁰ There is some indication that Dunn, the vice consul who followed Jones, desired the appointment as consul, but the next incumbent was the enigmatic Samuel L Gouverneur, who arrived in the spring of 1860, promptly removed the consular flagstaff from the property of Russell and Company, and proceeded to make merchants feel the full weight of his presence.⁴¹

It is not necessary to rehearse in detail the various questions confronting officers at Foochow. The sending of consular

mail four hundred miles over-

Consular Prob- land, infrequency and irregu-

larity of incoming mails,

failure of Departmental let-

ters to arrive, acute need of an interpreter in the midst of continual difficulties with local authorities and population, inconven-

ience in paying for such services,⁴² insuffi-

ciency of a sick consul's funds when return-

ing home, very adverse exchange, delay in se-

curring allowance of a claim for judicial sal-

ary—these should now have a familiar ring in the reader's ear. At Foochow it seems to

have been especially hard for the consul to get away to a suitable point for a rest and to return within the specified ten days. The matter of withholding duties in 1856 and 1857 was more than an annoyance. It involved

questions of policy enlisting the most care-

ful attention and patience. The total amount held out during the Cunningham murder case

³⁵Cf. 1 Foochow CL, Feb 14, 1849, regarding this office

³⁶Cf. 52, above

³⁷It will be recalled that the judicial act of 1848 and the important consular acts of 1855 and 1856 were signed by Democratic Presidents

³⁸Cf. Appendix 2

³⁹His wife's difficulty with Vice Consul Dunn over division of the salary has received earlier mention. Dunn's heated reply to a Departmental letter about this matter, and his intention of resigning appear in 2 Foochow CL, No 18, Jan 5, 1860

⁴⁰Cf. *Ibid.*, Eliza T Jones to Cass, Oct 3, 1859. The next appointee was W H Carpenter (Ap 15, 1861)

Gouverneur stated that the records of the office did not go back of Jan 9, 1858, and was generally critical of the condition of the consulate—an attitude which seems less and less justified as one reflects on the strenuous hardships encountered by previous officers. The tendency of records to fall into "arrears" in the face of practical difficulties is not confined to consular offices. The document entitled *Archives of Government Offices Outside of Washington* (62-5, H Doc 1448), p 58, suggests an earlier date (1855, purchase of a cemetery for foreigners). This document, published in 1913, exhibits amazing ignorance of such matters as records, dates of opening of offices, etc.

⁴¹Jones used a native interpreter, perforce, paying him out of personal funds. In 1859, the Department refused to permit use of a Congressional allowance for interpreters to be used for the payment of Chinese, and reminded the officer at Foochow that the men serving at other ports were young Americans. In 1860 this matter was still unsettled. Provision had been made for only three interpreters, then stationed at Shanghai, Amoy, and (temporarily) Canton.

was \$76,170.⁴² Lack of physical force to control troublesome Americans and the effort to prevent smuggling were further trials. Although there was discussion of a foreign inspectorate of customs in 1855 this system was not established until near the end of the period. It was charged that, from the opening of the port, an arrangement existed between tea shippers and Chinese officials for payment of as little half the stipulated duties. One attempt of the viceroy to prevent collusion by directing the establishment of a new customhouse and the appointment of new officers every ten days produced no recorded improvement.⁴³

Consul Jones bore the brunt of the adjustment of relations between the new consulate and local Chinese officials. At first

these contacts seemed satisfactory, but in 1855 Jones encountered a "cool indifference", if not "perfect contempt", toward his communications which tempted him to stop duties until a better attitude was manifested. In this year there were many changes in Chinese officers. At least three prefects served during three months, a situation recalling the rapid succession of officers at the American consulate in Shanghai in 1857-1858. Early in 1856 the new prefect, managing "foreign affairs", was a Canton man and seemed to justify Jones' hope of better cooperation—for example, in regard to the return of deeds to leased land and the recovery of stolen money. In 1858 an extremely able and satisfactory officer was in charge.

While the consulate was busy with many local problems merchants built up a profitable commerce. A re-American Shipping view of American shipping and Trade Reviewed trade at Foochow follows

Foochow. Shipping

Throughout the period American vessels going to Foochow often entered in ballast, and until the final years, when exports increased rapidly, some sailed marked increase in ballast. The total number of American ship entries (over 100) of foreign vessels in 1855, including the Fifties English coasters in the opium trade, showed a large increase over 1854 (about 50). There were few if any direct arrivals from foreign countries. Vessels entered at one of the other ports, paid duties, and received a permit to land goods elsewhere in China. This procedure had been followed at Foochow by every American merchantman but one, which entered in ballast. Consequently, a return of imports at Foochow makes the total for China appear larger than it really was.⁴⁴

Foochow figured prominently in the rivalry between British and American tea ships sailing to England. The competition

for speed, says Michie, received great stimulus when The Tea Clippers this place became a regular tea-shipping port, with the removal of earlier official restrictions on trade.⁴⁵ Of the nineteen vessels taking teas (15,281,050 pounds) to Great Britain in the first half of 1859, twelve were British and four were American. In the same period teas carried to the United States (2,386,490 pounds) went in four American vessels, three for New York and one for Boston. (About the same amount of tea went to Australia.) Although the opium trade was present, helping to balance the tea exports, no coolie ships loaded at Foochow.⁴⁶

Reference to figures for 1860 in the Foochow table in Appendix 4 C shows the large

⁴² 1 Foochow Cl., Dunn to Cass, No. 11, Nov 17, 1857

⁴³ Ibid., Jones to Marcy, Nos. 17 and 18, Jan. 17 and Mar. 28, 1856, Com Rels, 1860, 426

⁴⁴ Com Rels, III, 375, 1 Foochow Cl., Jones to Marcy, No. 16, Jan. 8, 1858 Train (An American Merchant, 138-137) states that the Hamburg ship Alma Olga was the first vessel to leave Foochow for a foreign port. She sailed on August 19, 1853, and was followed on the twenty-seventh by the American ship Tear. Both were for London, and the American arrived first. The ship Houqua was the first for the United States, leaving January 16, 1854. The Oriental, following on February 22, was lost three days later.

Fortune relates that difficulty of navigating at the mouth of the Min resulted in an increase of insurance rates. He states that some of the tonnage entering in ballast went, laden, to Canton, and discusses interesting other details in A Residence, 220-224.

⁴⁵ Michie also gives some information favorable to British shipping (The Englishman in China, I, 238-239.) In the summer of 1856 freight were chiefly about £3 a ton, losses were feared on several vessels chartered at home at high rates "for the round". The Overland Trade Report of Hongkong, Mar. 29, 1858, gives rates on the little tonnage engaged for London and New York as £4 10 and £15, respectively.

⁴⁶ Williams, Chin Com Guide, 256

Comparison of
Later Shipping
with That at
the Beginning
of the Period
The Chinese Repository (XV,
211-212) stated that, since
the opening of the port, only 7 foreign vessels
had entered Foochow, of which 3 were American.
In view of the small amount of information
available regarding American shipping
in the earliest years, interest attaches to the fol-
lowing abbreviated paraphrase
of items in a journal of a
voyage from New York to Ma-
nila, kept on the ship Thomas
Perkins, 1844-1846⁴⁷:

Left New York, Nov 19, 1844—passed Timor,
Pigeon I., Fish's Island, Fowl Island, and on to Ma-
nila, Mar 24, 1845, taking on rice—sailed for Amoy
with 50 Chinese passengers—took in stones for Manila
and teas for Hongkong, and Chinese passengers—at
Hongkong, June 17, discharged, and took some freight
for Manila—at Manila, July 3, and took on cargo of
sapawood for Foochow—anchored in Min River opposite
Temple Point, Sept 5, and after working on the ship
proceeded on 11th to Pagoda Island

Discharged wood and a few bales of sheeting
and took in 150 tons of ballast and 200 chests of tea
for homeward cargo—Oct 12-13 left Foochow—at Hong-
kong, Oct 21, took in stores—at Manila, Nov 1,
discharged ballast and received sugar, hemp, grass
cloth, indigo, etc for New York—sailed for New York,
Dec 21, 1845 via Straits of Sunda—at New York, Apr
23, 1846, following an absence of over 17 months

Foochow. Imports and Exports

Ambiguity of the term "opening", as applied to the trade of Foochow, appears in some sources and should be explained as mean-
ing the exploitation by mer-

The "Opening" of Foochow to the opportunity presented by the Trade Explained
There appear to have been some local handicaps and restrictions before

this time, but the legal opening of the port under the treaty occurred at the beginning of the period, following the treaties Rutherford Alcock, the British consul, issued trade regulations to govern his countrymen there on April 26, 1845.⁴⁸

From the outset it was known that the route for teas by way of Foochow was less expensive than the tedious trip of six hundred miles to Canton, but changes

Initial Ob-
stacles to
the Growth
of Foochow
Trade

in other circumstances and in the type of mercantile enterprise operating at the port were necessary to bring this route into use, in 1853. Furthermore, piracy along the coast at first interfered with the trade of Foochow. As early as 1845 Chinese tea merchants showed some willingness to take Western goods as part payment for teas, but disinclination of the population to alter their habits remained an obstacle to such transactions. To this must be added the hesitation of foreign firms themselves to establish branches except at Canton and Shanghai. Some foreign piece goods and considerable amounts of Russian cloths, however, were reported to be sold at Foochow by native merchants, another example of indirect rather than direct distribution of foreign articles at coastal points. Always present, of course, outside port limits, was the flourishing trade carried on in opium, placed by one estimate at \$2,000,000 a year.⁴⁹

Years passed without the development of a satisfactory commerce, navigation re-
mained troublesome, markets for imports con-

tinued insufficient, and dif-
ficulties with the natives,
of Russell and as already related, created
Company hazards. The foreign mer-
chants who cultivated this
trade were persons of small means who could
not send funds into the interior to buy teas.
Then, in 1853, the strong American house of
Russell and Company, with considerable fore-
sight, sent a reliable Chinese in their em-
ploy into the back country with ample funds

⁴⁷ There is also a useful loose sheet inserted in this journal (Essex Institute). The volume contains interesting items on the trip and its dangers and some of the difficulties of navigation at ports visited. It will be noted, in the paraphrase, that tea for New York left Foochow in 1845, though not on a direct voyage or as a full cargo.

⁴⁸ Chin Repos., XIV (1845), 247. It has not been observed whether it was expected that these would affect other foreigners, in the spirit of the first British port regulations at Shanghai. Cf p 182, above.

⁴⁹ Chin Repos., XV (1846), 211-212, and XVI (1847), 522-524. In the first volume of his Int. Rel., Morse gives a brief sketch of the beginning of the trade after the treaty, a summary of British relations, and an account of plans to substitute other ports for Foochow.

to secure tea and ship it down the Min River to Foochow. The famous Bohea range was some two hundred and fifty miles distant. Foochow was thus closer than any other port to a tea district, but to one only. The new venture of Russell and Company, conducted from Foochow by D. O. Clark, was a complete and striking success, and other large houses soon followed. Fortune speaks of this shift of interest as one good result of the rebellion then spreading in China.⁵⁰ A feature of the new development was the contention of Chinese authorities that American merchants had no right to send money into the interior, even by Chinese agents, and that any risks belonged to the merchants alone. This attitude was at variance with that of the officials at Shanghai, where such trips were said to be an everyday occurrence.

Train gives the tea exports for the season of 1853-1854 as 1,355,000 pounds to the United States (in 2 vessels), and 5,950,000 pounds to Great Britain (in

Rapid Rise in Exports of Tea from 1853
Exports of Tea from 1853
10 vessels), and for the season of 1854-1855 as 5,500,000 pounds (in 13 vessels), and over 20,490,000 pounds (in 25 vessels). About 300,000

pounds were exported "coastwise",⁵¹ an item which increased in following years. In 1854 there were considerable exports, confined chiefly to tea, the oolong ("black dragon") in particular, which was regarded as especially suited to the market of the United States. This tea was grown to the northwest of Amoy, on the confines of Kiangsi Province. In 1855 trade mounted rapidly, and even the critical Consul Murphy at Shanghai was willing to admit the importance of the place. Increasing trade placed a constantly greater tax on the resources of the consulate.⁵² In the second half of 1855, American vessels

took over 15,000,000 pounds of tea, including 7,674,300 for New York and 523,200 for Boston.

Among ports in China, Foochow came to be regarded as second only to Shanghai in its importance for Americans.⁵³ Recorded imports, chiefly long cloths and long ells, lagged. Those brought from England in 1856 amounted in value to only £70,250. Heavy payments for exports were made in bullion.⁵⁴ Of the 35,000,000 pounds of tea exported in all foreign vessels in the last quarter of 1857, 6,000,000 went to the United States. As usual, Great Britain took much more, in this case three and one-half times as much. There were some losses and the tea market opened lower in 1858, which has been described already as an unsettled year. Tea exports during the summer felt the effects of the monetary crisis in the United States, and England discount on Hongkong exchange at Foochow in March, 1858, was from six to eight per cent. The Mexican dollar increased in value six per cent at this time as a result of acceptance of it by the customhouse.⁵⁵ At least in American trade, the usual recorded imports were of no special importance in 1858, as a glance at Appendix 4 will show. The local markets were readily stocked.

A new phenomenon, which deserves to be bracketed with the opening of the tea trade in 1853, appeared in 1858. The local government had neglected to

The sudden fill the granaries after the increase in failure of local rice crops. Rice Imports in 1857. In the second quarter of 1858 immense quantities of foreign rice were brought in. This seemingly temporary import later gave promise of becoming a regular part of the trade. For it undersold local rice and resulted in an interesting case of economic substitution.

Foochow had a small trade with the Loo Choo Islands and a larger one with Formosa (in rice). The city produced excellent porcelains and some cotton textiles. (*Com. Rel.*, I, 514.)

⁵⁰ *A. Fesidence*, 219-224. The teas exported were of the black varieties. Fortune thought the teas known as Hoopak and Hoonaan (Cantonese renderings of the names of the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan) would go to Shanghai by way of the Yangtze, but they continued to go south to Canton—an indication of the difficulty of making accurate commercial predictions at the time. Morse states that, even after the opening of the Yangtze River trade, teas from the southern part of Anhwei Province continued to go to Foochow. (*Trade and Admin.*, 274.) Teas at Foochow were those from Anhwei, Kiangsi, and Fukien Provinces. See also Train, *An Amer. Merch.*, and Dennys, *Treaty Ports*. Some black teas were raised only seventy miles away.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, 156-157. Train gives figures of exports to the Continent and to Australia, also

⁵² *Foochow Cl.*, Jones to Marcy, No. 12, June 20, 1855—a complaint heard again in 1859.

⁵³ *Foot Papers*

⁵⁴ Cooke, *China*, 90. Cooke gives the total export of tea in this year as 40,972,600 pounds (worth £1,525,000), of which 23,880,800 pounds went to Great Britain.

⁵⁵ *Foochow Cl.*, Dunn to Cass, Apr. 1, 1858

when attention at Foochow was diverted from rice culture and much land was prepared for the growing of tea ⁵⁶

At different times during 1859 a growth in American trade was observed, including a welcome increase in imports ⁵⁷

This was maintained in 1860

Trade Increases New trading houses appeared, at the End of in spite of an alleged effort of established merchants to belittle the importance of the place Consul Gouverneur prophesied the end of entries in ballast Teas taken by American vessels in the second half-year were 12,160,600 pounds (\$2,749,470—or more if allowance is made for the fact that payments were made in Foochow silver dollars) As far as the consul could ascertain, British vessels took about twice as much The average purchase price was estimated at about thirty cents a pound, and the average predicted sale price in the United States and England was ninety cents a pound The consul figured that in those countries the teas shipped would bring, altogether, about \$28,000,000 ⁵⁸ Even if these figures were the excessive estimates of a man who, unlike his unsympathetic merchants, had no desire to depreciate the consequence of the port, they still show the vigor of its rise from the status of an humble commercial Cinderella in 1853 Foochow was largely a one-commodity port, however, the flaw in dreams

of future prosperity--and with later changes beyond our period it relapsed somewhat from the eminence so dramatically achieved

Ningpo. General and Consular

The ancient walled city of Ningpo, situated on the River Yung, in the province of Chekiang, is twelve miles above Chinhai at the mouth of the river

Ningpo: Its Opposite Chinhai is the Neighborhood Chusan archipelago, the leading city of which, Tinghai, on the largest island, is but fifty miles from Ningpo This port is in latitude 29°, 55'N and longitude 121° 22'E ⁵⁹ During the fifties the Chinese population was reckoned at 200,000 Foreigners from the Occident were interested in Ningpo from the early sixteenth century, foreigners from Japan had traded there still earlier European activities, like those of the fierce Japanese pirates who raided this coast in the middle of the sixteenth century, were an unfortunate background for later contacts About the middle of the eighteenth century an imperial edict confined European commerce to Canton

Not long after the reopening of the port to foreign trade by the English Treaty of Nanking a British consul, Robert Thom, arrived (December, 1843) ⁶⁰ A few months later,

⁵⁶Ibid., No 10, June 30, 1859 For the combination of foreign and domestic economic factors in this change see above, p. 57 Underdeveloped transportation at first permitted economic localism, then followed a marked degree of competition between ports, especially for teas, as improvements in freight routes were made

Rice quotations at Foochow in 1857 were maintained until additional quantities reached Canton from the interior and sixty vessels arrived at Foochow and Hongkong with rice cargoes (Cf 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 1881-1883; prices given in this document for rice ranged mostly about \$3 a picul Comments on prices and quantities of other articles in the trade are given in the same source.) Partly because of the immense influx of shipping, it was difficult for merchantmen to secure freight, although it was thought that the demand in Siam, the Straits, and India might relieve the China situation

⁵⁷The increase in imports is not evident in the figures given in Appendix 4 C, but the report was probably correct. The consul may have had collateral data It is also sometimes uncertain whether remarks on commodities apply generally or to American trade only (2 Foochow CL, Dunn to Cass, Nos 10 and 15, June 30 and Oct 1, 1859) At this time the consuls were aiding in the execution of the plan by which American indemnity money was secured by receiving one-fifth of the duties and tonnage dues on American vessels

⁵⁸Ibid., Oct 1 and 15, 1860 (also, Com Rels., 1860, 427)—useful figures regarding American and British exports, Com Rels., 1861, Pt I, 372 Larger amounts of English drills were being taken into the back country than previously Gouverneur asserted that the failure of Ward to visit Foochow earlier than he did (Oct 9-10, 1860) was a result of mercantile belittling of the port It was charged that the same tactics had been used at Canton and Shanghai, before their advantages became well known

The system of foreign inspectors at the Foochow customhouse was introduced in July, 1861

⁵⁹Cf Dennys, Treaty Ports, 326-349, for a detailed account of Ningpo An excellent brief description of its commodities and commerce appears in Com Rels., I, 514 McCarter commented well on navigation, locations of the consulate, etc., in 35-2, S Ex Doc. 22, II, 840-843 A view of Ningpo faces page 356 of A van Otterloo's China Couling relates briefly the earlier foreign contacts (Enc Sin) For one of the statements of the advantages of Chusan see the anonymous China, Pictorial, etc 269-271

⁶⁰Cordier, Deux Établissements Français, 39. He was preceded by the missionary, W. G. Milne.

Ningpo local appointments provided Reopened for a subordinate discharge of American consular functions. These beginnings occurred while British hostilities were still fresh in the memory of the Chinese. British war vessels had blockaded Ningpo in 1840 and had entered it in 1841, after the fall of Chinhai. When the American naval vessel St Louis paid a visit in the summer of 1844 the place was still in possession of the British, as was Chinese Commodore Biddle found little foreign trade at Ningpo in 1844, resident Americans were all missionaries.⁶¹ The adult male population of the foreign community in 1855 was between twenty and twenty-five, of whom five were merchants. At one time there had been some doubt as to whether Ningpo or Shanghai should become the center for trade in the region of the lower Yangtze River, but the strong organization of the Ningpo merchants kept business in their own hands and foreign merchants went to Shanghai.⁶² In consular as well as commercial affairs Ningpo was a satellite of Shanghai, a relationship showing some similarity to that existing between Swatow or Macao and the large southern ports.

The history of consular activity at Ningpo—for one can hardly apply the term "consulate" to the informal arrangements of certain years—was irregular

American Consular Officers at Ningpo ⁶³ confused. For this condition the high-minded men who served were not responsible, as a brief review will show.

On March 22, 1844 Consul Forbes at Canton authorized Henry G. Wolcott of Boston (like Forbes, connected with Russell and Com-

pany) to discharge the duties of vice consul at Ningpo. The reason given to the Department (July 8, 1844) was the need of having someone to enter ships at the customhouse. Wolcott was consul at Shanghai from 1846. In that year the list of consular officers in The Chinese Repository gave Wolcott as vice consul at Ningpo, but it is probable that in 1844 he had delegated Dr D. B. McCarteree, the missionary-physician, to act for him.⁶⁴ McCarteree served at different times until 1852 (Appendix 1). Until 1855 there was no need of an officer for attention to American commerce or for ordinary routine purposes. Renegade Americans engaged in violent activities required restraint, but the naval arm of government was more suitable for this purpose than the slight force which a small consulate could muster. In spite of the relative insignificance of this post, the government made an attempt in the autumn of 1853 to locate a regular consul there. The involved story of the first appointment and confirmation (September 17, 1853 and January, 1854) of Charles William Bradley, formerly consul at Amoy, of his refusal for financial reasons, and of his appointment to Singapore and service there during part of 1854, 1855, and part of 1856, need be mentioned here only as a preface to his second appointment to Ningpo in 1856, and as a reminder of the uncertainty and variability of arrangements regarding commencement of salary.⁶⁵ Once again an original appointment from Washington failed to secure a regular consul. In 1854 the appointment of Townsend Harris also was unsuccessful. This appointment was made on

⁶¹The St Louis was the first war vessel of the United States to visit at Ningpo and aroused considerable interest (Pallier, Dip. Negots of Amer. Naval Officers 1778-1863, p. 210.) The ship returned home by way of Australia, one of the first vessels of the American navy to go there. For Biddle see East Indi Squadron, Commodore Biddle Cruise. (1845-1847), Biddle to Bancroft, July 2, 1846 (Navy Department).

⁶²Morse, Trade and Admin., 27. A glance at a map shows the geographical possibility of lead ship by Ningpo. Its proximity to Chusan should be remembered in this connection, for some foreigners were eager to see that place developed.

Another case of retention of trade by the Chinese is noted in the subsequent account of Sw Tow.

⁶³Biographical data appear in an article in Enc. Sin., 321, and in the appreciative article by W. J. Heil in Dict. of Amer. Biog. McCarteree was born in Philadelphia in 1820 and went to Ningpo in 1844. His various activities have received earlier notice.

⁶⁴The first appointment contained a minor complication arising from Bradley's receiving recess and sessional appointments. The chronology of Bradley's different appointments may be seen in the manuscript instructions and in 1 Ningpo Cl., e.g., Oct. 1 and 26, Nov. 29, and Dec. 19, 1855, Feb. 17, 1854, July 19, Sept. 30, Oct. 9, and Dec. 15, 1856, and Mar. 19, 1857. The 1855 correspondence suggests the difficulties of securing a not too costly passage to Shanghai, either by the overland route (\$1,700) or by way of California and Shanghai (or Hongkong and Shanghai). The trip up the coast from Hongkong would have been a heavy expense, according to Bradley, and he would have had to charter a vessel to take him to Ningpo, at a cost of not less than \$150.

August 2, 1854 and Harris heard of it while at Penang.

Up to this time, appointments to Ningpo of men living in China were made locally. With Harris the Department of State moved a step nearer. His (Harris,) lack of interest in this Macgowan particular post led him to and McCarteree bring a new name into the narrative, Dr D J Macgowan, another missionary-physician.⁶⁵ Macgowan went up from Hongkong to Ningpo in June, 1855, he bore a delegation of Harris' authority, permitting him to serve as acting consul. Shortly before, Dr McCarteree, who had been acting under an appointment of May 19, 1854 from Commissioner McLane, had resigned, placing the consular documents under seal for Macgowan,⁶⁶ although he may have served in fact until the middle of June. It is probable that during May Macgowan had written to McCarteree of his own appointment and that this was a cause of McCarteree's resignation. For private reasons, presumably of friendship, McCarteree waived all discussion as to the validity of an appointment by a consul who had never arrived at his post or received his exequatur. It was at this time (June, 1855) that McCarteree left for Shanghai in the hope of reaching Japan, a desire which was not realized.

In this situation, Commodore Abbot (in charge of the Legation) showed him a letter, at least a week before the end of June,

written by Macgowan, in which Increase of the latter resigned the consular post at Ningpo. He had Burden found the burden of the task,

so recently accepted, increased by the sending of boats (by Americans) from Shanghai under the American flag and with "sailing papers", for the purpose of taking some of the coasting trade from the English and the Portuguese. Another surprise was the amount of labor involved in translating and in addressing local authorities in connection with the misdeeds of runaway sailors. He could not "abstract from graver duties" the requisite time for such work, although he informed the taotai that he would serve as an intermediary. After an absence of a little over three weeks McCarteree resumed, on July 8.⁶⁷

On February 28, 1856 McCarteree was given a "commission" as acting consul, by Commissioner Parker. In letters of October 1 and 23, 1856, he expressed McCarteree's desire to be relieved. Final Service and on the twenty-ninth Parker accepted his resignation. The consular property was left in charge of the Rev Richard Q Way.⁶⁸ McCarteree's writings on consular relations have exhibited their high intrinsic quality in connection with different parts of the present work, and it is to be regretted that a man of his ability and character should have had to make his exit from office in the midst of financial difficulties. From the time of his "commission" he had had no advices from the government about payment, to his great embarrassment.

The situation was occasioned partly by the great distance between Washington and Ningpo. It was only eighteen days after Parker appointed McCarteree that C W Bradley

⁶⁵Born in Massachusetts in 1814, died at Shanghai in 1893. He went to Ningpo in 1843, where he had a hospital. In 1854 he established at this place a semi-monthly (later a monthly) publication, primarily a newspaper, called *Chung-wei Hsin-pao* ("Sino-Foreign News"), which ran to 1861 (Roswell S Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912*, Shanghai, etc., 1933, p 51.) Cozeno says that Macgowan later hoped for an appointment by Harris to a post in Japan (*The Complete Journal*, 50m.) He served as a surgeon in the Civil War and returned to the Orient in connection with a plan for a telegraph line to China by Bering Strait (Cf Chapter 21, below.)

⁶⁶1 Ningpo CL, Macgowan to Marcy, June 22, 1855. On Harris, see above, pp 56-57. Harris sent Macgowan a power of attorney which he had executed at Penang. (Among the papers in Macgowan's hands was a despatch from the Department to the "acting consul", informing him of the appointment of Harris as consul.)

⁶⁷Thus technically the office was vacant during the brief interim. These facts are included in consular letters relating to a difficulty over payment of salary to McCarteree. A complication arose over his draft for pay for 1855. For short periods he was absent. Macgowan's brief service created a question with the financial officers of the Treasury. Conscientiously, McCarteree (1857) had recognized the propriety of some deductions for absences—which were repeated in 1856—"unless the long period during which (since 1844) I discharged the duties of Consular Agent be allowed to be a sufficient offset!" (*Ibid*, Apr 23, 1857.) Very subtle interpretative distinctions as to pay appeared in the discussion. Although a power for judicial services had been provided for Ningpo, the question of the right of a subordinate officer to exercise judicial powers was yet unsettled. Under the act of 1855 regular consular pay was to begin on July 1, 1855.

The American-owned boats making frequent trips between Shanghai and Ningpo are noted in Appendix 4.

⁶⁸On November 3, 1856 Parker authorized Way to serve as consular agent, stating that if the latter was unwilling he would be made acting consul.

Bradley's Acceptance of a Second Appointment was confirmed in Washington as regular consul at this port. On July 19, 1856, Bradley, at Singapore, asked permission to delay his trip to Ningpo until the end of the year, since he was to take Harris' Siam treaty to Washington.⁶⁹ Actually, Bradley was not at his post until August, 1857. On October 1 of that year the consul's staff consisted of an interpreter (Way), a native Chinese-writer, and a Chinese messenger—all appointed on August 3, 1857. No American residents would accept places as court clerk and marshal.⁷⁰

Bradley's versatility and wide interests did not favor continuous consular work at one post. Apparently (like McCarterre)

A Peripatetic Consul, Bradley's Different Positions tasks His case lends no support to the idea that only an officer of inferior ability and feeble conscience was irregular in his consular service. In the spring of 1858 he went to Shanghai to talk with the minister about American commercial interests and was invited to go north with the Legation. Reed, a severe critic of interrupted consular tenure, agreed to be responsible to the Department for his absence from Ningpo, where Way again took charge. Another voyage, while he was bearer of Reed's treaty, carried him to the United States. In the spring or summer of 1859 he was back at his station. As if to gain poise for another flight, he remained until about the beginning of November, when his appointment as claims commissioner took him to Macao, where he sat with O. E. Roberts from November 10 until February 27, 1860. George A. Cables acted during most of this period of absence. Bradley's health was undermined by his strenuous and exacting labors

and he resigned the consulship in the latter part of 1860. A ministerial appointee, George W. Fish, carried on as vice consul.

Shortly before Bradley first arrived in the massacre (June, 1857) of the Portuguese residents and the seizure

of their lorcas by Canton men at Ningpo. This attack was characteristic of the prevailing violence. At another time rebels levelled the Portuguese all the wealthy hongs and thousands of homes in the city. Not long after the close of the period the Taipings were to seize Ningpo. Convoying extortions were a menace. Special difficulties were created by footloose and reckless Americans, allied with lawless Chinese and others, and by the need of confining those convicted. These matters require no individual repetition here. The foreign consulates hoped to see the Chinese authorities use their power to control foreigners without extraterritorial advantages, in ways not inimical to nationals of the treaty powers. They urged a joint ministerial policy to clear up the existing situation at Ningpo, and offered concrete suggestions. These the diplomatic representatives regarded as impracticable, generously but uselessly stating that the Chinese must act on their rights, with only the friendly counsel and moral support of the consuls.⁷¹ A special aspect of this question was the insufficient authority of the Portuguese consul over his many fellow nationals at Ningpo. Other consuls agitated for a grant of greater power to him by the governor at Macao, which was promised. In 1858 the "disorderly and contumelious conduct" of the Portuguese—at a time when they knew there was no American consul—had been a thorn in the flesh to American residents at Ningpo.⁷²

⁶⁹ After Harris had declined the Ningpo office he had succeeded in securing appointment to Japan and on his way to that country had signed a treaty with Siam.

Bradley was in New Haven in late September. His use, for the Singapore consulate, of articles sent him there for office purposes at Ningpo required an additional supply for this port—a consular waif. In March, 1857, Bradley engaged passage to Siam as bearer of the ratified treaty, which had not secured the government's approval until a few days before.

⁷⁰ The presence of different officers who used Chinese did not entirely prevent the appearance of the usual "translation problem." In the assignment of official interpreters, Ningpo, like Foochow, was passed by. For a list of property, papers, etc., on April 11, 1856 see 35-2, S. Ex. Doc. 22, II, 829-830. At first Bradley used a missionary building.

⁷¹ Regarding the consular plan see 35-2, S. Ex. Doc. 22, II, 1567-1570 (Parker, May 30, 1857). Cf. 182n, above, and 186.

⁷² 35-1, H. Ex. Doc. 123, 156ff. Material constituting a brief, interesting history of Chinese piracy and some of its international aspects at Ningpo is present in the correspondence of McCarterre and others in 35-2, S

Ningpo: Commerce

Although the quality of the consular officers who served at Ningpo was high, the history of American interests at the port during most of the years of Ningpo Not Important for the period was unsatisfactory. In some respects it was American Trade; an unsightly backyard to American Capital in the Local Shanghai. Local trade between the two places accounted for much of the later increase in the figures of American commerce at Ningpo. Of imports, a considerable part (in local "China boats") represented distribution of goods already brought to Shanghai, and even the American "merchantmen" carried to Ningpo many Chinese products. They also brought specie in 1860 amounting to almost half the import value of goods on American or American-owned tonnage. Some of them came "in ballast." At least a part of the exports were recorded as being originally from Japan,⁷³ and a considerable portion of the local products taken away were probably for consumption elsewhere in China rather than in the Occident. In the final year of the period, exports in vessels owned by Americans showed a sharp advance, the value of silk exports alone was possibly a third of the total.⁷⁴

Ningpo was spared the evils of the coolie traffic, an advantage shared to a considerable extent by Shanghai, but (1856) about three hundred chests of opium Coolies and were sold each month⁷⁵ "Chinese Opium, Early boats" of American ownership, operating locally under Chinese masters, had been Tonage in the Ningpo-Chusan Trade; Indirect Imports a feature of the trade of Ningpo from the beginning of the period, before the development of the specialized run between that port and Shanghai. In 1845 three

of these, under the American flag, entered from Chusan, with cargo of £1,128, returning to their point of departure with goods of about the same value. Americans, however, did not dominate this business. British tonnage brought cargo of nearly ten times the value from Chusan (Bremen vessels from Singapore were also present). In these years the very small imports of Occidental goods were carried almost entirely by British vessels. Teas exported were trifling in amount.⁷⁶ In spite of the usual lack both of direct imports and of large reshipments from Shanghai, Ningpo received plenty of foreign goods. From the late forties, these were sent, presumably, to Soochow, which had great commercial facilities, and thence distributed to Ningpo. Cooke stated that in fair competition the Americans beat the English in drills and sheetings, probably because of the advantage supposedly belonging to the producer of the raw materials. He noted the presence of German and Russian competition in woollens.⁷⁷

The commercial advantages of Ningpo were not commensurate with the great amount of trouble which it caused the poorly supported American consular authorities. Ningpo Concluded Offering no immediate and unmistakable financial and cultural gains, the port must be regarded as a distinct liability in these years. Without some consular activity, it is true, the national reputation might have suffered still more than it did from lawless Americans resorting to the place. If it had never been formally opened by treaty, disturbers might have gone there even more freely. From this standpoint alone does it seem possible to justify the presence of consular officers.

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⁷³There are signs that "Japan imports" went in some quantity by American tonnage, from Japan to ports of China which had had commercial dealings with Japan in earlier centuries. In the fifteenth century Ningpo had been the chief China port for Japanese trade. Comparisons can be made, and an idea of judicial arrangements in relation to Japanese pirates gained, by reference to Brinkley's A History of the Japanese People, 444-447.

⁷⁴Cf Appendix 4 C. This Appendix enters four American vessels for the second quarter of 1856, but it is possible that the figure covers the third quarter also. In that quarter, at any rate, two American vessels entered in ballast and cleared with China cargo for other Chinese ports. The outward cargo of one of them was shipped by a Chinese broker.

⁷⁵Williams, Chin Com Guide, 256, and figures in 3 Shanghai CL.

⁷⁶For 1847 see Chin Repos, XVIII (1849), 296ff. These small figures show a large comparative excess of imports over exports.

⁷⁷Cooke, China, 196-198.

The foreign inspectorate was not installed until a few months after the end of the period, in May, 1861.

Swatow

Near the mouth of the Han River in Kwangtung Province stands the city of Swatow (properly Ch'ao-chow), in a self-contained district and in the midst of The Position a clannish, but strongly mi- of Swatow gratory, population ⁷⁸. It is a place of only moderate size. The channel leading up to the city is too shallow for large vessels and requires the use of lighters. A shipping port grew up early at a small village at the mouth of the river. Four miles from the seat of commerce is "Double Island," and to the north is Namo Island, both of which figured in the trade.

The following remarks provide brief comment on some years of extra-legal and illegal trade and an account of the opening of the port, January 1, 1860.

Unrecognized The recorded American com- Trade at merce was slight. When the Swatow be- port of Amoy, farther north, fore the was opened, foreign vessels Treaty of anchored in the waters off Tientsin Swatow. Even earlier, opium ships stood off Namo Island. Native sellers repaired, somewhat inconveniently, to Double Island, and transacted their business on board ship. Serving the convenience of all concerned, there gradually erode (by 1851) an informal community on Double Island. Driven away from Namo by the Chinese authorities, the opium vessels shifted to this place. Official control was not effective, and the small number of foreigners maintained themselves easily. Toward the end of the period their misdeeds created popular hostility and they were not safe away from Double Island, until natives elsewhere grad-

ually became used to the sight of them. As at Ningpo, trade was largely in the hands of native Chinese or Singapore Chinese. Proximity to Hongkong enabled them to arrange their own importing business with facility. Gilds exercised a strong influence. The coolie traffic flourished here and produced many of the horrible occurrences which damaged the reputation of foreigners, although the atrocities are said to have been largely the work of native agents. From 1852 to 1858 an estimated total of 40,000 coolies were sent from Swatow, and, in addition, 8,000 died on Double Island. For a period after the port was legally opened the custom-house and the consulates were established on Double Island ⁷⁹.

Although the recorded shipping in 1860 was not impressive in amount, the idea existed that Swatow might soon compare favorably with Foochow and Amoy. Commerce Before leaving the United in 1860 States, the first consul appointed, William Breck, was at pains to secure for the Department accounts of the place from former residents in China, and information or opinions about its commercial possibilities. This work of promotion built up an encouraging picture. A former commissioner to China called Swatow a great commercial thoroughfare between North and South China ⁸⁰. Williams estimated the value of the total commerce in 1860 at \$6,176,933, of which opium accounted for about one-third. For 1862 the estimated total was \$8,500,000 ⁸¹. Nevertheless, the American share as shown in Appendix 4 C was relatively small.

On January 25, 1858, Secretary Cass recommended the establishment of a consulate

⁷⁸Morse, Trade and Admin, 278-279, Dennys, Treaty Ports, 230-242, Williams, Chin Com Guide, 180-181, Richard, Comprehensive Geog of the Chin Empire, 210, and Arnold, Com Handbook of China, I, 600ff.

⁷⁹Williams, Chin Com Guide, 180, 236.

Figures assembled in 1855 indicate that, of the 7,711 coolies sent to Havana during the previous eight years, 2,508 were shipped from Swatow. In 1855 five American vessels (6,532 tons), in a total of twelve (12,773 tons) under four different flags, took 3,050 coolies, nearly half of the total of 6,388.

According to both Cordier and MacMurray the maritime customs service was established at Swatow early in 1860, either in January or in February.

⁸⁰Com Rels, 1859, 379, 1 Swatow CL, May 1, Breck to Appleton, with encls (e.g., from Fred T. Bush, late consult at Hongkong, including comment on the expense of living at Swatow), and other letters of May, June, and September, showing Breck's preparations and uncertainties.

For an incomplete list of vessels (usually with tonnage) under all flags at Swatow in different months from May, 1859 to February, 1860, before the arrival of the American consul, see 36-1, H Rep 584, 8-10. Of the vessels given for 1859, over one hundred entries, a considerable number were American. Cf. 1 Swatow CL, Breck to the Department, from Rochester, Jly 15, 1860. After the Treaty of Tientsin many vessels entered without waiting for the official opening of the port.

⁸¹Williams, op cit, 181. For data not employed here, on restrictions on trade, coolies, etc., see Com Rels, 1861, Pt I, 372ff.

Consulate at Swatow, and the hope established that Congress would pass a bill creating a regular salary. There was no chance of the consul's receiving salary for judicial services such as was paid some years before at the five specified ports. Although the treaty and the judicial act of June 22, 1860 imposed judicial functions, the Department reported six days later the failure of a bill for compensation of the consul at Swatow, stating that for the present he might trade. This was just what the appointee did not intend to do,⁸² even though he had had commercial experience during two years in the East Indies. Breck (b New Hampshire) had never resided in China, but claimed to possess knowledge of trade conditions there gained through practical correspondence. He planned in 1860 to take out with him a man qualified to serve as marshal. The failure of the salary bill seemed to mean that he could not take even his family to Swatow, but nevertheless his wife accompanied him.⁸³ He did not reach his post until February 18, 1861, and his narrative must be dropped with mention of the curious Departmental instructions (of December 12, 1860) directing him to include Ningpo in his consular jurisdiction. Hearing of Bradley's intended resignation at Ningpo, the Department linked the two least important (but widely separated) offices in this temporary union. The result was that Breck left his own station to go to Ningpo, and placed at Swatow C. W. Bradley, Jr., as vice consul.⁸⁴

This able young man of thirty-two, ten years a resident in China and already old in consular experience, had indeed been selected by the minister, on

Comments on December 10, 1859, to serve G. W. Bradley, in this capacity. Besides Jr., Vice Consul his service to the United

States he had held a consular appointment for Spain. Bradley hoped to secure the consular appointment, with trading

privileges, for himself. Selection of this able man he was on the ground would have been fitting, but the controlling influence was in the United States, and Breck was given the place. On reaching Swatow the consul, without salary, had the task of procuring an office.

When the minister visited the port in April, 1860, he found no Chinese official of sufficiently high rank to correspond with the consulate.⁸⁵ Such relations

Satisfactory as the office had with local Relations with authorities during 1860, however, were reported as satisfactory. In one instance it seems to have been necessary to ask them to apprehend the Chinese murderer of an American. They arrested the guilty man and executed him publicly. There was some question as to whether the consulate should act in this case, since the victim, McCann, had entered the customhouse service under the guise of another nationality.

The choice of Swatow as a consular port was open to much the same criticism as that which has been made regarding Ningpo.

The question recurs, whether Question as to Desirability of Trade Treaties were necessary or desirable at a place where

something of the practical informality which had featured the early Canton trade existed. It is pertinent to recall W. B. Reed's remarks early in 1858, when he pointed to the clumsiness and inadequacy of existing treaty arrangements and suggested that at Swatow, then an unauthorized port, without treaty obligations or official machinery, trade was actually on a better footing than at any other port. The elder Bradley recommended the abrogation of many seemingly plausible, but practically unenforceable, provisions of the treaty of 1844, made by the learned legalist, Caleb Cushing.⁸⁶

⁸² Cf. 36-1, H. Rep. 564, to accompany Bill H. R. No. 765. Cass thought the salary should be four thousand dollars—the same as at Canton and Shanghai—on account of its importance, somewhat generously characterized as greater than that of Amoy, Foochow, and Ningpo. For House discussion see Cong. Globe (36-1), pp. 2611-2612.

⁸³ Breck's letter of Feb. 14, 1861, relating his trip by way of San Francisco and Hongkong.

⁸⁴ Flag Officer Stribling, when temporarily in charge of the Legation, wrote (Mar. 12, 1861) to the Secretary of State criticizing this arrangement, by which two ports intervened, and suggested the attachment of Swatow to Canton and Ningpo to Shanghai.

⁸⁵ 19 China DD, Ward, No. 7. On the later closing of this office and the sending of the archives to Canton see Archives of Government Offices Outside of Washington, 39. For Keim's quotation of strictures on the administration of the consulate see 42-2, H. Ex. Doc. 317 (1872), p. 82; the present study finds less and less reason to place much reliance on this inspector's sketchy reports and criticisms. Ward regretted the absence of a British consul at Swatow' (19 China DD, No. 13, but see Com. Repts., 1859, 379.)

⁸⁶ 16 China DD, No. 13, Ap. 10, 1858. This document contributes other suggestive observations on diplomacy and treaty-making. Cf. Appendix 6, below. More should be known of the history of this squatter commercial community near Swatow.

Chapter 18
SUMMARY FOR CHINA AND NEARBY PORTS

The direction of expansion within the United States was westward. By 1860 the nation was transcontinental in area and in attitude. Its trans-Pacific Movement West interests had secured a long base line extending from California to Puget Sound. Its North in Eastern Asia, Consuls earlier whaling activities in the North Pacific had lost Follow, and Regulate their remoteness from American territory. The nation's Private Interests; Pre-Asiatic contacts took a north-occupcation with erly direction, to Japan and Problems of Siberia. The acquisition of Commerce Alaska was soon to make the United States an Arctic power.

Concurrently with these developments, foreign contacts with China also extended northward to include new ports. In addition to political factors there were economic reasons for this movement. Commerce entered new ports above the century-old base of Western trade at Canton. England acquired a nearby base of her own at Hongkong which competed seriously with Canton, and even at the sleepy Portuguese settlement of Macao an impulse toward independence asserted itself. New Chinese ports to the north attracted increasing commerce, Shanghai and Foochow in particular. By 1860 threads of interest and contact were being run along the Yangtze River and the shores of the Yellow Sea and the Gulf of Pechili. Commerce, like diplomacy, moved northward. In the case of the Americans in China, merchants usually preceded consuls. The barrage of treaty provisions had laid low many barriers to trade, and the advance of private commercial enterprise followed. Practically speaking, consulates may almost be regarded as an afterthought. This situation was exactly consistent with American purposes and characteristics. The restraints and supervision specified and implied by the treaties followed. Even at the consulates, several of the men who worked out the problems of governmental control and protection of the affairs of private citizens were themselves merchants.

At Hongkong and Macao Americans lived under European flags. Extraterritoriality did not prevail there, but a number of legal

Diversity of Conditions Affecting Americans in Chinese Ports; Strength of British Influence, Disorders in China and American Activities

problems arose, especially in connection with seamen and consular rights. In China, Americans lived under the shadow—sometimes the protective shadow—of British leadership in shipping and trade and in consular prestige. The British position was occasionally challenged, but in most cases the American position was secondary. It followed that American consular and commercial history was greatly affected, though not always guided, by the British position and policies—for example, such considerations as the ownership of Hongkong, attitude toward the Chinese, customs duties and claims, and the waging of military hostilities. American interests were naturally very sensitive to native disorder or rebellion in China, an almost continual factor during more than half the period. The net result was the appearance of many "wartime" problems. To these were added other difficulties created by Chinese pirates and renegade Americans scattered in native communities near the coast. Just as piracy favored Chinese use of American and other foreign vessels, so the accidents of rebellion and war favored experimentation by Americans with new trading arrangements and the use of neglected ports, as in the case of Foochow in relation to the tea trade. The development of Shanghai, with its special community organization and somewhat liberal spirit, witnessed the creation of the maritime customs inspectorate. In this arrangement, and in the settlement of a related difficulty concerning the collection of customs duties, the American consulate played a conspicuous part.

Much of the history of American commercial relations with China requires consideration from the viewpoint of the peculiarities of individual ports. Differences in provincial jurisdictions, local administrations, and, occasionally, commercial regulations, have been observed as causes of unevenness and contradictions.

in arrangements for foreign trade Privileges enjoyed at one place were sometimes interdicted at another

" Thus, in 1855, it is stated that [at one port] rice was exported to the amount of 30,000 piculs to a vessel, free, too, of all export or other duty, save a *douceur* of 200 or 300 to some subordinate, while the exportation of this article is not only forbidden at Shanghai, but the death-penalty is inflicted on such of the Chinese as are detected in violating the prohibition "¹

The old Co-hong had meant clear-cut Chinese control, but within a very small area and by a few well-understood rules As the range of commerce widened, effective control by the Chinese remained at a few places, but at others foreign influence became marked In contrast to Ningpo and Swatow stood Hongkong and Shanghai, centers of new ideas and practices² Macao and Hongkong bore a close relation to Canton These two ports, under foreign control, conducted a very uneven competition in the application of their free-port policies and present peculiarities of political and commercial status which affected the activities of Americans

Choice of ports was the subject of early discussions, and those which were selected proved very uneven in value and in the commercial opportunities

Uneven Value of which they presented³ Amoy Ports for Foreign and Foochow tardily became sign Trade, Tea- tea ports of consequence, but tures of Commerce; Direct Ningpo remained subordinate to Shanghai and was a seat of Trade with the disorder among troublesome United States Americans without connections

At Ningpo and at Swatow, where legally unrecognized trade sprang up, the Chinese gild merchants proved able to keep in

their own hands much of the trade which foreigners expected to secure The important commodities were tea, silk, opium, and textiles, although rice, sugar, metals, and several other items were profitable The quasi-freight traffic in coolies flourished chiefly in ports of the South Shanghai made rapid gains in the export of silk Trade fluctuated, and in certain years there were severe setbacks in shipping and in special commodities Disturbances and crises abroad were felt in the ports of China Much of the trade with the United States in American vessels was circuitous, but the amount of tonnage going directly to the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, as recorded in some of the consular reports, increased--from zero--year by year

In Chapter 13 comment is made on the qualities of several American consular officers who served in China The numerous problems which they encountered

Problems	revealed much similarity in type and variation in degree
Shared by Consular Officers	Difficulties related to salary and expenses, health and absences, land and buildings, control of subordinate appointees, translation, trial and confinement of troublesome Americans, non-cooperation or hostility of native authorities and populace, and various disputes with English or European consuls
Clearances, customs duties (as noted above), coolies, and other more limited points added to the tax on the ingenuity and patience of consular representatives of the American people in China ⁴	

Parallelism between the methods of Chinese authorities and those of American officers has been observed The former issued proclamations to their people and to their merchants, while the latter issued various notifications to their fellow citizens in the

¹ Com Rels , I, 531

² Consul Murphy's suggestions (1858) regarding trade and treaty revision, based on experience with the operation of the first foreign treaties, may be examined conveniently in Appendix 6, in connection with this general review of relations with China The early trade with China had enduring political and legal consequences To these must be added, in the period here considered, the effect of the trade on American business, not simply with reference to imports and exports, but also as a result of the fortunes made by American merchants and later used in the domestic development of the United States As local shippers or middlemen in Eastern Asia (e.g., in rice and sugar), Americans extracted some fine profits which were only indirectly related to trade with the United States

³ On the uncertain reasons for choice of new ports in 1855 see Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 520 In connection with unnecessary consulates in China, and at other points, there are comments on Ningpo, Hakodate, "Hingoo", and Bangkok in a large volume (1878) devoted chiefly to evidence in the case of Consul Seward (45-2, H. Mas Doc 51), pp 1, 2, 505 The office at Ningpo was discontinued for a time after the consulate at Chinkiang was opened In spite of the transaction of considerable business, that at Swatow was closed The document cited is useful for the subsequent history of some consulates and for the trade covered by them See also comment on a work by Seward, in the Bibliography, B I (a), at the end of items under the Department of State

⁴ Some foreigners served in American consulates, in different capacities For consuls of other Western nations in China (including Americans and Englishmen), see *Chin Repos*, XVIII (1849), 11-12, and XX (1851), 16-17

Parallelism between Chinese and American Measures of Persuasion and Coercion presents the similarity also between the memorials presented by Chinese merchants to their officials and the resolutions if made by American consuls for the consideration of consular and diplomatic representatives. To the native population consuls issued notices in the Chinese manner. Two coercive measures were closely related, the withholding of duties by consuls and the refusal of clearances by customs officers. In spite of occasional hesitation, mercantile responsiveness to the attraction of possible credit continued throughout the period. Trade at ports included in the treaties of 1858 did not wait for the formal opening of them. Almost all the great foreign mercantile houses in China established branches at Tientsin as soon as troops had paved the way. Eagerness for gain was matched by the dramatic effects of losses and failures.

⁵ 18 China DD, Ward to Cass, No. 20, Oct 20, 1859, Fortune, *A Narrative of a Journey*, 316-317. Special attention to newspaper accounts is necessary for occurrences prior to the arrival of consuls. Eagerness for gain among merchants was paralleled by the desire of some men in public positions to plant the flag at new points in the Orient. Among these was Commissioner Parker. He figures in one communication from Napier, the British representative at Washington, to Clarendon (F O 5/672, No. 112, Conf June 24, 1857), in which Napier reported his inquiry of Appleton, of the Department of State, as to whether that officer knew of Parker's project by which Formosa, Chusan, and Korea should be taken over by the United States, England, and France, respectively. Appleton knew only of the plan regarding Formosa. He could not see how the United States could "consent with their Constitution, [accept] a possession of that sort. A mere coal or naval depot might be useful to their trade, but territorial acquisition was not only apparently incompatible with the order of the American Government but it was also excluded by the terms of Mr Reed's Instructions." However, Appleton was not very definite or positive. Napier had sent to London a copy of Reed's instructions, secured confidentially in exchange for a copy of Lord Elgin's.

⁶ For the names of many firms in China see *The China Mail*, X, p. 188, in No. 510 (Nov 23, 1854). On January 1, 1860, James Purdon and Company of Canton and Hongkong and Isaac M. Bull and Company of Shanghai and Foochow merged to form Bull, Purdon and Company. In 1858 Thomas Walsh was the head of the Shanghai house of Russell and Company, Beckwith (a brother-in-law of Forbes) was the company head for China. In his *Personal Reminiscences*, R. B. Forbes gives a list of the partners of Russell and Company from 1824 to 1879, beginning with Samuel Fussell and Philip Amadon and concluding with Charles Vincent Smith. Augustine Heard was an early partner, and other famous names figured in the firm's history. The members for the years of the period here examined were

Robert Bennett Forbes	1839-1844	Paul Sieman Forbes	1844-1873	Geo Griswold Gray	1855-1859
	1849-1854	George Perkins	1846-1849	Chas W. Spooner	1855-1860
Warren Delano, Jr	1840-1846	J. N. A. Griswold	1848-1854	Chas W. Orne	1857-1860
Edward Delano	1841 (to China)-1846	Edw Allen Low	1850	Wm S. Sloan	1857-1862
Dan'l Nicholson Spooner	1843-1845	Robt Shaw Sturgis	1850-1857	N. M. Beckwith	1858-1860
Wm Henry King	1845-1849	Edw Cunningham	1850-1857	Thos Walsh	1858-1860
Jos Taylor Gilman	1845-1845	Friedrich Reiche	1855-1858	Henry Sturgis Crew	1860-1866
		George Tyson	1860-1867		

It is probable that D. N. Spooner again figured in the firm in the middle or later fifties. Cf Preble's *Letters from Friends 1855-1862*, G. Wolcott to Preble, June 20, 1858. Wolcott referred to Sturgis as a "No 1" man. These letters contain much information on China trade.

A considerable number of firm members in Russell and Company began as bookkeepers or clerks. Forbes' list supplies certain facts about individuals. Frank Blackwell Forbes, who was admitted in 1863, had gone to

One of the significant terms in the vocabulary of the time was the word "busted". In one letter written in 1858 it was applied to three prominent American firms. Two of these were King and Company and Wetmore and Company. The merchant Nye was "busted" and living at Macao, not daring to enter Hong-kong.⁵

Special notice has been given different branches of the powerful house of Russell and Company, the failure of which was delayed for a generation. At Shanghai Russell and Company had the larger number of American vessels were consigned to American firms, among which this concern and Heard and Company (of Shanghai, Canton, and Foochow) were especially active. They were consignees also for a considerable number of British and other foreign vessels.⁶

American commercial interests in China were not simply a matter of the import of some goods and the export of others, nicely balanced in value. Exports from that

Excess of Chinese Exports, Consequent Problems, Sale of Shipping Services and Tonnage
country greatly exceeded imports taken, and the problem of adjustment of the balance, which had existed from the beginning, continued to occupy attention. Relatively inelastic Chinese demand for the legalized commodities

from abroad formed an obstacle to realization of commercial dreams. Use of imports of opium (illegal during most of the period) and of Spanish, Mexican, and South American dollars helped to right the balance, but at the same time created acute problems in law, the mechanism of business, and policy. An aid to commerce was found in the use of foreign shipping in the strictly Asiatic trade, which added profit from the service rendered rather than from an exchange of goods. This somewhat detached phase of American enterprise took interesting and varied forms, and linked American shipping with the Chinese system of domestic and foreign commerce, as explained subsequently. The carrying trade was not limited, however, to the Asiatic scene, for United States vessels entered conspicuously

into the carrying trade from China to Europe. They found use as chartered transports during military hostilities, and, through sale of tonnage, supplied an unexpected export commodity to the East.⁷

The marked responsiveness of the trade to events in China and abroad has been illustrated by the effects of the growing California commerce and by developments in that state.

Responsive-ness of Trade to Current Happenings
Furthermore, local interest in a line of steamers from California developed from the early forties. The widespread influence of the prolonged Taiping Rebellion (from 1848) varied from year to year. In 1855, for example, it took forms which threatened to stop the entire trade of Shanghai. Irregularities in the supply of goods produced fear (1859-1860) among merchants that they would not be able later to buy enough for future needs and were one cause of overpurchases at prices inconsistent with profit-making.⁸ Americans were quick to seize the congenial opportunity to engage in the free-lance carrying trade in river steamers

China in 1857 as private secretary to William B. Reed Massachusetts, a few were from other New England states or from New York. Of the three others, one claimed Trenton, N.J., one Baltimore, and one (Reiche) Hamburg.

Many of the Company's papers in the Baker Library at Harvard offer an opportunity to the student of commercial history. These were given by Mr. Robert Shewan of Shawan Tomes and Company, Hongkong. See the article "China and the Foreign Devils," in EBHS, Nov., 1929, pp. 9-19, showing changes from early years. Of interest is the indication of an early shift to the importation by American firms of British—and then New England—manufactures after the extinction of the Northwest fur trade.

⁷ It is well known that American clippers commanded higher freight rates to England than English vessels could secure, sometimes twice as high. (See, for example, *Forbes' Notes on Ships of the Past*, 35.)

The varied circumstances in which American vessels were chartered by foreign merchants or governments have been related. This subject reaches back to Dutch use of such tonnage in early voyages to Japan.

Of related interest were some instances of Russian use of American vessels in the China trade and employment of Russian tonnage by Americans. According to Letourneau's *Early Relations* (p. 37), Russians had chartered the American *Eclipse* as early as 1807 to carry supplies from China to their settlements in Kamchatka and the Northwest Coast of America. Russian ships were forbidden to enter Canton. Astor planned to provide the Tsar's settlements with goods in exchange for furs, but diplomatic difficulties arose (*Ibid.*, 37-38). Peter Parker's "Memoranda of Russian Vessels in China" (with his No. 21, Sept. 24, 1851, in *China DD*) relates the prohibition of trade by the "Prince Menschikoff" (at Shanghai, 1849-1850), the first Russian vessel in Chinese waters after the Treaty of Nanking, and two loadings, chiefly on Americans on American account, of the supposedly Russian bark *Freja*, at Hongkong, with Chinese goods for San Francisco (1850) and for New York (1851). The second sailing was from Whampoa on July 23, 1851 (The Russian bark *Sikta*, loaded on mixed account by Germans, was under dispatch for New York, by the Prussian consul, at \$12 a ton.) On August 24, 1851, the Russian-American Company's *Nicola* sailed from Shanghai for Russian territory with Chinese produce, loaded by Americans on the Company's account. It was then thought that low freights from San Francisco would route many furs through that port rather than by the Sandwich Islands.

⁸ Cf. Lindau, "Le Commerce étranger en Chine", in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Ser. 2, Vol. XXVI (Oct. 1, 1861), in which commercial figures for 1860-1861 are given (p. 772). On transhipments at Hangchow and inland transportation, and on the strategic position of the customhouses in that city and at Soochow, see remarks in Cooke's *China*, 116-118, 193. Cf. Parker's No. 24, June 8, 1857 (*14 China DD*) for indications of the relation of the needs of Chinese public treasures to trade, for the sensitiveness of shipping to Chinese administrative action, and for the effect of economic conditions in neighboring regions. Williams shows the delicate competitive relation existing between cotton crops of the United States, India, and the central provinces of China (*Chin Com Guide*, 88.)

and in larger vessels along the coast. The change of a great part of the coastal trade from native to foreign vessels produced a large increase in the assortment of articles appearing in the trade returns, and complicated the problem of distinguishing between external and internal traffic.⁹ When a Western vessel entered this trade, with its greater roominess, capacity to travel in all seasons, and insurance coverage, it drove from the field an estimated total of at least fifteen junks.¹⁰ This tendency contributed substantially to economic changes within the Empire.

The opening of the Yangtsze Valley at the end of the period aided this substitution and also, it was supposed, lessened the amount of inland (overland) Yangtsze transportation.¹¹ Although

River Trade: a New Pattern
market revealed that Chinese merchants had been sending much foreign goods inland, it nevertheless focussed several forces tending to draw out of line the early pattern of strictly coastal trade in foreign commodities and in shipment of Chinese products.¹² The former bent line extending from Canton, past the intermediate ports, to Shanghai, with various transporta-

tion branches reaching inland, became a rough triangle. From the standpoint of Chinese trade, an interesting chapter in economic history during a few years is provided by such changes, with Hankow as a locus.

In addition to preceding statistical discussions of commodities in commerce at individual ports, it is possible to present more general information relating to the China trade as a whole.¹³ This represents a condensation of extensive and detailed statistics and employs occasional repetition of scattered figures already supplied. These are based on reports made by customhouses in the United States. On account of indirect movements of commodities, they cannot be matched precisely with data collected at consulates in China, Hongkong, and Macao. For comparative purposes some figures of wider application are introduced.

General Statistics and Comments Relating to the China Trade
Analysis
The first selections are made from a table showing the total values of merchandise imported into and exported from the United States in the trade with Asia, and the percentage of this trade in the nation's entire

⁹Cf. above, 253n. Returns of shipments from China to the United States were generally "direct"—a fact, it was suggested, which might account for an excess of imports into China over exports; the latter often were English and Dutch merchandise laden on freight in Bengal and at Batavia (*Com Rels*, I, 520—ca 1855).

¹⁰Montiguy, *Recollections*, 290–291. This author remarked on special French arrangements for participation in this business between Shanghai and Ningpo, and commented also on the honesty of Chinese merchants and bankers in contrast to the ethics of Chinese retailers.

Wolcott's monthly income of \$1,500 to \$2,000 a month from the Steamer *Willamette*, which he bought in February, 1858, is an example of quick returns. The boat had paid for herself by June. Train (*An Amer. Merch.*, 104) suggests that the British P and O steamers—full of passengers and the smell of opium—"coined" money.

¹¹*Com Rels*, 1861, Pt I, p 380. O D. Williams held an appointment as acting consul at Hankow (May 11, 1861), from Flag Officer Stribling.

¹²Regarding foreign articles at Hankow there is comment in Cliphant's *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan*, II, 493.

¹³Attention is called to the later portions of Chapter 14, above, e.g., note 13. Certain other reminders are useful at this point.

The year 1849 marked the beginning of many voyages between California and China, including those of some British and European vessels, at the same time Commissioner Davis reported the exchange, in China, of considerable California grain gold for Chinese products (*5 China DD*, No 12, Feb 22, 1849). The period was notable for the beginning of trade with several new Pacific communities, among which were those on the Northwest Coast of the United States. The building up of the silk manufacturing industry in the United States, requiring increased imports of raw Chinese silk, was a notable case of technological substitution (Cf. p 19, above, and references there cited.)

In using Appendix 4 C it should be remembered that tonnage totals for China cannot be secured without allowance for duplications. *The Overland Friend of China* for July 10, 1856, gives the total quantity of active mercantile shipping under different foreign flags, exclusive of river steamers and coasters, as 75,000 tons.

For figures of the foreign population in China in different years see above, note 6 in Chapter 14. In 1859 the number exceeded two thousand civilians, the British leading with a great majority.

foreign commerce		The fiscal year closed June 30		The Chinese share (with Hongkong) in this Asiatic trade of the United States may		
Year	Imports	% from Asia	Exports	% to Asia	Total, Asia	%
1845	\$9,179,938	8 11	\$2,826,177	2 67	\$12,006,115	5 48
1850	10,309,780	5 94	2,766,720	1 92	13,076,500	4 11
1855	18,265,170	7 08	2,738,636	1 25	21,003,806	4 41
1860	26,189,767	7 41	7,741,150	2 32	33,930,917	4 94
(1866)	89,592,318	11 49	25,620,029	2 90	115,222,347	6 93) ¹⁴

In reading these figures, allowance must be made for changes in currencies. In the percentage column for imports (1845-1860), the highest figure was 9.36, for 1858, and the lowest was 5.13, for 1851. In the latter year, however, the value of the trade showed an increase. In the column of import values, the dominant tendency toward notable increases was interrupted by recessions in 1846 and 1847, 1849, 1853, and 1859. Of these, the decreases in 1849 and 1859 were the largest. The chief increase was from \$10,811,627 in 1851 to \$15,964,914 in 1852. In the percentage column for exports, the highest figure was 2 67, in 1845, and the lowest was 83, in 1854. In the column of export values, the years (italicized) showing recessions from immediately preceding years, or those dropping below still earlier high figures, were 1846, 1847, 1849 and 1850, 1854, 1855, 1856, and 1857. In 1854 the value of \$1,965,657 stood out as a sharp decline from the value of \$4,010,093 in the previous year. The lowest total percentage figure was 3.52. The low years were 1851 and 1854, the highest was 1845.

be observed by comparison with the following values (gold and silver included, except in 1896). Comments on particular years permit more detailed correlations, according to the reader's interest. The highest figures for free imports and for total imports were registered in 1860, but that for dutiable imports appeared in 1855. The lowest figures for free imports and for total imports were \$4,077,287 and \$5,513,755, respectively, in 1849, for dutiable imports, the smallest value was \$1,280,940, in 1847. Notable breaks in the continuity of the upward tendency in total imports occurred in 1846, 1847, 1849, and 1857. Between 1845 and 1852 (above ten million for the first time), however, there was a sag, during which the 1845 figure was equalled but once (\$8,083,496, in 1848). This description applies in general to free imports also, but not to dutiable imports. The latter equalled \$3,000,000 or more only five times during the period—1852, 1854, 1855, 1856, and 1860. In every respect the gains (in imports from China) in 1860 over 1859 were marked.

In the case of exports to China, goods

Year	Imports from China			Exports to China		
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
1845	\$5,782,295	\$1,503,619	\$7,285,914	\$2,079,241	\$190,654	\$2,275,995
1850	4,586,439	2,006,973	6,593,462	1,485,961	119,256	1,605,217
1855	6,881,494	4,167,232	11,048,726	1,535,057	186,372	1,719,429
1860	9,867,946	3,698,641	13,566,587	7,170,784	1,735,334	8,906,118
(1866)	18,195,233	5,827,771	20,023,004	6,921,136	797	6,921,935) ¹⁵

¹⁴ Commerce of Asia and Oceania, 1898 (U S Bureau of Statistics), 1275-1276.

In the entire foreign commerce of the United States during this period, exports exceeded imports only twice, in 1847, by over \$34,000,000, and in 1858, by more than \$8,000,000.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1280-1281. Increase in imports from 1850 to 1860 may be considered in relation to a growth of 55.6 per cent in the population of the United States during the decade.

In the year ending June 30, 1860, duty-paying and free imports from China in the indirect trade were valued at \$69,423 and \$21,552, respectively. These goods arrived chiefly by way of unspecified ports, ports of England and Bremen accounted for values of \$31,441 and \$510 respectively (Commerce and Navigation—Ser. 1087—, 643, 647.) Indirect imports (*ibid.*, No. 19, with classification by countries of origin and amounts of duty paid) show that China and the East Indies were the only regions of origin of concern in the present connection, apart from some tea and silk, not much goods entered.

of foreign production were not above half a million dollars in value until 1853 (a very exceptional showing), and 1856. In 1857 a remarkable increase occurred (to \$2,375,230), which placed foreign exports above domestic exports, but for the one year only. The former increased further in 1858 and again in 1859 but the latter made much greater gains. In 1860 foreign exports slumped while domestic exports rose by nearly 70%. In only nine years (1851, 1852, and 1853) between 1845 and 1858 did domestic exports from the United States to China exceed those of 1845, after which were much lower.¹⁶ With the substitution of the year 1856 for 1858, the same generalization holds for total exports to China. By 1896 imports into the United States had gained but exports had fallen below the figure for 1860—a contrast not found in the preceding figures for American trade with Asia as a whole.

The tonnage in the trade between China and the United States, 1845-1860, follows at the top of the next column.¹⁷ Correlated with the history of shipping

Tonnage Engaged at different ports and the in American general commercial history of Trade with China the time, these figures possess a useful character.

During the period, imports into the United States from China varied in character less than exports to China. Tea led, comprising in different years

Leading from three-fifths to four-fifths of the total of imports and exports It was followed by silk, sugar, spices, and wool.

In 1860 the values were tea, \$8,799,141, raw silk, \$1,920,493, silk piece goods, etc., \$906,929, cassia and other spices, \$296,743,

Year	American Tonnage		Foreign Tonnage	
	Entered	Cleared	Entered	Cleared
1845	21,204	17,477	478	----
1846	18,937	13,697	306	----
1847	16,601	12,334	1,174	----
1848	25,719	17,150	664	----
1849	19,418	11,740	----	----
1850	21,969	17,930	7,445	3,106
1851	27,587	46,317	11,327	10,198
1852	52,076	67,264	26,009	21,507
1853	65,899	66,041	26,965	24,808
1854	51,196	68,658	19,230	18,547
1855	55,048	101,660	15,767	18,768
1856	69,194	83,428	9,981	10,962
1857	57,042	59,549	6,987	9,480
1858	49,958	57,972	15,814	10,696
1859	63,275	95,083	7,810	6,668
1860	77,254	78,370	4,213	5,755

brown sugar, \$628,668, and miscellaneous articles, \$1,229,305. Clothing, wool manufactures, matting, and oils also figured. \$9,867,946 represented free articles and \$2,688,441 dutiable items—all but \$431,247 in American vessels. First place among American domestic exports to China was held by cotton manufactures, important in the China markets until they were supplanted by Japanese and Chinese cottons at the end of the century. Their value in 1860 was \$6,897,362, or 54% of the total domestic exports to China. Some additional items in that year were meat and other provisions (\$269,082), flour (\$302,304), ginseng (\$295,766), coal, drugs, iron and steel manufactures, tobacco, etc. Gold and silver bullion, which in 1849 had been but \$9,967, amounted to \$1,545,914. Most of the "foreign exports" were silver coins transported from Latin America (\$1,556,828).¹⁸

¹⁶ Of the domestic exports of \$4,235,016 in 1859, all but \$161,046 represented quantities shipped in American vessels. Of foreign exports during the same period (\$2,894,183) goods valued at only \$738,161 went in foreign vessels. Over half of the foreign exports sent to China, 1860, were from the dutiable classes, (Commerce and Navigation, 158-159). The value of imports brought to the United States in 1859 by foreign vessels was but \$394,553, in a total of \$10,791,551. For other figures relating to domestic and foreign exports to China see 51-1, H. Rep. 1210, p LXV, pages LXIV-LXV touch on arguments regarding Chinese and Japanese trade (1856 to 1866 and later) in relation to shipping subsidies.

The reports entitled Commerce and Navigation (e.g., the year ending June 30, 1860, No. 8, from p. 8) permit a detailed check on each article exported to each foreign country.

Pan points out that in 1860 China was seventh in supplying imports received into the United States, following, in order, the United Kingdom, France, the Spanish West Indies, British North American provinces, Brazil, and German states. Although China took but 1 7/8% of the total of American exports in that year, she held the same rank among customers of the United States (The Trade of the United States with China, 22). The author comments at the same point on shipwrecking in relation to trading and on the influence of tariff reductions.

¹⁷ Com. Rel., I, 535, and Commerce and Navigation, for different years. The number of American and foreign vessels clearing for China in the fiscal year of 1859 was 100 (95,083 tons, crews, 2,360) and 11 (6,668 tons, crews, 2,470), respectively; those entering were 75 (63,275 tons, crews, 1,985) and 16 (7,810 tons, crews, 2,261) (Com. Rel., 1859, 581). For vessels arriving at New York from China see above, p. 22.

¹⁸ In this instance the analysis follows Pan, *op. cit.*, using government publications.

In 1851 and 1855 some American exports to China and Great Britain showed the following comparison:

The leading export to China, cotton piece goods, made up nine-tenths of the nation's total domestic exports to China, 1850-1855, and constituted a third Cotton Goods of the total piece goods except the Chief port from the United States American Exports to all countries.¹⁹ Their position in the trade of 1860 has been noted. In that year the nation's export trade in cotton cloth was valued at ten million dollars.²⁰ According to tables sent by the consul at Hongkong, American cotton goods reaching

China increased from 17,780,700 yards in 1853 to 30,264,900 yards in 1859.²¹ It was early seen that the American chance in the China trade was in the adaptation of cotton fabrics to the wants of the Chinese. At the beginning of the period Great Britain supplied China with raw cotton and cotton manufactures amounting to more than twice the balance of trade against the United States.²²

Among commodities sent from China to the United States, tea and silk deserve special comment.

Article	Year	To China	To Great Britain
Skins and furs	1851	\$9,500	\$752,786
	1853	40,000	670,946
Manufs of iron	1851	3,861	8,458
	1853	13,823	45,185
Manufs of wood	1851	7,048	136,252
	1853	6,988	106,952
Cotton goods (white)	1851	1,894,418	—
Cotton goods (colored)	1853	2,801,031	706
		30,246	1,212

(Com Rels, II, 482-483.)

In white cotton goods, China led. In 1851, Chile was next, with \$672,242, in 1852, China was followed by Mexico and Chile. For a list of staple products of the United States sent to China (chiefly non-manufactured articles), duties paid, and the relation between staples and other domestic products of the nation, see *ibid*, II, 49. By 1855 skins and furs had dropped from the list. In that year ginseng stood at only \$19,445 (on the text, above). Comparative figures for 1842 and 1855 indicate increases in meat, copper, cotton manufactures and iron manufactures, and sundries (*Ibid*, I, 520). Latourette points out (*Early Rels*, 119) that, although the American Treaty of Wanghia came nearly two years after the British Treaty of Nanking, American trade proceeded normally and did not show a sudden rise after the American treaty. His book should be consulted regarding trade in earlier years. Concerning ice shipments at the beginning of our period see *Hunt's Merch Mag*, Vol 15 (July-Dec., 1846), 40.

¹⁹Pen, *op. cit.*, 206. This author comments on reasons for the decline after 1860, he gives an interesting chart on page 334.

²⁰Melvin Thomas Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States*, 220. Copeland devotes much attention to China in later years. Writing in 1912, he gave that country as the chief foreign recipient of American cotton manufactures. On the attraction of the China market for cotton in relation to production in different parts of the United States (including Arizona and Southern California) see 35-1, H Rep 423 (majority report), p 8. In his *History of Manufactures*, 382, Clark provides perspective.

"American cottons entered foreign markets soon after the introduction of power-looms. In 1827 the value exported was about \$1,000,000, thirty years later it had increased to \$6,000,000. At the earlier date two-thirds of these exports went to Mexico and Chile, and Spanish America continued our best customer for these fabrics. They found a market also in China [of n 18, above], the Levant, and even the East Indies, whence we previously had imported similar goods. As early as 1827 Calcutta newspapers advertised American sheetings, twenty years later Boston annually exported to the Indies 2,800,000 yards. In 1849 a single Baltimore cargo to Chile and Peru included nearly \$160,000 worth of cotton manufactures, in 1849 we sent 12,000,000 yards of cotton to the same market in exchange for copper. The depression of this industry about 1850 was attributed partly to political disturbances in China, which curtailed our Asiatic sales."

²¹4 Hongkong CL, No 7, July 25, 1860

²²30-1 H Rep 596 (1848).

At this point are given some figures relating to British trade and that of other nations for 1845. The value of recognized imports into China in British ships was \$16,073,682, in American ships (including specie), \$2,909,669; in those of all other countries, \$1,417,453—to which must be added 5,800 chests of smuggled opium (\$25,000,000), to make a total of imports of \$45,390,784. Exports to Great Britain and her colonies were \$26,697,521, to the United States, \$8,261,702, to all other countries, \$1,972,875—totaling \$38,931,898. This

In 1821 tea constituted 42 5% of the total imports into the United States from China. In 1845 the percentage was 78 6, in 1850 it was 69 5, in 1855 it was 61 6, and in 1860 it was 64 8. In the later fifties, United States Japanese tea began to weaken the hold of Chinese tea in the United States. Pan states that 50 half-chests were received into the United States from Japan in 1856, 400 in the following year, and 100,000 in 1859, and that in 1860 the Japanese successfully borrowed from China ideas regarding preparation of tea.²³ The following table of American imports of tea exhibits comparatively the dominant position of China teas in the United States during the years covered by this work.²⁴

The high figure was 30,606,461 lbs (\$6,662,792), in 1858, and the low was 16,319,787 (\$4,071,789), in 1849. The highest value was reached in 1860, the lowest was in 1849, as already given. 1850 was a year of large quantity and low value, while 1853 showed very high value in relation to quantity. The relative amounts of tea taken by the United States and other countries, and the quantities carried on ships of different nations, have been suggested. The difference between British and American consumption is recalled by an indication of the figures for 1854-77, 217,900 lbs and 27,867,500 lbs, respectively. Americans consumed green teas chiefly. For the year 1854-1855 Consul Murphy at Shanghai gave the quantities and values of tea exports

Year	From China		From Japan		From All Other Parts of Asia		Total	
	Pounds	Value (\$)	Pounds	Value (\$)	Pounds	Value (\$)	Pounds	Value (\$)
1845	19,629,155	5,730,101			54,780	15,256	19,663,355	5,745,537
1850	28,743,376	4,585,720			394,857	32,087	29,158,243	4,617,807
1855	24,366,615	6,806,463			656,861	102,525	25,023,476	6,908,988
1860	30,558,949	8,799,820	35,012	4,103	1,058,461	103,156	31,653,422	8,907,059
(1880)	36,187,514	9,995,499	35,688,577	9,267,537	1,198,288	224,695	71,074,179	19,487,731

of course was largely Canton trade. The balance against China paid in treasure was \$6,458,886. The balance in favor of China and against the United States paid by bills on London was \$5,352,035. In the British trade the balance was greatly against China (*Ibid.*, with much information regarding British trade. For returns of British and foreign trade with China, 1849, see *Chin Repos.*, XX-1850-, 515-525.)

About the middle of the period China stood third on the list of countries supplying commodities to Great Britain, following the United States and France, the figure for China (\$45,625,200) was less than a third of that for the United States. China did not appear on the list of leading countries receiving British exports (*Com Rels.*, I, 30). The chief foreign trade at Bombay was with China (and Mauritius) (*Ibid.*, III, 652). For a table of the British import and export trade at all the ports in China see *Com Rels.*, 1858, 44-56. A British writer, Sargent, reviews the commerce of his country with China, 1854-1864, in *Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy*. On the difficulty of making Chinese demand for other Western products than opium and treasure keep pace with the Western demand for Chinese commodities, after twenty years of trade under treaties giving some access to 400,000,000 people, there is pessimistic comment in Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, II, 571. Of course, this problem was not peculiar to the China trade, for the lack of demand was evident in Japan, at Honolulu, and at some other points, but it was particularly conspicuous in the Middle Kingdom.

A statistical attack on the supposed advantages of Reed's treaty with China, by "Kathy", from the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, is found in *1 Ningpo CL*, following Macgowan's letter of June 22, 1855. It contends that from the exporter's point of view the new tariff worked to the advantage of the British. With this may be joined the (final) English gains in the treaties with Japan in the same year. Dennett's list of commercial factors creating a desire for revision of the first treaties and a wider opening of China to trade shows the great influence of British dissatisfaction with the nature and operation of the original arrangements, and the importance of considerations of primary concern to the English (*Americans in Eastern Asia*, 210-211.)

For a marked increase in French trade with China at the beginning of the period see Bonacossi, *La Chine*, 178. In view of American firms' contact with vessels trading between China and Latin America, attention is called to such information as that contained in *Com Rels.*, I, 593, on Peruvian trade with China, the larger part of the Peruvian export was in the form of precious metals, chiefly silver.

²³ *The Trade of the United States with China*, 126. For a review of tea imports from 1790 see *Com Rels.*, I, 516ff.

²⁴ *Statements of Imports of Tea and Coffee into the United States 1789 to 1862*, 423-424. This publication provides figures for each year. Page 429 shows the amount of tea received in the different customs districts from 1856. New York far outstripped all others, although San Francisco showed a greater comparative increase. A variant figure for imports from China in 1845 is given in *Com Rels.*, I, and in Nye's *Tea and Tea*

as follows²⁵

Port	To United States	Value in China	Value in U S	To Other Places
Canton	2,561,900 lbs	\$442,523	\$796,541	16,123,800 lbs
Foochow	5,400,800 "	928,166	1,720,644	19,512,800
Shanghai	23,554,200 "	3,804,144	8,847,277	50,872,400
Total	31,515,900 "	5,194,803	9,364,462	86,509,000

Discrepancies between these figures and those given in the preceding table may be partly accounted for by variations in statistical method. Early in the decade of the fifties Shanghai became the chief point of export for tea to the United States. During the second half of the previous decade, the number of vessels carrying tea to this country averaged about forty each year, but it then rose to more than sixty.

Different figures have suggested the fluctuations which occurred in prices of tea. High levels were needed in order to maintain the supply desired by foreign countries. Prices were subject to external crises, as in 1845-1847, and internal upheavals in China, as in 1848-1849. They depended much on the chief purchase mediums

--exchange on London and cotton goods. These, in turn, were closely related, respectively, to the unsteady opium trade and the varying cost of raw cotton in the United States. Shipment of inferior grades did some damage. Moreover, a relation existed between price changes and the fact that a period of two or three years was required in order to increase the supply of productive plantings in China.²⁶ Merchants' insecurity and risk-bearing formed a prominent feature of the business. The pertinence of some of the factors mentioned is indicated by the report that, although the new teas coming in during the summer of 1856 were normally two or three taels lower than the crop of the previous year, they were really a tael or more higher in view of exchange and quality. One inferior "chop" was entirely rejected.²⁷

Trade--20,762,558 lbs. The 1850 figure supplied by Com. Rels., I, and by Murphy in Shanghai Cl., (No. 50, Dec. 31, 1855) is 21,757,800 lbs. See also Chin. Repos., XV, 386ff. According to Commerce and Navigation for the year ending June 30, 1860, China tea imported into the United States from some other places, and thus subject to duty, was but \$55,895 in value (p. 636).

²⁵ Shanghai Cl., Murphy to Marcy, No. 50, Dec. 31, 1855. Comparison with figures in Nye's Tea and the Tea Trade reveals a curious mixture of near-identities and variations, which suggest possible errors in copying or adding and differences in method.

²⁶ Nye, op. cit., 27ff. This writer gives a history of prices during the early years of the period. In England the importation of tea by 1850 amounted to 1,86 pounds per person, a figure representing a rapid increase (Levi, Brit. Com., 318). The per capita consumption of tea in the United States stood in 1845 at 87 pounds and in 1850 at 122 pounds, the latter being the high figure for the period. It was paired with the low figure on price per pound, 14 cents. In no other year from 1845 to 1860 did the price drop below 20 cents. In 1860 the per capita consumption was down, at 84 pounds, its lowest point during the period was 56, in 1851, with the price at 25.6 cents (Imports of Tea and Coffee, 427-428). In 1791 the price had ranged from 28 cents to one dollar, according to grade (Dennett, 21).

Material in the Boston Shipping List and Prices Current for Jan. 1, 1851 (Vol. IX, No. 35) and Apr. 17, 1858 (Vol. XVI, No. 66) shows a considerable drop in wholesale prices. For example, Gunpowder, a green tea, standing at 45 to 50 cents a pound in 1851, declined to a range of 36 to 65 cents in 1858. Gongou, a black tea, however, standing at 28 to 32 cents in 1851, fell only in the lower figure, to 20 cents, while the upper figure rose to 42 cents. Low figures for both black and green teas fell, the latter from 5 to 9 cents, and the former 7 or 8 cents. In the column of high figures, green teas dropped in most cases from 15 to 20 cents a pound, but black teas rose by from 5 to 10 cents. In other words, prices for green teas fell more in the maximum prices than in the minimum prices, but as minimum prices of black teas fell, maximum prices in this class moved upward. While the spread between high and low prices of green teas narrowed in most cases, that of black teas increased greatly. These figures present a contrast and do not attempt to prove a continuous tendency over intervening years. Teas brought in American vessels from the place of growth were duty-free, others paid 20% ad valorem (15% from 1857).

See also Williams, Chin. Com. Guide, 552, some figures given in The Friend of China were taken from a source bearing the title Messrs. Wm. Jas. Thompson & Sons' Annual Tea Report, published as early as 1851.

²⁷ The Overland Friend of China, July 10, 1856, 41.

In his list of exports of China, Williams does not include coffee, but American statistics designate some quantities as coming from that country. Presumably these were re-exports. The figures varied greatly from year to year, in some years no coffee was sent. In 1845 the amount was 3,820 pounds, valued at \$192, in

The Chinese portion of all the silk manufactures imported into the United States amounted to 60% in 1823 (in a total value of \$5,201,000) In 1853 it was

Silk from China in the United States: Decline in Chinese Manufactures of Silk, increased shipments of Raw Silk more silk fabrics from France than from any

4 1% (in a total value of \$29,834,000) In 1863 it was but 1% (in a total value of \$12,656,000)²⁸ Chinese goods were never manufactured especially for export purposes and the United States developed and protected its own silk manufacturing industry From 1820 to 1860, the United States imported

other country These formed an important part of the nation's textile imports After 1850, however, Americans bought in England nearly half their supply of silk goods, although the origin of these imports may have been elsewhere²⁹ Yet American imports of Chinese raw silk, in the early fifties, were 62% of the total taken by the United States (averaging \$575,000) In the later fifties it increased in amount, although the percentage dropped to 54 5 (in an average total of \$1,183,000)³⁰ Pan states that Chinese producers were oversure of their control, grew careless in methods, and adulterated their commodity³¹ It has been seen, moreover, that prices in China were governed chiefly by the home market

1850 there was none, in 1855 the amount was 95,479 pounds (\$7,789), and in 1860 it was 32,232 pounds (\$4,845) These quantities were but a small part of the total export from all of Asia to the United States—3,950,586 pounds (\$259,993) in 1850, and 8,288,555 pounds (\$820,509) in 1860 (1856 and 1859 showed the highest quantities, in 1856 the business amounted to over a million and a half dollars) Most of this Far Eastern trade was done with the Netherlands East Indies throughout the period Nearly all the Asiatic coffee taken by the United States went from those islands during the earlier part of the period, but the British East Indies by 1860 were supplying about a third of the total (Statements of Imports of Tea and Coffee into the United States 1789 to 1882, 444-445, of p 455 for freedom of coffee from duty, in American vessels direct, in exempted foreign vessels, or from possessions of the Netherlands)

²⁸ Pan, The Trade of the United States with China In 1815 China's share was 5% For references on silk, see pages 215-216 of Miss Taylor's Catalogue of Books on China.

²⁹ Clark, Hist of Manuf's, 251-252

³⁰ Of duty-free raw silk imported in the year ending June 30, 1860 (Commerce and Navigation, p 185), valued at \$1,235,976, most (\$1,020,496) was from China According to the same source (pp 613, 633), silks from China imported into the United States in the indirect trade embraced free, \$21,552 (raw or reeled), dutiable, \$6,774 (raw or reeled) and \$110 (piece goods)

³¹ Op cit , 145, 147 Williams (Chin Com Guide, 137) placed the annual export to the United States at about 1,800 piculs to 1862, when it fell to 280 piculs, in 1854-1855, England took 51,500 bales (about 41,000 piculs) Of 25ln , above Shanghai became the chief export center

Chapter 19
JAPAN THE OFFICE OF TOWNSEND HARRIS

General and Consular

Shimoda was an intermediate point between the consular office at Nagasaki, in the south of Japan, and the commercial agency at Hakodate, in the north. Na-shimoda Between Nagasaki faced toward China, the Old and the New at Nagasaki and shared in that country's trade. The thread of Dutch and Hakodate; Relation of Consul - General Harris to Other Offices
Hakodate, trade which remained there was a reminder of the old European commerce of the seventeenth century. When general trade with the West was resumed at Nagasaki it was linked with the China business of American and European merchants. These influences were almost completely lacking at Hakodate, which faced the north Pacific area, with its notable feature of whaling as the chief American concern, and its preponderance of Russian influence in Siberia and Russian America. Hakodate and the other selected commercial agency, at the Amur River, were related by location, shipping, and other influences. The traditions of the old East India and

China trade had little or no meaning for these offices. The situation of the consulate-general of Townsend Harris at Shimoda, between Hakodate and Nagasaki, favored contact with the types of influence characteristic of each. The term "consul-general" did not indicate an administrative superiority to other consulates, but the nature of the consular establishments at Nagasaki and Hakodate, and the special circumstances of Harris' position, gave him direction over them. In the narrative of his office it is therefore convenient to mention matters of general as well as special application.¹

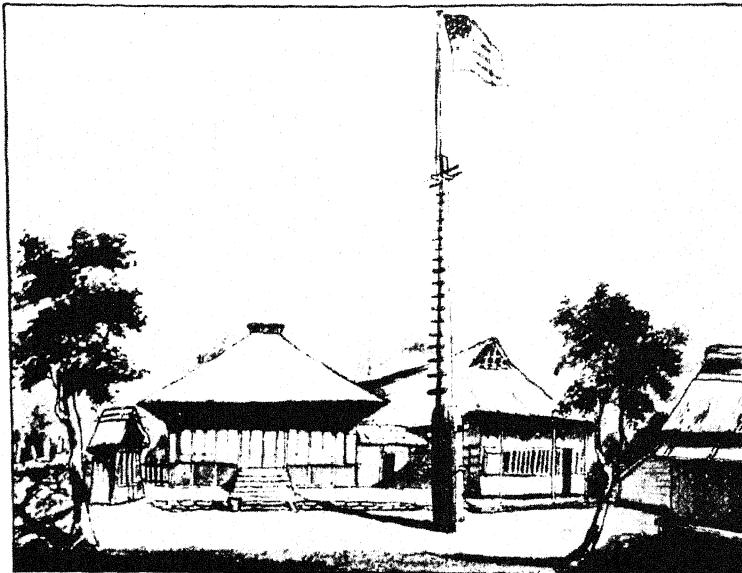
Perry's treaty with Japan provided for the opening of Shimoda immediately on the signing of the treaty (March 31, 1854).² Consul-General Harris did not arrive until August 21, 1856 to make a place. He was not welcome, as a consular officer, although he himself was well treated personally. Attempts were made to induce him to return to his country, or at least to state his reason for coming. He was given scant attention by American naval vessels.

¹For treaty arrangements affecting these ports see above, 75-76 and 78-79

²The stream of earlier Occidental trade was reduced to a tiny trickle by the Japanese exclusion-seclusion policy in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the Dutch alone were allowed to exchange goods, under very confining conditions on the island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor. With the coming of the Americans this narrow commercial current broadened into a mighty channel. Within a few years Japanese shipping went abroad, taking up a line of interest which had intrigued the open-minded Ieyasu two hundred and fifty years before. A Japanese government steamer was sent to San Francisco early in 1860. At the same time a Japanese embassy sailed for the United States on an American naval vessel. The narrative of this visit, related by different writers, may be passed by here. Attention should be called, however, to a paper prepared for local presentation by Professor A. E. Martin of Pennsylvania State College, "American Reception of the First Japanese Embassy to the United States in 1860." The mission returned on an American war vessel, the Niagara, the navy's prize vessel at that time (about 4,000 tons), under Commodore William McKeon. It left New York on July 2, 1860, and returned by way of the Cape of Good Hope, Anjeer, and Hongkong, thus giving the members opportunity to observe the general commerce of the Orient. Much information regarding this return trip was received at Washington.

On the surprising interest manifested in Japan in making schooners along the lines of a Baltimore vessel and in securing steamers abroad see 1 Japan Des., Harris to Cass, No. 20, Nov 25, 1855. To prevent long sea voyages, it had formerly been strictly forbidden to construct vessels with closed sterns.

Japan's large internal trade made much use of shipping by water. It has been observed that before the opening of the country, Japanese vessels probably traded occasionally with foreigners at Quelpaert's Island, in the Loo Choo, Bonin, and Philippine Island groups, and elsewhere. In 1858 the Shogunate bought the Dutch Catalina, the first three-master of foreign design and build ever owned by Japanese (Kinoshita, The Past and Present of Japanese Commerce, 114.)



THE U. S. CONSULATE AT SHIMODA IN 1856

From a drawing in India ink by Mr. H. C. J. Heusken. This drawing gives the earliest and only authentic view of the grounds of the consulate, of its buildings, and of the flag-staff flying the first consular flag ever seen in Japan. See *Journal*, Thursday, September 4, 1856.

The American Consulate at Shimoda, Japan, 1856
(By permission, from Cosenza's The Complete Journal....)



a. Road to Enagawa. b. Bridge and Gate, with Guard-house. c. The Goto-kyo (see p. 37). d. A Temple in a Wood. e. Canal. f. Kamegawa. g. Paddy Fields.
h. Port built in 1860. i. Raised Pathway. j. Towngate. k. Road to Yedo. l. Harbour and Shipping. m. New Foreign Settlement.

Yokohama from the Hills Behind the Town, about 1860
(From Fortune's Iedo and Peking.)

after he was dropped at Shimoda His health suffered Communication with the outside world was extremely difficult and slow Until 1859 he experienced difficulty in cashing his drafts In his effort to bring Japan out of her seclusion Harris himself was forced into seclusion He lived in a temple at Kakizaki,

a hamlet near the upper end of the harbor³ His convention of 1857, previously discussed, gave Americans the right of permanent residence at the port The harbor, however, was insufficient and insecure

In 1858 Harris arranged that Kanagawa should be opened, on July 4, 1859 This place

Regarding the infiltration of foreign ideas and knowledge during the period of seclusion see Gubbins, The Progress of Japan, 29-30 There was some reason to regard Japanese characteristics as similar, in certain respects, to those of Europeans more than to those of other races of Asia, and to feel that the nation had a strong inclination toward foreign intercourse, with a useful combination of humility and decisiveness An account of Ieyasu's efforts to promote trade and of early missions to Mexico and Europe is found in "Japan's Early Attempts to Establish Commercial Relations with Mexico", by Naoyiro Murakami, in Stephens and Bolton's The Pacific Ocean in History (New York, 1917), 467ff It was several generations before the West, in the person of Perry, returned the calls, long forgotten by the Japanese themselves On these events there is much material in the archives of Italy, Spain, and Japan All thus far discovered is reported to be in Dai Nihon Shiryō, Part XII, Vol 12

Gubbins (pp 25-26) supplies a compact summary of features of Japanese life and feudal organization at the time when Perry arrived, and prints (289) Article 2 of the definition, in 1615, of the shogun's authority, which suggests that Italy under a king and a dictator is not unique Writes this author (38-39) "There was a feudal system under which the *caimōs* ruled their own territories or under Shōgunate supervision, those of their neighbors, certain localities, including what were known as the Shōgun's dominions, being reserved for the direct administration of the Yedo Government, and the central authority was exercised by means of Councils of State, and of a vast assemblage of executive and judicial officers This central authority was weak, and growing weaker, an uneasy feeling was abroad, and the first signs of the troubles which culminated in the downfall of the Shōgunate were beginning to show themselves Clan jealousies and feudal restrictions hindered national progress in many directions, there was much distress and discontent, and the currency of the country was in a state of great confusion When it was not Chinese, Dutch was the medium of communication with the outside world" Increasing attention to the place of the Imperial family is mentioned in the Note on Domestic Chronology which follows at the end of this chapter as an aid to use of the general narrative of relations

For a later demand of certain Japanese officials that Kanagawa be closed on account of the expense for entertainments and presents which foreign contacts occasioned the daimyō, see Paske-Smith's Western Barbarians, 151 They expressed willingness to accept general foreign trade if it did not prove too expensive, and denied that they had been rabidly anti-foreign—nor had they called "Harrisoo [Harris] a fool" or "the Consoroco (Consul) drunkards and foreign Akindo (merchants) thieves"

³On different points see above, 162n (reference) and 167 For references on trying relations with naval officers see 124n Efforts to prevent the landing of Harris are mentioned in Murdoch's A History of Japan, III, 623-624, and following pages narrate his dealings with the Japanese For the sake of his health, Harris visited Shanghai in the spring of 1859 He was also at Nagasaki (by April 21) On June 8 he wrote from Shanghai By June 29 he was again at Shimoda His letters at first were sent out in care of Rice, commercial agent at Hakodate, or the Dutch representative at Nagasaki and American consuls in China and at Batavia Like consuls in China, Harris, leader in foreign relations with Japan, was at times indebted to British representatives for help in various matters, when these men arrived

An abbreviated statement of the circumstances of the appointment of Harris has been presented (pp 56-57, above) From the time of the Perry expedition he had been interested in Japan There had been a prior appointment, that of John R Brodhead (nomination, Mar 3, commission sent, Mar 10, 1855), which was declined on March 17, 1855 Brodhead was one of those who supported Harris for the place, to which the latter was appointed on August 4, 1855 He early had a taste of the kind of attention which he was to receive when a letter (Aug 6) arrived from Marcy without some of the specified enclosures On August 23, 1855, the State Department requested the Navy Department to provide passage to Shimoda for Harris and to arrange a suitable ceremonial landing (The instruction book contains a telegram of Feb 21, 1861, revoking the appointment of Robt B Bradford as consul-general at Shimoda) Concerned about his health, Harris appointed his interpreter, Heusken, as vice consul (Jan , 1857)

For the relation between internal difficulties (created by hostile daimyō) and efforts of the Japanese authorities to secure Harris' agreement to a restriction of the consular right of free travel, under a deceptive phrase, "except on business", and for his rejection of the plan see Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 514-515 (Jan 26, 1858) A later entry (547-548) indicates a desire of the Japanese to restrict consular officers to their consular districts Harris feared this point might wreck the entire treaty, but finally agreed to a provision giving the right office travel simply to the minister and consul-general

The Kanagawa-Yokohama Question; Harris at Yedo as Minister failed to win favor when merchants arrived to begin active trading. The Japanese officials themselves sought to persuade the foreign representatives to allow the substitution of Yokohama. The issue which developed has received previous attention.⁴ It was finally agreed that the consulates should be at Kanagawa, according to treaty, and that foreigners might reside there (if they chose), but trade moved to Yokohama. The two places were two miles apart by land, or three miles across the bay, Yokohama being on the south side of a small arm opening into Yedo Bay. The harbor of Shimoda was to be closed after January 4, 1860. The formal opening of Kanagawa occurred on July 1, 1859 (following the date in the British treaty) and on July 4 Harris raised the flag over the consulate, at the temple of Hongakuji. On July 7 he was established as Minister Resident at Yedo, at the temple of Zempukuji--culmination of the career of a former merchant who had served as a con-

sul (though not a merchant-consul in the usual sense). In the latter part of the year Harris notified American citizens that Niigata, specified in the treaty, would not be opened on January 1, 1860, as planned, the harbor having been proven unsatisfactory.⁵

By the date for the opening of the new port of Kanagawa the Japanese had built many public buildings, houses, roads, and wharves, at great expense. Yokohama Made Ready, Dorr at the Kanagawa Consulate. The official housing of foreigners in a ready-made settlement, and the strong preference of merchants for Yokohama left the consulate with very little commercial company.⁶ Before leaving for Yedo, Harris appointed E. M. Dorr as acting consul at Kanagawa. He was engaged in his duties, at least informally, by June 10, 1859. On June 30 he notified the governor of Kanagawa of his appointment and requested an interview.⁷

Harris' early isolation, the almost unique nature of his situation and his problem

⁴Fp 175-174 and 175, above.

⁵Copies were sent to the minister of the United States in China, and to Consul Keenan at Hongkong, as well as to American officers in Japan. An interesting feature of the opening of ports in Japan was the specification of the dates by treaty.

⁶Of 2 Japan Des., Harris to Cass, No. 51, Jly 4, 1859. On land profiteering see Satow, A Diplomat in Japan, 24, this writer says that some consular employees participated in that activity.

The ready-made character of arrangements gave Yokohama a different character from that of Nagasaki. Moreover, foreign merchants at the former place dealt with a lower class of Japanese,--commercial adventurers, who accounted for many of the charges of broken faith. Satow says that the customhouse officers were corrupt (Cf page 23 of his book for an account of the large staff of the local administration at Yokohama.)

In the discussion of Yokohama, Harris and Alcock opposed, and Lord Li favored, use of it. It was at this point that Perry had signed his treaty. A Japanese work relates to Yokohama at this time--Gokakikō Yokohama ōyedzu (Plan of Yokohama When Opened to Commerce, 1859). There is also S. Ota's Yokohama Enkaku-shi (Course of Development of Yokohama). Denys' Treaty Ports, 579ff is useful. Satow (op. cit., ch II) gives an interesting account of Japanese ports at the outset. Pertinent illustrations appear in Fortune's A Narrative of a Journey, etc., in A. van Osterloo's Japan, and in the Perry Narrative, Vol 1, facing page 401.

Treat states that in November, 1859, there were only twenty foreign merchants resident at Yokohama. On three American Protestant missionaries settled at Kanagawa in the autumn of 1859 see Murdoch, A History of Japan, III, 562. Alcock (Capital of the Tycoon, II) gives the number of foreigners at Kanagawa in the third year of trade as 126 (British 55 and Americans 38). Cf. Paske-Smith, Western Barbarians, 557-558.

In 1856 there was some interest in the United States in the question of the expediency of establishing a consulate in the Loo Choo Islands. W. H. Seward of New York introduced a resolution on this subject into the Senate on August 7, 1856. (See also above, p 55.) Commander Glynn visited the islands on his way to Japan in 1849. On several shrewd arguments of the daimyo of Satsuma, at the beginning of the period of foreign trade with Loo Choo, and for the French in relation to Satsuma, cf. Y. Takekoshi, The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, III (New York, 1930), 278-279. This daimyo's junks were allowed to trade with the islands, a dependency of his fief, but also in touch with China. (Treat, Early Dip. Rel., 8.) It was hoped that by permitting the French to trade in Loo Choo other foreigners could be held at arm's length, with French help.

⁷Archives Outside of Washington, 65. Dorr's letters to the Department began in July. His despatch of Sept 5, 1859 is bound with 1 Hakodate CL. The first "instruction", regarding his appointment, is on page 238 of index volume 46 (May 26, 1860). He continued to 1862. Keim (41-5, 8 Ex Doc 7) found no records prior to 1866 when he inspected the office some years later.

Problems Encountered by Harris, Notably the Currency and Consular Court Action of justifying and continuing his presence, and the rush of eager and often unscrupulous merchants which followed the opening of ports made his task extraordinarily taxing

In addition to his diplomatic negotiations, there were special problems of different kinds. The most vexing of these concerned the currency question, which continued to irritate both foreigners and Japanese throughout the period. Discussion of the currency question has presented the issues involved and Harris' part in the attempts to settle them.⁸ The problem of translation which figured prominently in China existed, but with variations which have been made apparent. Fortunately Harris had the services of a Dutch interpreter, although trilingual translations were troublesome.⁹ Ignorant of whether the judicial act of August 11, 1848 had been extended to Japan, Harris was driven by necessity to proceed on the assumption that it was operative for the Japan offices as well as for those in China, and to trust that Congress would approve his policy retroactively. He limited his use of the act of 1848 to penalties for misdemeanors, and awaited Departmental instructions regarding other types of cases. Failure to set consular court machinery in motion would have damaged the whole project of international relations.¹⁰ There were many Americans and other foreigners whose conduct called for sharp restraint. While Harris encountered difficulties with the Japanese authorities on the one hand he was distressed by his importunate countrymen on the other. Relations between the Yokohama commercial community and the legations lacked

cordiality and sometimes reached the point of actual hostility. The first British minister intemperately called the traders who were present the "scum of the earth." Many of the merchants had been sent from China by long established firms. Others appear to have been individual adventurers.¹¹

The question of the quality of foreign and Japanese merchants attracted much notice. The low esteem in which traders were held in

Japan by men of rank emphasized

Problems Related to the Foreign Business Men. In connection with charges that

Traders American naval officers mis-

used their position in order to secure excessive amounts of coin to use in commercial operations, Harris pointed out the inability of Japanese of eminence to understand the "monstrous paradox" of "a person, bearing the military commission of a great Country, engaging in trade."¹² Much is said of the dishonesty of Japanese merchants. Yet, as in China, it was not many years before foreign merchants began to look back to the "old days" at the beginning of trade with a feeling that conditions had been better at the outset than they were subsequently. Promissory notes and other financial intricacies assisted dishonest dealings, some believed. Bargains were better kept when the only form of agreement was the clapping of hands.¹³ Once a Japanese of the old merchant class clapped his hands, he felt a hundred times more bound than he does today on putting his seal to a promissory note.¹⁴ Such comment calls to mind expressions of praise for the Chinese Co-hong.

Takekoshi attributes the earlier

⁸ See above, 217ff. Cf also Archives Outside of Washington, 65 (protest on a monetary matter, Jly 2, 1859, in the consulate's archives). Another item on the same page indicates that the consulate protested against the location assigned it.

⁹ Satow (op. cit., 25) gives an interesting account of linguistic confusion and its bad results.

It was a blow to Harris when the valuable Heusken temporarily left him without allowing him a single day to provide a substitute. Heusken thought he was acting with Harris' consent and later resumed his duties. The consul-general complained that he could not hold a good interpreter for less than twenty-five hundred dollars—the amount paid in the British service. Although Heusken had been engaged on October 1, 1855, his salary had not commenced until March 1, 1856; his work was arduous and valuable and yet instructions from the Treasury Department as to the mode of paying him actually reduced his pay. He learned much of the Japanese language. (2 Japan Des., July 4 and Aug 20, 1859.) Harris himself learned enough to enable him to deal with his servants (Cosenza, 250.)

¹⁰ 2 Japan Des., Harris to Cass, No. 27, June 8, 1858, from Shanghai.

¹¹ Paske-Smith, Western Barbarians, 267. Satow (op. cit., 25 and 27) gives a criticism and a sane comment regarding small frontier commercial communities. For a later quarrel between the community and United States Consul G. S. Fisher see Paske-Smith, 268-269; features of life at Yokohama are mentioned on pages 267ff. In New York Harris later came to be known as "the Old Tycoon."

¹² 3 Japan Des., No. 7, Feb 14, 1860.

¹³ Used by Paske-Smith, op. cit., 207.

E Papinot's Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan, etc., 128-129, describes the system of the

inconvenience created for foreigners by lower Japanese officials to a misunderstanding by these Japanese of the purposes of their superiors, which he describes

The Effort to Modify Restrictions of Trade as a desire (in opposition to "conservatives") to introduce trade under the guise of "supplying their [i.e., foreigners'] ships"¹⁴ The commissioners at the port of Kanagawa changed rapidly Ishibashi points out that, contrary to foreign economic theory, the Japanese at first restricted exports, but were more liberal regarding imports Although the ukufu, or Shogunate, pretended to carry on trade freely at the opened ports, it really limited exports on a number of pretexts Among commodities prohibited to private interests as articles of direct sale were goods known as "Yedo monopolies" (Edo [Yedo]-mawashi-hin), including miscellaneous grains, oil, tallow, dry goods, and raw silk Before exportation these had to go by way of Yedo, on the principle that only those goods should be sold to foreigners which represented a surplus over home demand Some difficulty was experienced at Nagasaki in buying these articles, which had to go to Yedo, for inspection, and then to Kanagawa Purchasers unable to buy on the spot called such indirection a violation of treaty Their particular protest was against restrictions

on silk It is said that the Yedo government later tried to form a group of merchants to control the silk trade (a purpose reminiscent of the Co-hong at Canton), but foreign diplomacy checked the attempt For many months Harris demanded substantially unrestricted trade This matter, and the difficulty of securing enough Japanese coins for purposes of trade, caused a number of complaints to Harris from the other American consular offices in Japan By the beginning of 1860 Japanese officials at open ports had been ordered not to restrict the sale and export of merchandise, and Harris felt that the question was settled¹⁵

Shipping

There were several attempts of American vessels to engage in commerce with Japan (before and after Perry's treaty), prior to the grant of the right in the Early American treaty of 1858¹⁶ The first Vessels in American ship to visit Japan Japanese after the Perry treaty was Waters, and At the Lady Pierce, of San Francisco, which the owner, Silas E Burrows, took there (July, 1854) with the express purpose that she should be the first to enter under the treaty This

go-shuin-bune, i.e., those Japanese possessing a patent from the Shogun to carry on foreign trade, and lists the names of the houses having the privilege at Kyoto, Sakai, and Nagasaki Certain daimyo also had the right

¹⁴The Economic Aspects of Japan, III, 318

¹⁵Goro Ishibashi, "Ishin Zengo ni Okeru Gaikokuboki ni Tsuite" (On Foreign Trade before and after the Restoration), in Shirin (History), Vol. 8, Nos 2-3 (Taisho 12, 1923, Apr and Jly), Japan Des, Harris to Cass, No 4, Jan 16, 1860

¹⁶The convention of 1857 gave the right to make purchases, "without the intervention of any Japanese official", to the consul-general only For such scant trade as had been implied by the Perry treaty (Arts VI-VIII) the intervention and control of Japanese officers had been prescribed This treaty had an almost negative character The treaty of 1858 was positive The 1857 agreement took a small step away from the first document by arranging (Art II) that in order to supply the wants of American ships at Shimoda and Hakodate American citizens might reside at those places—Japanese locations for what appears to have been primarily a trade between Americans (Note the words, "It being known that American ships .cannot have their wants supplied by the Japanese", and compare Takekoshi's views, mentioned in the text of this page)

Early vessels reaching Japan from the eighteenth century have been mentioned in works by Treat, Gubbins (esp p 48), Dennett (ch XIII), Paullin, Callahan, and others, By 1821 a Massachusetts whaler had been noted off the coast of Japan (Commonwealth Hist of Mass., IV, 404) Olyphant and Company of Canton had failed, naturally, in an attempt in 1837 to induce the Japanese to relax their exclusive policy The whaler Lawrence was wrecked in the Kurile Islands on May 26, 1846 (50-1, S Mis Doc 80, p 5) The men received severe treatment On the Manhattan see the same document, and George R Howell, "The First Visit of an American Ship to Japan and Its Results", in Trans of the Albany Institute, IX (Albany, 1879), 147-152, indicating that Captain Cooper made a good impression on the Japanese and giving a good description of Japanese methods of enforcing the exclusion law On Cooper, see too Paullin, Dip Negots, Chap XVIII The Lagoda was wrecked in 1848 and Glynn removed the seamen in 1849 (in the Freble) Note 32-1, S Ex Doc 59, 18-19, 22, and *passim* (including the death of an American who escaped from prison in Japan) An account of remarks by Brown, master of the Wilmington, appears in 3 Shanghai Ch, with Murphy's No 22, Nov 1, 1855 It shows the difficulty of conversations with the Japanese at that time.

It is convenient to join with these remarks a reference to the long-standing interest of the American

vessel, described as a clipper ship, was well received, and approached Yedo. Thousands of Japanese inspected the ship, and not a single article was stolen. Large presents of articles such as silk and porcelain were made to Burrows. He was not optimistic about commercial prospects.¹⁷ The disappointment of Reed and Dougherty, arriving in the Caroline E. Foote in 1855, attracted considerable notice.¹⁸ Their purpose was to deal in whaling stores and Japanese goods. The schooner Wilmington was not allowed to trade.¹⁹ Nor was the

Refusal of schooner General Pierce, at
Permission Shimoda on October 5, 1856,
to Some permitted to land certain am-
Applicants munition--because it was too
Hongkong.²⁰ This vessel was later sold to
the Russian government. The bark Messenger
Bird (Captain Homer, from Boston, by way of
the Sandwich Islands and Guam), with Edward
F Hall (aged 18) as supercargo, arrived on
March 9, 1857, with assorted merchandise.
Hall desired to trade before going to Hakodate

government in establishing relations with Japan. In 1855 Edmund Roberts, maker of a treaty with Siam, had been directed to go to Japan for this purpose. He died in 1856 and the mission was abandoned (Paullin, 221-222). Cushing had hoped to make a treaty with Japan. He was given a power dated August 14, 1844 (1 China D1, No. 9, Calhoun to Cushing, Aug. 15, 1844), which did not reach him before his return to the United States. Publication of the correspondence of the Cushing mission to China resulted in a House resolution calling for commercial arrangements with Japan and Korea. (Cf also Part I, above, *passim*. A memorial was presented to the Senate—Dix of New York, June 8, 1856—from presidents of marine insurance companies, shipbuilders, and steam-engine manufacturers.)

Commodore Biddle was unsuccessful, in 1846, in carrying out his authorization to make a treaty (3 China D1, encl., Jly 5, 1846, with No. 17). A H. Everett, Commissioner to China, had given his authority (of 1845) to Biddle at Rio de Janeiro. Everett asked for another power (Ibid., No. 8, Everett to Buchanan, Boston, June 17, 1846). On the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government see Ibid., Everett to Buchanan, No. 12, Oct. 26, 1846, from Macao, enclosing the informal Explanatory Edict, which insisted on Japanese freedom to manage their affairs as they pleased and argued that the unimportant Dutch trade at Nagasaki constituted no precedent (A special Dutch embassy with a war vessel was unsuccessful in 1845 in an attempt to secure greater commercial freedom Ibid., Everett to Buchanan, No. 14, Nov. 9, 1846). A letter for Aulick mentioned in 1 China D1, No. 8, Parker to Webster, June 13, 1851, is not located in the archives of the Department of State. Aulick was recalled before executing his commission.

A H. Palmer's presentation of facts about Japan and its commodities is contained in Hunt's Merchant Mag., Vol. 15 (Jly-Dec., 1846), 141-144. Another view of Western ideas of Japan at the time may be secured from the "Introduction" (Vol. 1) to Perry's Narrative. In the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress there is a journal of John Glandy Sproston, relating to Perry's visit and the manners and customs of the Japanese. Fortune's A Narrative of a Journey, etc., chs. XVI-XVII, gives a naturalist's description of agricultural and industrial products of Japan. It was apparently with surprise that a later writer in The Gentleman's Magazine observed: "these hitherto unknown barbarians appear not only to know all that the Middle Ages knew, but in some respects are beyond them and us as well" (W. Burges, "The Japanese Court in the International Exhibition", N. S., Vol. XXII, Sept., 1862, 254.)

For early interest and for treaties of European powers see books by various writers mentioned above. Relevant provisions of these agreements are used in the present work. On the cooperative policy and American leadership in Japan, as contrasted with the situation in China, see Dennett, Americans in Eastern Asia, 345. Mention may be made of a letter from Lord Napier to the Earl of Clarendon on July 5, 1857 (No. 125, 218-219, in F O 5/672), indicating that Appleton, of the Department of State, had showed no disposition to give the British representative more information about Harris than was absolutely necessary. The effort of Napier to promote cooperative action between Harris and Bowring with reference to Japan is observed in Ibid., Napier to Clarendon, No. 137, Jly. 21, 1857, 295-296, enclosing a memorandum (297-298) describing Harris' despatches of Nov. 25 and Dec. 10, 1856, on negotiations for treaty changes, currency, and Bowring's permission to Harris to report to the Japanese the Englishman's vigorous plans about a treaty.

¹⁷The tonnage of this ship is not known. The schooner General Pierce, which appeared later, was also of San Francisco. Such descriptive material as is available would indicate that they were not identified through careless recording, but that their names joined in doing honor to the President and his lady. For the reception of the Lady Pierce see Hildreth's Japan As It Was and Is (1855), 534. This contemporary work of the time is generally instructive, though sometimes inaccurate.

¹⁸ Cf. 142n., for comment on settlement of their debt.

¹⁹ She was at Shanghai and Hakodate. See above, note 16. For the Halcyon (May 25) see the account of shipping at Nagasaki, in the following chapter.

²⁰ Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 240n.

and the Amur River to set up a ship chandlery Harris' interpreter, Heusken, assisted him with a translation of his merchandise list, but Hall could sell nothing on account of his exorbitant prices. For some items Harris paid the supercargo in silver, at a high figure, and Hall desired to pay Harris for his own obligations in gold, at a 75% loss to that officer. "It takes a New England man to do such things." The vessel left on March 29, 1857.²¹

According to the first regularly "returned" reports of snipping, the bark *Tempest* (330), a New London whaler, arrived on November 12, 1858, from Hakodate,

Shipping under Captain Gurdon L. Al-
Statistics lyn Her cargo was whaling
stores, and she departed for
a cruise on November 30.²² A large increase
of shipping from 1859 is shown by reference
to Appendix 4 C. Regarding the trade from
September, 1859, it was reported on July 11,
1860 that four vessels had cleared for the
United States. These of course were but part
of the American tonnage in Japanese waters.
Much was employed in the trade between Japan
and China. Shanghai was then the great
transhipment point.²³ According to Paske-
Smith, the shipping of all nations at Yoko-
hama from 1859 was 1859, 49 (British, 25),
1860, 98 (British, 50), 1861, 84 (British,
36), 1863, 170 (British, 100) of 64,420
tons.²⁴

Trade

"Saturday, January 9, 1858 I [stated
to the Japanese] that the United States asked nothing

for themselves, that the trade of Japan was no object
to us, that all we cared for was that our ships could
make repairs and get supplies" (Harris, in Co-
senza, *The Complete Journal*, 495 On July 29 of that
year he made his commercial treaty)²⁵

"The Americans bring presents. Presents now,
to be bought hereafter Good will, to head long bills
of imports" (Amy Lowell, in her *Can Grande's Castle*,
the poem "Guns as Keys, and the Great Gate Swings")

The first American firm at Yokohama
was Walsh, Hall and Company (from 1859)
British firms were Jardine, Matheson and Com-
pany, and Dent and Company
First Steps, The two leading merchants
and Early were the Englishman Keswick
American and the American George Hall
Merchants (from 1859). In 1860, be-
sides Walsh, Hall and Company
the American firm of R. B. Smith and Company
(later Smith, Archer and Company) was in op-
eration.²⁶

According to figures from the United
States, imports into the country from Japan
during the year ending June 30, 1855 amount-
ed to \$6,527 (\$477 free, the
Growth of Trade; rest dutiable), and exports
Statistics for were nil. In 1860 the val-
Exports and ues were \$55,091 (\$45,855
Imports dutiable), all in American
vessels, and \$188,774, re-
spectively.²⁷ Commerce and Navigation fig-
ures show that of the exports to Japan in
this year nearly two-thirds were domestic,
carried entirely by American tonnage, the
foreign exports were nearly all duty-free

²¹Cosenza, *The Complete Journal*, 351-352, 355-357 Harris makes no formal "entry" for her

²²Japan Des., Harris to Cass, No. 45, Dec. 31, 1858

²³Com Rel., 1860, 403 A P and O steamer operated between Shanghai and Japanese ports from 1859, with a first-class passenger rate, Yokohama to Shanghai, of \$150, and Yokohama to Hongkong, of \$210

For American figures relating to ports in the United States see below, Appendix 4 C (table and comment in preliminary statement)

²⁴Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians*, 222 See the same work, 342-353, for a list of all ships at Yokohama from the latter part of 1861 to December, 1865. Of the 18 entries in 1861, chiefly in October and November, 5 were British merchant vessels and 3 were American. 2 are given as "Japanese ship"—the *Daniel Webster* and the *Fenna* Of a total of 81 in 1862, 21 were American.

The transfer to Yokohama from Shimoda has been related. The harbor of Shimoda would hold scarcely half a dozen vessels at a time. Japanese waters were rough and the shores were uncharted. Pilots were needed. References giving details of regulations for pilots and for supplying vessels at Shimoda, with rates, are supplied above, 75n Bowditch's book on navigation was translated into Japanese by Nakahama Manjiro, who had lived in the United States and was an officer on the first Japanese steamer to cross the Pacific (L D Eldred, "Story of Nakahama", in *The Fairhaven Star*, July 5, 1918.)

²⁵For provisions of treaties which relate to trade see above, 75-76

Harris early had looked to the ease of raising revenue by customhouse duties as an attraction to the Japanese (No 20, Nov. 25, 1856.)

²⁶Paske-Smith, *op. cit.*, 265-266, 363 For early firms see Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan*, 27 Augustine Heard and Company were represented in 1861

²⁷United States, Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics, *Com Asia and Oceanica* (1898), 1281-1282

goods (In 1896 imports into the United States from Japan were \$25,537,038—about four-fifths free—, and exports to that country were \$7,689,685—nearly all domestic.) The exact distribution among ports of Japan is not known, and it is questionable whether the earlier figures, and an item of \$4,000 worth of exports to Japan in 1845, can be accepted with confidence. In 1856 the imports into the United States were \$16,821 and the exports therefrom were \$4,000. 1857 and 1858 show no figures. In 1859 goods worth \$295 were entered, and there were no exports. Customhouse figures obtained by the British consul for the general foreign trade of Yokohama follow:²⁸

Imports	Exports
1859 \$150,000	\$400,000
1860 945,700	3,954,000
1861 1,478,000	2,682,900
1868 13,397,000	17,698,000

On the basis of secondary information Harris believed (July 11, 1860) that the export trade of Japan from September, 1859, when it became noticeable, had amounted to \$5,000,000—chiefly raw silk (2,000 bales) and tea (15,000 chests). He allowed half a million dollars for vegetables, wax, and oil. There were certain articles shipped to China, including many foodstuffs.²⁹

Figures for Yokohama which are given in Williams' *The Chinese Commercial Guide* (554) for 1860, the first full year of trade, are somewhat different from those in the brief table given above—estimated exports, \$4,325,000 (one-half in British vessels). Of this sum, over \$2,500,000 represented raw silk alone, and \$800,000 went for tea, oil, and copper. The 35,012 pounds of tea going to the United States from Japan in 1860 had a value of \$4,103.³⁰ The imports of Yokohama in 1860 were over \$1,050,000. Of this amount, about one-half represented cotton goods and two-fifths woollen goods. The difference between imports and exports was paid in specie. The total value of the foreign trade of the port during the year was estimated at about \$10,000,000. Foreign goods were taken mostly in exchange for native produce rather than from a genuine demand. Imports early included cotton and cotton yarns. At Nagasaki some American cottons had entered by way of China. Yokohama rapidly forged ahead of Nagasaki, however, in the import trade. In 1861 the volume of business rose sharply. The year from July, 1860, to July, 1861, showed an increase over the preceding year in bales of raw silk exported from 5,000 to 12,000, and tea rose from a trifle to nearly 5,000,000 pounds.³¹ Alcock states that at the outset some of the finer Japanese silks realized four shillings a

²⁸Paske-Smith, *op. cit.*, 303. This writer states that at Yokohama in the second half (following the formal opening of the port), imports did not reach a great amount, although the "Treasure Trade" must have been worth several hundred thousand pounds. For tea and silk exports from the end of the period see *ibid.*, 218. It is stated that in 1860 there were no direct shipments reported from Yokohama either to Europe or America, but on the opposite page Japanese production methods for silk and tea early improved. It was realized by thoughtful persons that imports could not be extended rapidly until new wants were created.

²⁹Com Rels., 1860, 403. Commerce and Navigation (year ending June 30, 1860—No. 5, pp. 257, 259) gives imports of silk from Japan at American ports as: piece goods, \$2,419; raw silk, \$4; and sewing silk, \$11. These were listed with duty-paying items; raw silk was generally free at the time. The same volume (p. 490) shows that all the duty-paying raw silk (\$104,692) entered at New York. Raw silk free of duty (\$1,255,978—\$1,224,392 at New York and the remainder at Boston) is given according to customs districts (*ibid.*, No. 9, p. 416), carriers (\$1,021,489 in American vessels, and \$214,487 in foreign vessels—*ibid.*, No. 6, p. 295), and country of origin (China, \$1,020,498; Japan, blank—*ibid.*, No. 5, p. 185). For detailed figures of total imports of different specific forms of duty-paying silk and silk goods see page 508 of the volume cited.

³⁰Statements of Imports of Tea and Coffee into the United States 1789 to 1882, pp. 425-424. 1860 was the first year showing a recorded entry in this work. The amount was a mere trifle in comparison with that received from China. By 1880 Japan was nearly abreast of China in these figures.

Goods sent from Japan to Shanghai in 1860 are estimated by one writer at nearly £1,000,000, including allowance for possible undervaluations in the statistics.

Ishibashi, writing in *Shirin* (as cited above, n. 15), alludes to a publication by the Treasury department in Japan, *Nihon Zaisei Keizai Shiryō* (i.e., financial documents of the Japanese government), volumes 3 and 7 of which relate to foreign trade. These give only rules and regulations and do not give the actual condition of the trade. Even for the early seventies the information is piecemeal, and such figures as are given are unreliable. The functions of the customs officers, states this writer, were not well defined at the time, and it is far better to depend on foreign sources, especially the English and American consular records. He also says that whatever documents in Japanese relate to this subject would be preserved in the *bakufu* records and in letters exchanged between foreigners and officials rather than in records of the local offices as such.

³¹Fortune, *A Narrative of a Journey*, etc., 285. Cf. figures on opposite page.

pound more than the best Chinese silks. The bulky exports (such as edibles for China) which figured at first and employed considerable shipping gradually lost importance in comparison with the more valuable but less bulky articles, chiefly tea and silk.³²

It has been pointed out that in China the price of silk was governed more by the immense domestic demand than by the foreign purchases. The opposite was

Disturbance of the case in Japan. By 1860 the Domestic Japanese were much troubled by the advance in price of their necessities. Increases were reported of from 100 to 300 per cent above prices existing before July, 1859. Before 1859 the annual production of silk is said by one writer to have been about 40,000 piculs, of excellent quality and low price--just enough for home consumption. With advances in price of about 100 per cent, quality deteriorated. Production rose in a short time over 25 per cent. This economic disturbance affected the influential aristocracy, who were the chief consumers of silk. Some of the native merchants dealing in silk were injured or killed. Certain flights of prices affected the lower classes also. At the

same time foreign merchants were troubled by the failure of the demand for their imports to increase satisfactorily. High prices for Japanese exports were believed to have caused neglect of home manufacture of some commodities, and it was supposed that an enlarged demand for imports would result. The expectation was groundless--another example of unjustified mercantile optimism.³³ Five years previously, S. Wells Williams had written for Hildreth's *Japan As It Was and Is* (558-562) a discussion of Japanese products and the probable effect of foreign trade, which included interesting and practical advice to that writer's contemporaries on the way to initiate trade--slowly and in such a way as to provide a gradual expansion of Japanese demand. Its sober realism suggests a doubt as to the wisdom of the later treaties which opened the gates to Western mercantile pressure in ways not provided for in the Perry treaty. Of similar prophetic character were R. B. Forbes' critical remarks in his work, *On the Establishment of a Line of Mail Steamers to China* (1855), emphasizing the self-sufficiency of the Japanese and attacking the ignorance of enthusiasts who would not see the necessity of a gradual growth of the trade

Note

on Domestic Chronology

The domestic situation in Japan during this period was characterized by contradictions, and was largely confused and misunderstood in the minds of foreigners at the time, who were unaware of the significance of existing divided authority. There were the Imperial court at Kyoto and a separate government of the Shogunate (Tokugawa family), with delegated powers, in charge of actual administration at Edo, i.e., Tokyo. For details, see works by Gubbins, Treat, and Murdoch. (On financial and administrative difficulties of the Shogunate in years just before Perry see Takakoshi, *The Econ. Aspects of Japan*, III, 235-237.)

1853-1860 —Struggle involving two Japanese leaders Ii (Kamon no Kami) Naosuke (Ii Tairō, or Regent Ii), convinced that Japan must drop her seclusion policy, was a strong supporter of the rule of the Shogunate.

Lord Nariaki (of the anti-administration Mito branch of the Tokugawa family), retired lord of Mito, was opposed to foreign contacts and hostile to the Shogunate's policy (on his compulsory abdication in 1844 see Gubbins, 93.)

1853 —Discord created by death of the Shogun Ieyoshi, succession of Iessada

1855 (Feb.) —Imperial approval of first foreign treaties Increasing influence of Ii

1858 —Efforts of Lord Hotta, prime minister and then minister of foreign affairs (serving the Shogunate), to secure Imperial consent to new foreign treaties (The Harris treaty was signed without such approval.) Hotta opposed by many feudal lords, or daimyo (one leader, consistently, urging limitation of trade to articles useful to Japan)

³² Capital of the Tycoon, I, 325-326, II, 328—including developments in Edo and preparations for tea exports. An interesting export of rags declined when the Japanese raised the price.

³³ Japan Des., No. 16, May 15, 1860, Nitobe, *The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan*, 95; Fortune, *A Narrative of a Journey, etc.*, 287, Com. Rel., 1880, 406, and Paskes-Smith, *op. cit.*, 310 (prices of some imports in 1861).

Indignation of many daimyō, led by Nariaki, whose Mito party was defeated on the treaty question and was aroused on the issue regarding the heir to the Shogun. Nariaki urged the claim of his own grown son against that of the minor son of the prince of Kii whom Ii Naosuke favored.

Talk of closing Japan again, Shogun's need of placating both the foreigners and the anti-foreign Imperial court party at Kyoto

1858 (June) —Appointment of Ii Naosuke as Regent, with full power to handle the crisis, especially regarding the heir. The important Lord Hotta supported the Regent with reference to foreign treaties and (like Nariaki) opposed him in the matter of the succession

1858 (July) —Hesitant decision of Ii to sign the American treaty (July 29) without Imperial consent. Renewed opposition to him and to the foreign policy of the Shogunate

Soon Lord Hotta was dismissed by Ii, on account of the succession issue, as a means of consolidating his position against the opposition (anti-foreign and/or pro-Mito-heir)

1858 —Various missions from Shogun's government to the Imperial court at Kyoto to secure consent to new foreign treaties (actually not secured until 1865), talk of future Japanese hegemony over all nations, complication of the foreign issue by growing contention of the Imperial court *vs.* the Shogunate for authority over Japan, a fundamental question involving institutions in existence for over two and a half centuries

1858 (Aug 4) —Young son of the prince of Kii proclaimed heir to the Shogun

1858 (Aug 14) —Death of the Shogun Iesada, creating many rumors as to causes. The minor heir, Iemochi, succeeded and his government was under a Regency

1858 (Aug) —(Just before the Shogun's death)--

Confinement of Nariaki and restraint of some opposing daimyō, with resulting indignation against Lord Ii

Growth of bitterness between two factions at court

Rift increasing between the Imperial House and the Shogunate

1858 —(At this time, summer and autumn, European powers, in the wake of the Harris treaty, required treaties with Japan.) Writes P J Treat, (Early Day Recs, 117), "The negotiation of these later treaties, important as they seemed to the European diplomats, was but a troublesome detail to the harassed officials of the Shogunate."

1858 (Oct 16) —Temporary resignation of the leading pro-Shogunate officer at the Imperial court in Kyoto, punishment by the Shogunate of certain opponents in the Court party

1858 —By the end of the year, the Regent was successful in controlling his opponents

1858-1859 (Winter) —Impractical agreement with a tendency toward a theory of foreign exclusion. Temporary reconciliation of Court party and Shogunate. (In the summer of 1859 Harris remarked on lessened cordiality 2 Japan Des, No 34, July 22)

1860 (Spring) —Assassination of Regent Ii by Mito party, nursing its grievances. Imminence of fall of the Shogunate. Inability of Ii's successors to continue his policies, rising power of the Court

Failure of internal developments to keep step with the notable changes in Japan's foreign relations, strong anti-foreign feelings. Assassinations of foreigners as well as native leaders toward end of period (For the slaying on Jan 30, 1860, of the arrogant Japanese who was interpreter at the British legation, see Treat, 143-144. For interpretation of the domestic significance of events, see Gubbins, Prog. of Japan, 119)

Chapter 20

JAPAN NAGASAKI AND HAKODATE

General and Consular

At none of the three offices in Japan by which the Department of State was represented from 1859 was there an appointee who held the title of "consul". Informal, Pioneer Harris was a consul-general, Character and and engaged also in diplomatic Self-Reliance Dorr, at Kanagawa, was of Consular an acting consul. At Hakodate the incumbent, selected Activities in Japan, Problems by the Department, was a commercial agent, who also traded of Local Authorities, Understan- ed on his own account, at ing Nagasaki the merchant who served under appointment from Harris was a vice consul, though sometimes referred to as an acting consul. These atypical consular establishments, like American commerce in Japan, began their activities without the usual procedure and traditions existing in older situations. They were somewhat detached, suffered from insufficiency of support and guidance, and, as a group remote from Washington, tended to make their own decisions and initial arrangements. Hakodate and Nagasaki were too far from Harris' office to permit quick receipt of the guidance which officers at these ports sought from him on several occasions. The Japanese local officials with whom they dealt had a similar problem of distance, to which must be added the limitation of their executive and discretionary power, the fact that they were on the defensive, and the novelty of the desires of foreigners. In this combination of circumstances delay, complications, and misunderstandings appeared. Yet in no case did the spirit of relations long fail to show

signs of improvement and growing mutual appreciation. In comparison with China, decisions were reached and settlements were effected with fair celerity.

At both of the consular offices under consideration here, problems arose regarding suitable land for the use of Americans. At

Nagasaki, Walsh cooperated with the British consul in consultations with the local authorities,¹ but at Hakodate, Rice, the commercial agent, apparently worked the matter out alone, and even in the face of opposition and inter-

ference from American naval officers. At both places the necessity of holding consular court in the absence of any authority in American law to do so was met by use of such trial measures as could be arranged. Walsh, at least, secured authorization from Harris to conduct judicial proceedings. He also issued regulations to control the conduct of Americans at Nagasaki. Such steps were essential if the American name was to command the respect of the Japanese.

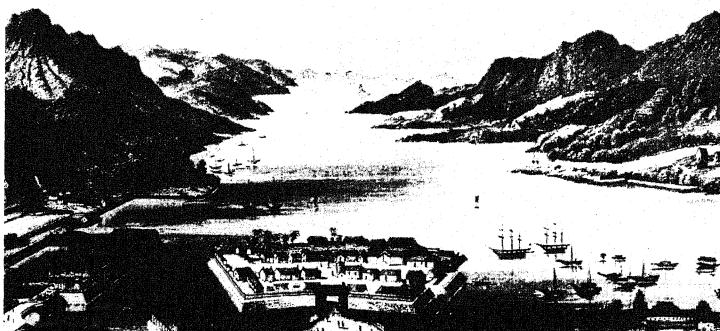
At Nagasaki there were evidences of foreigners' desire to avoid restriction of their rights in the manner to which the Dutch had been accustomed at Deshima Rights at Nagasaki, Problems commerce had been confined to of the that harbor island.² At the Chinese same time, efforts were made to increase Japanese willingness to allow exports according to treaty, to secure a sufficient supply of a satisfactory medium of exchange for local use, and to obtain protection of property and rights. The

¹ Paske-Smith (*Western Barbarians*, 243-244) lists the names of seventeen American land-renters in 1860-1861 of the 203 foreigners resident in 1862, but 52 were American, in comparison with 80 British and 58 Dutch (Of note 5, below, for certain names.)

On the famous missionary, Verbeck, who arrived on November 7, 1859, see W. E. Griffis' *Verbeck of Japan*, 81; this book comments (p. 86) on the relative inconspicuousness of foreigners at Nagasaki, a larger place than Kanagawa, and on their use of Japanese girls.

² In 1849 the Department of State tried unsuccessfully to facilitate the introduction into Japan of copies of the National Intelligencer containing remarks by A. H. Palmer, leading apostle of trade promotion. Other attempts of the kind had been no more encouraging in Japan than in China. The officials at Nagasaki rejected overtures.

The Treaty of Kanagawa in 1854 omitted reference to Nagasaki as an open port. English and Russian agreements of 1854 and 1855 partly opened the community to foreign vessels, but in spite of these documents it was



Nagasaki

(From A. van Otterloo's Japan, published in 1860.)



Hakodate from Telegraph Hill

(From Perry's Narrative, Vol. I, facing page 447.)

Chinese who were present caused the consulate difficult^w, in two respects First, they received certain privileges or favors which, it was pointed out, other foreigners lacked Second, a number of them, in collusion with lawless Americans, took advantage of the device of entering Nagasaki as employees of citizens or subjects of extraterritorial states and securing advantages in this manner.

Townsend Harris' convention of 1857 opened Nagasaki to American ships in want of repairs and supplies, but it gave them no general trading privileges

Opening of the Consular Office at Nagasaki The Consul-General thought these should await the signing of a genuine commercial treaty or the abatement of restrictions on Dutch trade³

His treaty of amity and commerce in 1858 spe-

cified the exact date (July 4, 1859) when Nagasaki (and Kanagawa) should be opened In this month the special privileges of the Dutch terminated, but the Chinese Trading Guild's monopoly of certain articles continued for several years⁴ Harris arranged for the creation of the consular office at Nagasaki during the course of a trip to China in the late spring of 1859 It was established in May, when Harris made John G Walsh "Acting U S Consul", a term which the Department of State interpreted to mean "U S Vice Consul" The position was unsalaried, the appointee being remunerated by fees Walsh was a member of Walsh and Company He entered upon his duties with insufficient equipment and instructions On December 26, 1859 the consulate was destroyed by fire⁵ The new officer encountered taxing problems relating to currency, coal supply, the

necessary in October, 1856, for Admiral Sir Michael Seymour to break through a bridge of boats maintained by officials to prevent entry into the inner harbor After this experience, the Japanese guards offered no interference (Paske-Smith, op cit, 137-138) The Russian treaty had not mentioned Nagasaki among ports at which trade might be conducted, but a supplementary treaty of October, 1857, carefully described rules for exchange of goods there and at Hakodate Oversight by the customhouse was close

For Japanese desire (1853) to secure foreign-rigged vessels, and for negotiations at Nagasaki, of Murdoch, A History of Japan, III, 616, additional comment appears in Williams' Chin Com Guide, 252-253 Early voyages of American vessels to this place, in the late eighteenth century (under the Dutch flag), are mentioned in references appearing at the end of note 58, in Chapter 8 (p 137, above)

The frontispiece of the first volume of Vijf Jaren in Japan, by the Dutch physician Pompe van Meerdervoort, gives an especially good view of the fine bay of Nagasaki in the early years of foreign intercourse In his Narrative of a Journey (5-6, 9, 23), Fortune describes the brisk trade and the superiority of the place over ports of China with respect to convenience, cleanliness, and healthfulness An interesting and detailed plan of Nagasaki may be seen facing page 184 of Chassiron's Notes sur le Japon, la Chine et l'Inde

³1 Japan Des , No 7, June 18, 1857

⁴Paske-Smith, op cit, 188-200 This writer relates the difficulties of the transition to open and direct trading, which involved concepts novel to Japanese merchants and officials The frequent closing of offices on Japanese and foreign holidays created confusion

According to Satow, most of the territorial nobles of Western Japan had establishments at Nagasaki to which rice and other produce were sent for sale Their retainers thus came into contact with foreigners and purchased arms from them Friendly feeling was increased by the American missionaries who gave English lessons to young samurai (A Diplomat in Japan, 22) It was but a short time before, that the Japanese had desired the Dutch to include in a treaty an article prohibiting "the importation of Opium and Christianity!" (W B Reed, Private Diary of Mission to China 1857-59, Oct 4, 1858, off Nagasaki, remarks on conversation with Commissioner Curtius concerning probable Japanese commercial cooperation and fear of Roman Catholic indiscretions) Greater friendliness toward foreigners was shown at Nagasaki than existed farther east (Williams, Chin Com Guide, 250)

⁵As a result of disastrous fires, foreigners organized fire brigades early in 1860 On recreational activities, religion, and the character of commerce, as well as for useful comments on newspapers, see Paske-Smith, op cit, 246-247 and 258-259

At the outset the Department disallowed some of Walsh's accounts (Con Inst, Nagasaki-29, 9, p 416 Cf 1 Nagasaki Cl, No 1, Jan 2, 1860, which marks the beginning of the reports from Nagasaki) This letter did not reach Washington until April 22 Harris had written from Nagasaki on April 21, 1859, one of his letters, to the governor at Nagasaki, was dated May 9) Paske-Smith stated that Harris had met the new consular officers for Nagasaki and Kanagawa in China According to the same writer, the brothers John E Walsh (presumably John G Walsh of the consulate) and Richard J Walsh, founders of Walsh, Hall and Company, and Douglas Frazer (owner of the first foreign shop in Japan) were among the Americans present at the opening (Op cit, 228, 230) In his despatch of April 21, Harris reported the presence of several Americans and a number of American vessels On British consular officers see Paske-Smith, 228-229; Michie, The Englishman in China , II, 14-15, and

foreign quarter, translation, affairs of merchants, privileges of Chinese, use of the flag, and administration. Imperfect organization of the Japanese customhouse created handicaps.⁵ The appointment supplied a means of checking the misbehavior of American sailors.

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It is a far cry from the early visits of American whalers at Hakodate to the appearance (1934) of the American baseball

The Port hero, Babe Ruth, and his comrades for a game with the of Nippon All-Stars. American Hakodate athletes carried on the contacts begun by those New Englanders whose game was the chase of Leviathan and whose score was measured in barrels of oil. From these hardy seamen Commodore Perry derived some of his information before he left for Japan. Situated on an island-like headland at the southern tip of the island of Hokkaido (Yezo), Hakodate calls to mind the Rock of Gibraltar. It lies at the north side of the Straits of Tsugaru, on a large and fine harbor. The anchorage is superior to the one formerly used at Shimoda but inferior to that of Yokohama. Hakodate served as a prosperous entrepôt for trade with eastern Hokkaido. It sent a few articles of commerce to China.⁶

Perry's treaty had provided for the opening of the port one year after the document was signed (on March 31, 1854). The place had already attracted attention as a

Perry's Visit possible base for some Western power.⁸ The harbor was surveyed in the spring of 1854 by members of the Perry expedition. The five visiting ships alarmed the people and, as happened near the capital, some families were sent into the country. Certain officers had to be disciplined for brutality to shopkeepers. S. Wells Williams, the famous missionary-publisher and scholar who accompanied Perry, proved himself a genuine diplomat in his dealings with the Japanese authorities during what he regarded as a very pleasant visit. He used some Japanese.⁹ Local officers lacked the notice from Yedo which had been arranged to tell them of the visit and were even uninformed concerning the treaty itself. Perry nevertheless required conformity to its provisions.¹⁰

The Treaty of Kanagawa was silent on the subject of consular representation at Hakodate. The Convention of Shimoda (Art II) provided for residence of a Consular Provisions vice consul. In framing this in the advantage of the North Treaties, Pacific whaling fleet. The Confusion of 1858 called only of Arrangements for consular officers at Japanese ports with the titles of consuls or consular agents. It has been seen that the Japanese wanted only an informal arrangement for a "Protector of Americans." On June 18, 1857, the day after signing the Convention of Shimoda, Harris

Hodgson, *A Residence*, xxix. These appointees, too, were brought from China and were installed under the eye of their diplomatic superior. Difficult steps in the arrangement of a foreign settlement are described above, pp. 174-175.

Walsh was absent from his district for two months during the first half of 1860, Richard J. Walsh served as his deputy.

In 1872 Inspector Keim found the books and archives of the Nagasaki office in excellent condition.

Harris acted decisively in his efforts to secure from the authorities of the Japanese central government attention to complaints of the consular officer. During his visit he successfully negotiated with the local governor regarding temporary accommodations for Americans, exchange of coins, and the export of certain articles. This governor exercised a control which had been transferred to the central authorities by the daimyo of Hizen (Williams, *op. cit.*, 250). A somewhat similar transfer at Hakodate is mentioned later.

⁵For regulations of 1860 designed to avert difficulties between foreigners and Japanese, see above, 76n, and 83. Consular court cases are noted on p. 97, regarding duties in the case of the Superintendent of Customs vs. Frazer see 188a. In 1859-1860 the foreign community was very scattered, protection of foreigners by the "night watches" prior to completion of the foreign quarter, and the difficulties created by local Chinese, have been mentioned above, on p. 143. For the currency question at Nagasaki, see Chapter 12, especially p. 222.

⁶The account of Hakodate in Denny's *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, 61ff., contains considerable descriptive material. A view of the town and its harbor faces page 10 of Graves' *Forty Years in China*. A work of probable value for the early narrative of this place, Luhdorf's *Acht Monaten in Japan* (Bremen, 1857), has not been available. Cf. 3 *Shanghai CI*, information with Murphy's No. 22, Nov. 1, 1855 (Brown's pessimistic remarks on his visit to Hakodate, Aug. 30-Sept. 9, 1855, and his comment on prices).

⁷Among different instances of interest, reference may be made to Rouaud's *Régions Nouvelles*, 56n, citing A. Roussin's *Une Campagne sur les Côtes du Japon*.

⁸The Life and Letters, 218-220. For Perry's trip and his interview see the *Narrative*, Vol. 1, Chap. XXII.

⁹The Japanese said the journey from Hakodate to Yedo took thirty days in summer and thirty-seven in winter.

wrote that the Japanese objected to the title of consul or commercial agent. He suggested the term "vice consul" as least apt to cause difficulty. Possibly he was unaware of Rice's having already opened a commercial agency. No indication is available of his knowledge, at that time, of Rice's appointment. Rice had written to Harris on May 17, 1857 concerning his arrival, but the letter (apparently the first) was not received until June 23.¹¹ This officer had been notified of his appointment as early as June 26, 1856. In sending him out the Department, of course, was unable to foresee either the Japanese opposition to the presence of an appointee at Hakodate, or the fact that Harris was to provide in the Convention of Shimoda that the arrangement for a vice consul contained therein should not go into effect until July 4, 1858.¹² Furthermore, from the standpoint of its own administrative theory, the Department felt no obligation to make formal provision for a commercial agent, regarded as an informal representative serving its own convenience and purposes, even though he actually discharged duties practically identical with those of a consul. Nevertheless, on September 10, 1857, Rice objected to Harris' arrangement in the Convention of Shimoda for a vice consul and asked for the title of consul, not so much to impress the Japanese as to improve his status with American naval officers and other Americans. Two years later he declined to renew his bond unless this concession was made. In asking to be made a consul, Rice quoted the governor's alleged desire to make Hakodate the leading port of Japan. The commercial agent fatuously desired to have the Nagasaki office placed under his own, as a vice consulate. A year later, however, he wrote of high prices and cold

winters and opined, after all, that a southern port might be more suitable for whalers.¹³

The commercial agent opened his office on May Day in 1857, seven weeks before the signing of the Convention of Shimoda,

and two years before a consular officer was established at Nagasaki. He did not apply for a formal exequatur and received no formal recognition.

The Department made the setting up of the agency a simple matter. Rice was established in a commodious house in a temple yard, with a number of Japanese soldiers as servants.¹⁴ In spite of advice from a member of the Perry expedition that lack of pomp would bring him contempt, he was given increasingly satisfactory treatment by the local authorities.¹⁵ The Department's quietness, however, became inattention when it failed to supply the necessary equipment for the office.

Political complications with the Japanese and attendant risks to Americans were almost non-existent. Local preoccupation with money-making re-

quired no elaborate machinery. The place was remote from the centers of disaffection from the Shogun's government. Tokugawa influence was strong. The town was transferred to the Shogun by the daimyō of Matsumae to serve as a port of refuge for foreigners.¹⁶ Among those points which have been the scenes of "last stands" in Japanese history Hakodate has an interesting place. The island of Yezo had long been somewhat detached and had been governed under the light hand of the daimyō of Matsumae. When supporters of the fading Shogunate in 1869 sent

Harris stated that travel between Hakodate and Shimoda by junk was forbidden (*Cosenza, The Complete Journal*, 577). The governor minimized the value of the place and its products, in comparison with Shimoda. The chapter of the *Narrative* cited above provides much description.

¹¹ *Cosenza, The Complete Journal*, 376

¹² A consular provision in an earlier Russian treaty (Jan 25/Feb 7, 1855), with supplementary articles, benefited Americans, through the most-favored-nation clause in the Perry treaty, by permitting appointments in the year 1856. For a variation ("Consul" and "Consul") see Gubbins, *op. cit.*, 237-238.

¹³ Hakodate Cl., Sept 10, 1857, Com Rels, 1859, 282. For abbreviated comment on the status of commercial agents see above, 76n.

¹⁴ Rice went to Hakodate by way of China. He was at Amoy in 1857, to consider a temporary appointment to the consulate there, during Hyatt's absence, no agreement was reached. Cf. Collins, *Overland Explor.*, 325.

¹⁵ The Japanese governor at Hakodate in 1857 had been connected with the negotiation of Lord Elgin's treaty (*Blakeney, On the Coasts of Cathay and Cipango*), 198-199.

¹⁶ Hodgson, *A Residence, etc.*, 96. Cf. Pask-Smith, *Western Barbarians*, 228. Alcock was present at Hakodate in the autumn of 1859. Although he mentioned (*The Capital of the Tycoon*, I, 201 and 249) attacks on some foreigners he thought the people were good-humored, and characterized the governor as a fine old man of the better type of administrator. (*Ibid.*, I, 250.)

their naval forces under Admiral Enomoto to Hakodate the step was part of a movement to establish a separate state, sometimes referred to as a republic¹⁷. The defeat of these forces occurred twelve years after the American commercial agency was opened. If the intervening history of Hakodate was not obscure it was, at least, quiet. Thus it happened that the preference of the Department of State for an unconscious representation joined with the administrative condition of this semi-autonomous frontier community to create an example of peaceful opening of relations, on the appropriate foundation of the Perry treaty. Such conflicts as involved Americans seem to have been chiefly among themselves, especially among deserters and between them and their officers. The acuteness of Rice's difficulties with officers of his country's navy has been emphasized in discussion of consular relations with this branch of government.

On October 10, 1857, Rice was the only foreigner at Hakodate. By the summer of 1858 a Dr Bates, son of a resident of Honolulu, had opened a hospital. He was the only foreigner to settle there during the half year.¹⁸ When Alcock visited the port in 1859 he found two

Americans and a very few foreigners of other races. Russians were present from time to time. It has been seen that Americans at Nagasaki came into contact with Dutchmen and the traditions of the Dutch trade, at the northern port the chief foreign factor of which they were conscious was the Russian Much of the commerce with Nikolaevsk, near the mouth of the Amur River, and location of the American commercial agency at "the Amoor", passed by Hakodate (on strong Russian influence see, for example, Com Rels., 1859, 382, items of June 30, 1859). Rice was the guest of Harris at Shimoda from November 11, 1858, to February 3, 1859. W R Pitts, of Berlin, Maryland, served as deputy in the Hakodate office at least from the latter part of 1860, and soon became acting commercial agent when illness compelled his superior to take a trip (from November, 1860).¹⁹

Commerce of Nagasaki and Hakodate

Much goods to and from China was carried by American vessels in the Nagasaki trade, including East Asiatic produce of different kinds (articles of food, in particular) as well as commodities belonging strictly to

¹⁷ Cf Brinkley, *A Hist of the Japanese People*, 658, and Murdoch, *A Hist of Japan*, III.

¹⁸ 1 Hakodate CL, Rice to Cass, June 30, 1858. In the Miscellaneous Letters in the Department of State is filed a letter to Cass from Robert C Wood, Jr (Jly 17, 1858), noting the writer's intention of trading in Japan and offering to take to Hakodate twelve Japanese then in California, as an act of humanity and good faith. The letter refers to a memorial to the President from citizens of San Francisco urging such action.

¹⁹ 1 Hakodate CL, cf Appendix 1. In Rice's employ (1858) was one Frederick Wilkie of Portsmouth.

Numerous incidents and controversies in the history of the office have been related in previous connections. A number of them may be reviewed by use of the following cross references: 17a, above (desire of officials to control trade closely), p. 97 (consular court cases toward the end of the period, including one curious trial of an American for murder), p. 111 (Rice's translation problem at the outset, and resulting acrimony), pp. 123, and 175 (difficulty in 1859 with officers of the naval vessel Mississippi regarding pilotage charges, location of American residents, Rice's trading activity, and other matters); p. 137 (question of the nationality of the bark Burnham), p. 142n (the commercial agent's claim against the Japanese government for his private mercantile losses), p. 155 (trouble with seamen), pp. 219n and 220n (currency arrangements—also the general account, 217f), Rice's letter of March 30, 1860, placed exchange at 40%).

On the relatively friendly contacts of Rice with the local authorities see 167-168, above. His view of his British colleague and his personal declaration of independence are given on pages 181-182. Paske-Smith (Western Barbarians, 278) states that Hodgson, the British officer, went from Nagasaki to Hakodate in August, 1859. Hodgson's A Residence (91-95) would suggest the date October 5, while Rice's letter of October 17, 1859, would indicate that he landed on October 16. The American and Russian consular offices were in adjoining temples, and the British consulate was nearby. For the alleged theft of an idol by an American in 1855, see Tilley, Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific, 108. Among other items of interest was the important concession by the governor of the right of Americans to secure beef (summer, 1857). Gubbins' assertion (Progress of Japan, 59) that the coal deposits near Hakodate were unknown at the time of Perry's negotiations should be supplemented by Rice's comment, only four years after the treaty, that excellent coal for steamers could be had at six dollars a ton (1 Hakodate CL, Rice to Cass, June 30, 1858).

Features of commerce at Nagasaki and Hakodate trade with the West Shang-hai, two or three days distant, was the leading transhipment point for the Japan trade, in which Hongkong also had a share. From the beginning of consular returns in the spring of 1859 to the end of 1860, more than sixty American vessels entered (over 20,000 tons). At Hakodate, American tonnage was probably about the same, but commodities were different, consisting chiefly of whale oil, "assorted" goods, and supplies. Several vessels were in ballast. The place was a refitting port, and vessels not uncommonly moved no cargo while there. Of the total number of vessels at Hakodate in 1860, just half were American. The British leadership encountered at other ports of the Orient was missing.

Foreign shipping present at Nagasaki from 1855 effected the old monopoly trade of the Dutch with Batavia.²⁰ American merchant vessels appeared as early as

Shipping at Nagasaki 1856 The last voyage of famous Captain Dumaresq, in that year, took him to Nagasaki in the Florence.²¹ On

May 11, 1856, Edward Cunningham's halcyon reached the port from Woosung. Much formality was encountered in securing permission to enter the harbor. High prices and uninviting trade conditions gave Cunningham a pessimistic view of the future of American commerce at Nagasaki.²² The commercial treaties of 1858, however, brought encouragement

Cargo was taken by nearly all of the eighty commercial vessels of different nations which arrived in a period of eight or nine months after September, 1858, when commerce began to develop. Many of these vessels ranged from 1,200 to 2,000 tons burden.²³ English shipping carried the bulk of the imports and exports.²⁴

Some Western goods reached Nagasaki as part of the Dutch and Chinese trade before the re-opening of Japan.²⁵ As early as 1846

Consul Wolcott at Shanghai

Imports and Exports at Nagasaki, Importance of Shanghai had sold American cottons to Chinese merchants for shipment to this Japanese port. By 1860 Japanese improvement in facilities for trade encouraged foreign merchants to

hope that the country could successfully compete with China in producing most of the articles customarily exported from China to the United States and Europe, but temporarily there was little demand for Western manufactures. Some cotton and woollen fabrics were taken, with a variety of Chinese and Asiatic produce. Exports included coal, tea, silk, camphor, vegetable wax, copper, rape-seed oil, cassia, sulphur, tobacco, and marine delicacies. Williams states that three-fourths of the articles of export were for Chinese consumption. The first three items, however, were worth more than all the others. The treaty provision regarding coal saved American steamers two-thirds of the cost of this fuel sent out from the United States.

²⁰ Paske-Smith, Western Barbarians, 229.

²¹ This final voyage may have been the first made to Nagasaki by an American merchantman after the Perry treaty. Cf. Other Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston (State St. Trust Co., 1919), p. 24.

²² The Halcyon went on to Shimoda (May 25) and returned to Woosung on June 10. Cunningham had been vice consul at Shanghai. (Forbes, Notes on Ships of the Past, 67-68, drawing on a pamphlet by Cunningham, Appendix I, below, and Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 175-174.)

²³ Huyssen de Kattendyke, Le Japon en 1857, 188-189, 2 Japan Des, Harris to Cass, No. 20, Nagasaki, Ap. 21, 1859. By February, 1859, if not earlier, Nagasaki shipping received newspaper notice, cf. The Overland Register and Price Current (Hongkong), Feb 15, 1859, p. 15.

²⁴ Paske-Smith, op. cit., 222. This writer's annual statistics are useful for comparison with figures for American shipping in Appendix 4 C, below. In 1860 American tonnage was 8,154, as against 38,574 British. In October of that year vessels secured freights quickly. Rates to Shanghai were \$4 a ton of 40 cubic feet (or 40 cents a picul by weight of goods), and to Hongkong \$8 (and 60 cents). (Com. Rel., 1860, 407.)

²⁵ Moxes, Recollections, 529, East India Squadron Commodore Biddle Cruise, No. 17, July 31, 1846. In 1853 the Russians brought a model of a locomotive to Nagasaki. The part played by models, trade exhibits, descriptive works, and gifts of Western products has received little or no consistent study. (See the illustration, p. 27, above.)

For statistics of the Dutch and Chinese trade with Nagasaki note Hildreth's Japan As It Was and Is (1855), ch. XLV, Huyssen de Kattendyke, op. cit., 193-194, 3 China DD, No. 17, Biddle to Bancroft (Sec. of the Navy), in July, 1846, enclosed copy of a letter from O. M. Roberts (U. S. Consulate, Batavia) to Biddle, Oct. 25, 1845. The Dutch trade amounted to only a few hundred thousand dollars a year, and profits were trifling. Yet it was reported to the commercial agent at remote Hakodate to be worth seven million dollars! The commerce of both the Dutch vessels and the Chinese junks (from "Sha-po", near Chusan) appeared to be declining.

to the naval depots in China. Nearly all the trade, much of it on Chinese and Japanese account, was carried on with Shanghai, where a "Japan fever" developed in commercial circles. As early as the beginning of 1858, considerable profits led to a glut of foreign articles and a consequent rise in the price of native produce. The general characteristics of the trade continued much the same during 1860.²⁶

A rough idea of the value of foreign commerce at Nagasaki is supplied by Paske-Smith.²⁷ Customhouse figures for 1858 set imports at \$600,000 and exports at \$600,000 (one dollar Statistics lar 4/6 to 5/6). The British Consul's estimate for the second half-year was £150,000 for imports and £200,000 for exports. Customhouse figures for 1860 were: imports, \$700,000, exports, \$600,000. The American share of the trade is not specified, but some idea of prices is found in the Commercial Relations for 1860.²⁸ American drills sold at from \$3.25 to \$3.50 (Mexican) for forty yards. Tea was purchased at prices

ranging from \$5 to \$28 a picul (133 $\frac{1}{3}$ lbs av.) for green and \$24 to \$26 for No. 1 black Raw silk brought between \$5 and \$5.50 a catty (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb av.)

In the first months of trade Nagasaki led the other ports of Japan in commodity business, but it shortly lost its advantage to Yokohama.

Commerce at Hakodate was chiefly a matter of tonnage rather than commodities.²⁹ The first American whaler is said to have entered Japanese waters in 1820

American Vessels at Hakodate	In 1822 over thirty appeared According to Siebold, sixty-eight square-rigged vessels were counted by the Japanese as passing Hakodate and Matsumae in one year. These were presumably almost all American. They kept at a safe distance from shore. ³⁰
	In October, 1855, the General Pierce reported at Shanghai that at the time of leaving Hakodate, early in the season, no American vessels had arrived. Shortly before Rice opened his office in May, 1857, twelve whalers and one merchant vessel were in port. The latter was probably the American <u>Esperanza</u> , on its

²⁶ Chin Com Guide, 252-253, 2 Japan Des., Harris to Cass, No. 29, Nagasaki, June 21, 1859, 1 Macao CL, Vice Consul Nye, Feb. 22, 1859, Com Rels., 1860, 404 Cf. Trouson, A Voyage to Japan, ch. XXVIII.

Walsh reported that the textiles sold were well received, especially the coarse drills and shirtings. He believed that the demand for exportation would advance the prices of silk, previously consumed chiefly within the Empire, and that cheaper American cotton goods would replace it among the Japanese.

²⁷ Western Barbarians, 204, 208, 303. This obliging investigator does not hesitate to include in his text an abundance of details which greatly enhance the usefulness of his writing. A consular officer himself, he has sensed the importance of many items which another type of writer might have passed by as irrelevant.

For some years it was necessary to add at least fifty per cent to the customhouse figures, because of the difference between the customhouse valuation of the Mexican dollar and its market value. The dollar value fluctuated. Unreliability of the official figures resulted from the attitudes of those in charge and from the special privileges allowed the Chinese. In self-protection, foreign (Western) merchants underestimated values in their reports (*Ibid.*, 203-204).

²⁸ Pp. 405-406. Pages 406-407 provide a list of articles.

As in China, foreign imports were noted in other places than the open ports. In 1861, Alcock saw Dutch and British goods in the shops of Shimonosaki. Prices were somewhat uncertainly reported to be from 50 to 100% above those prevailing at Nagasaki. (The Capital of the Tycoon, II, 93. This volume contains much commercial information for subsequent years.)

²⁹ For early sailing directions at the port see the Appendix (373-374) of Spalding's Japan and Around the World. Accidents and improvements in local navigation (1858) gained special attention. On September 30 Rice wrote that want of pilots and of buoys had led to accidents, at considerable trouble and expense he had had the harbor surveyed and buoys placed. The previous spring he had arranged with the governor for a pilot ship; vessels were each to pay \$10 to Rice, who would pay the pilot \$7.42 until July and \$5.50 for the rest of the year (Com. Rels., 1859).

In reporting on his care of twenty destitute persons, the commercial agent told the story of the loss of the American bark Hesperian in 1859. After the wreck the captain of the Russian government's steam corvette Japannede stood by for several hours to take off the master's wife and child, the passengers, and the crew—a proceeding which nearly caused the loss of the Russian ship in the typhoon. The captain acted against the wishes of a special bearer of despatches who was on board and, said the writer, deserved substantial acknowledgment. The rescued persons, together with three sailors from the bark Melita sent to Rice by the governor of Nikolakaeusk, were members of his household until disposition could be made of them. (1 Hakodate CL, Rice to Cass, Oct. 12, 1859.)

³⁰ Paulin, Dip. Negots., 218, 33-2, 9 Ex. Doc. 54, 133.

way from Hongkong to the Amur River.³¹ The commercial agent set about arranging with the Japanese for provisions, as it was expected that many whalers would repair to Hakodate, near their grounds, instead of going to the Sandwich Islands.³² In the first half of 1860, fifteen whalers (probably American) arrived. Four merchant ships also entered. Of these the ship Tinos (564), owned by William P. Dean and others of New York, came on April 18, on a second visit in January, 1861, she was wrecked off Hakodate. The other three were schooners the Orbit (154), on June 8, and the Alert (150) and the Caroline E. Foote (145 or 150), on June 20. The last-named carried camels from the Amur River for San Francisco. Tonnage fees in no case exceeded three dollars. The Orbit failed to secure the cargo of notions which was sought. According to the New York Herald,³³ the reason was to be found in the non-observance of treaty obligations by the Japanese, a charge easy to make but not as easy to prove. On the other hand, the Ariel was reported at the same time as arriving in New York with freight of high value. Business steadily increased during the entire year 1860. Of sixty-eight vessels of all countries at Hakodate during the year, eight were British men-of-war and thirteen were merchant vessels under the same flag. American entries were, whalers, 24, merchantmen, 9, naval vessels, none.³⁴

The close official supervision of trade which had surprised the members of the Perry expedition continued for several years.

In 1859, despite a gradual increase in business, it was asserted that the authorities found it to their own advantage to control

the trade.³⁵ Yet it is questionable whether official "graft" actually existed. In the second half of the year the commercial agency placed exports at about \$100,000 (mostly to China),—edibles and items for English account. Many articles could then be bought at half the prices formerly exacted under exclusive government control of trade.³⁶ Imports in 1860 were chiefly foods. About one thousand piculs of tea went to China, and another (experimental) shipment to San Francisco by the Caroline E. Foote was contemplated. From July, 1859, when the treaty of 1858 went into effect, trade suffered from the "ruinous depreciation" of the Mexican dollar.

At Shimoda Americans were armed. In the increasingly friendly semi-rural atmosphere of Hakodate they usually found precautions for safety unnecessary. In Eastern Siberia they were in the midst of Europeans in small communities whose history supplies no record of serious unpleasantness. Americans experienced some disappointments in their activities in those communities, but the distressing controversies and problems which formed a large part of consular and commercial history at other ports of the East were conspicuously absent. Indeed, the hospitality manifested in these outlying places adds attraction to their story. Risking the cold climate, the narrative conveys the reader from the Straits of Tsugaru, up the Gulf of Tartary, and through the uncertain waters at the mouth of the Amur River, placing him at the chief scene of American activity in Eastern Siberia.

³¹ Luhdorf, the supercargo, left on June 10. On his activities see Cosenza, The Complete Journal, 576n.
³² Hakodate Cl., No. 2, May 20, 1857. Previous reference has been made to visits by Brown, Reed and Dougherty, and others, after the Perry treaty. For certain years reference should be made to Appendix 4 C of the present work.

³³ Morning ed., Oct. 24, 1860. The Orbit arrived in ballast at Vancouver Island on September 13, thirty-one days from Hakodate. The Orbit was one of the vessels sold in China, and the first American vessel to reach the head of Puget Sound. About 1851 she had cleared from that region with a load of piles for the Hawaiian Islands, but had been driven back by a storm. Later (ca. 1858) Portland (Ore.) owners sent her to China. (Monthly Rev., XIII, No. 1, p. 18.)

³⁴ Com. Rels., 1860, Pt. I, 356.

³⁵ Com. Rels., 1859, 382.

³⁶ Hakodate Cl., Nov. 4 and Dec. 31, 1859.

Chapter 21
COLLINS IN EASTERN SIBERIA. AN EARLY PROMOTER

"M Beznessikoff will farm the rich salt works belonging to government, we hope that the passage of this industry from the State into the hands of private parties will augment the quantity and cheapen the price of this article of prime necessity."

"It is beyond doubt that in the hands of private enterprise the products of the mines of Nicolaevsk will be much cheapened, the quantity increased and the quality improved."

"There is now a rumor in this place that certain parties here are projecting the formation of another large European trading company to do business on the Amoor and in the interior. If such is to be the case, the chances for individuals engaged in trade on a moderate scale may reasonably be expected to be diminished still more."

"Private enterprise is always selfish, consequently, there may be persons disposed to depreciate the value of the Amoor to our commerce. I have endeavored to state nothing but the facts, so that the public may reap the benefit."

(From reports of Collins and Chase, 1858-1861)

Two promoters met when Nikolas (later Count) Muravieff and Perry MacDowell Collins travelled together in Siberia in 1856. The former was Russian Governor-General of Eastern Siberia. The latter was Commercial Agent of the United States with Unlike Agents for the "Amur River". With backgrounds and respect to station, background, and financial resources they differed. Muravieff was on his own soil, in a position of authority, and Collins was an alien on what had previously been almost forbidden ground. To the one Eastern Siberia held the promise of a great political stronghold, as well as an economic opportunity. To the other it was a potential link in what Americans hoped would become a worldwide commercial empire. The Russian was an agent of state enterprise and rigid supervision of the mercantile activity of individuals, while the American was characteristically a firm believer in the superiority of individual initiative.

Their two large countries resembled only in the facts that, during the period of this study, both were moving across great

continents to the Pacific and that each participated in the economic history of the other's Pacific shoreline. The diplomatic cordiality which has been observed was negative rather than positive, to a considerable extent growing out of a common suspicion of imperial Britain. The monarchical autocracy of Russia was at the opposite pole from the republican democracy of the United States.

In spite of these personal and national dissimilarities, Muravieff and Collins shared a personal enthusiasm for development and lavished their determined optimism on the region of the Amur River. Each was able to facilitate the work of the other. Both encountered the obstacles created by political indifference or opposition and the retarding effect of natural circumstances. They exerted a distinct influence on their own times. The work of Muravieff (appointed in 1847) is well known, but that of Collins has received little recent attention. The American agent's activities were the chief feature of the novel phase of American commercial expansion in Eastern Asia recorded here.

Succeeding geographical comments are followed by mention of certain political and diplomatic facts and Russian regulations pertaining to foreign merchants.

Divisions of Merchants trading in the Amur
This Chapter ports are noticed and the history of the commercial agency and its personnel is sketched. The narrative continues with an account of American shipping and local factors affecting navigation. The mechanism of trade and the nature and volume of American commerce are the final points considered.

About twenty miles from the mouth of the Amur River is the town of Nikolaevsk (1851), on the left bank. During the 1850's it was the seat of government. The Amur Region, for the province of the eastern coast of Siberia. At this point the American commercial agency was located. After the abandonment of Petropavlovsk, on the peninsula of Kamchatka, during the Crimean War (March, 1854-March, 1856) Nikolaevsk was made the chief port of the region. Its population grew in a short

time from a few hundred (before 1855) to a few thousand¹. The river was frozen over part of each year, and navigation at Nikolaievsk was open for only five months. Collins entertained a poor opinion of the town as a commercial center. Navigation north from this port to the Sea of Okhotsk was unsatisfactory and vessels came and went by way of the Straits of Tartary, to the south, and the Japanese waters.

Along this route, on the coast of the mainland about a hundred miles from Nikolaievsk, was De Castries Bay, commonly referred to as

"De Castries", with a better

De Castries Bay depth of water and only a three months' period of ice

In the fifties the Russians occupied this place, on Chinese territory, as a secure anchorage for their snips en route to the mouth of the Amur Overland, the river was about eight miles away. In 1856 the small community at De Castries numbered about three hundred persons. At the time, it was thought that this place would become the future port of the Amur district.²

Across the Straits of Tartary was the island of Sakhalin. In 1854 possession of this area was a subject of much discussion

between the Japanese and the

The Island of Sakhalin Russians, the Japanese claiming it as far north as the fiftieth degree of latitude

In 1855 it was agreed for the time being to leave the island open to both countries.³ For

its steamers the Russian government in 1858 was using coal of good quality from the west coast of Sakhalin. In 1859 there was reported a plan of the Russian-American Company to market Sakhalin coal (and ice). The tests had been made by American engineers. Apart from whalers, American contacts with this region seem in general to have been negligible.

Far out on the peninsula of Kamchatka was Petropavlovsk (1849), about a thousand miles from Hakodate and eight days' sail from

Nikolaievsk.

Before the Russian occupation of the Amur in Kamchatka this place had been the headquarters for the eastern region. Following the failure of an Allied attack in 1854 the Russian fleet escaped to De Castries Bay, with the larger number of the inhabitants. Returning in 1855, the enemy found an almost deserted town. When Collins visited it in the autumn of 1857, trade was limited to the inhabitants of the peninsula, numbering about eight thousand natives and Russians. The return to foreign traders was in money or furs. An occasional whaler appeared, and a few marine difficulties arose, as related elsewhere. (Reference has been encountered to one American vessel sent to Kamchatka as early as 1807.) There were five Russian commercial houses. Of the two American houses mentioned by Collins little is known, except that one was owned by Cushing (also of Nikolaievsk), and American interests there may be omitted from further consideration.⁴

¹ In 1858 the population was about twenty-five hundred, chiefly men. There were then forty-nine government and two hundred private buildings. Besides one government store there were eleven private stores (Amoor River CL, see above, 18n). The Amur was usually called Sak-hah-lin by the natives.

² Tronson gives the location as $51^{\circ} 28' N$ lat., and $141^{\circ} 5' E$ long. Facing page 285 of his Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary (London, 1859) is a detailed sketch of the entrance to the mouth of the Amur River. See the same work, p. 284, for reference to a Chinese order to the Russians to depart. The trip from Nikolaievsk to De Castries was not always easy. By steamer it was about twelve hours, but by sail Collins once required over two weeks. In his Overland Explorations, 321-323, he gives an account of the "inside" trip from the mouth of the river to Hakodate. T. W. Atkinson comments on De Castries in his Travels in the Amoor (London, 1860), p. 495. Discoveries of an English squadron in the Gulf of Tartary in 1856 are noted in The Overland Friend of China, July 10, 1856, p. 41. The British took different points along this coast in 1855. (The Crimean War was terminated only about six months before the English became involved with China in a second war.)

³ Murdoch, Hist. of Japan, III, 595, 612. The Japanese regained the southern portion in 1905. Atkinson (op. cit., 495-494) recounts the adventures (1839-1841) of some Polish officers exiled about Nerchinsk, who went with "the Japanese traders" to Sakhalin, where one of them was rescued on the east coast by an American whaler. In his "Russian-American Relations during the Crimean War", in Amer. Hist. Rev. XXXI, No. 3 (Apr., 1926), 462-475, Frank A. Golder states (475) that soon after the Crimean War merchants inquired regarding the chance for American trade not only at the Amur but also in Sakhalin Island. Although international considerations led the Russian government to deny official recognition of American consuls, it was confidentially stated that Americans would be welcome and that secret orders had been issued to give them special facilities. The influence of the Crimean War on American interest in Siberia, as compared with that of earlier emphasis in the United States on trade advantages there, is not fully evident.

⁴ 35-1, H. Ex. Doc. 98, 47. For operations and Allied vandalism in the war, affecting Kamchatka, see Collins, Overland Explor., 554-555. The United States "Behring's Straits Exploration and Surveying Expedition" (1856)

The American commercial agency at Nikolaiavsk reported on political and diplomatic developments as well as on commerce

The well-known Treaty of Aigun (May 29, n.s., 1858) and Diplomatic Situation with China gave Russia the region on the left (north)

bank of the Amur, formerly claimed by China, and exclusively reserved to Russian and Chinese the right to navigate this river, the Sungari, and the Ussuri. It provided that the Primorsk, or coastal province east of the Ussuri River, should be held in common by the two nations until the frontier question

was intended to be a means of learning more of the North Pacific and Polar waters, and the shores of Siberia and other points frequented by American whalers (*Cong. Globe*, 34-1, p 1834; Senator Seward, Jly 30, 1856)

There are several sources for description and travel in Siberia, a number of which must be passed by here. Golder mentions some of the earlier publications. A few others are noted here.

Capt John D'Wolf's *A Voyage to the North Pacific and a Journey Through Siberia* (Cambridge, 1861) is a diary of an early horseback trip from Okhotsk to Yakutsk, containing remarks on commodities, goods for China, interesting transportation arrangements, etc. (Of D'Wolf's earlier trip Collins may have been unaware, particularly as it was largely concerned with regions north of the Amur area. From the consular letters it would appear that at the time of Collins' first trip, or shortly before, a Captain Hudson, an American, had brought out to the Amur the steamer *America* for Russian service and had gone overland to Irkutsk.) "Explorations of the Amoor River and Its Importance on the Future Great Inter-Oceanic Trade Across the American Continent", by J G S (James Gilchrist Swan), in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXXIX (1858), 176-182 (reprinted as *Explorations of the Amoor River*, New York, 1859) gives a general description of this region, with a prophecy of a large trade. Swan found the three or four American houses in Siberia uncommunicative, a not uncommon attitude among American traders in remote ports. The article complains of Congressional delay with reference to choice of a route for the railway across the American continent, and gives a further example of the competitive attitude existing toward the British by alluding to their more effective policy concerning a line across British North America.

In Com. Rels, 1858, 181ff appear glowing reports on Siberia. *In Com. Rels*, 1860, 286-305, are an elaborate account of Northeastern Asia, the Amur River region, etc., a scheme for a telegraph line in Eastern Asia, and a current rumor (p 287) that the Russians had been allowed to navigate the Amur by secret agreement of 1849—an arrangement actually made in 1855.

In the *New York Herald* of April 20, 1858, there is an account of a trading voyage to the Amur River in 1857 and a residence of nearly a year at Nikolaiavsk, containing references to the courtesy of Russian authorities and their liberality toward foreigners—Americans in particular—in cases of difficulty in which Russians, knowing the laws, would have been severely dealt with. (Note a reference to a later, and less cheerful, statement of the commercial agency, 98n, above.) This article gives a brief description of society at Nikolaiavsk, placing the number of soldiers and marines there at one thousand and the number of civil and military officers at a little more than a hundred. It mentions the six or eight Russian and the four American merchants, an American engineer in the employ of the Russian government, and one German trader. A few well-educated ladies were present. The officers' club was open to foreigners and the usual parties and cliques added interest. Washington's birthday was duly celebrated. The article presents a detailed account of Russian plans for a trans-Siberian telegraph.

In 1863 it was stated that the line from St Petersburg to Irkutsk would reach the Pacific in 1865. According to E G Ravenstein, *The Russians on the Amur* (London, 1861), p 147, plans were made in 1858. Delays recall similar experience in the United States. During these years Collins was actively interested in the intercontinental telegraph line from the United States through Asiatic Russia, note his report of May 1, 1860, in *Amoor River Cl*. The *New York Herald* gave a synopsis of his project for a line of 14,040 miles, at an estimated cost of two and a half million dollars—by way of Moscow, the Amur, East Cape, Bering Strait, Prince of Wales Cape, Sitka, Vancouver, Astoria, San Francisco, and St Louis. There was also a Canadian project. An editorial of September 25, 1859 commented on the relation of the telegraph to American interests in the Far East, to whaling, and to newspapers in the United States, which under existing limitations were asserted to be "dragging out a precarious existence by begging, cheating, and borrowing", the keen competition resulting from use of the line would eliminate the weak publications, among which the *Herald* did not propose to be numbered. On Collins and the transfer of his interest to the Western Union Telegraph Company there is information in *The Esquimaux*, I, "Introduction", p 3—Port Clarence, R A, and Flover Bay, E S Dennett relates the subsequent failures, in *America in East Asia*, 590-591.)

Collation of the *Amoor River Consular Letters* with the extensive excerpts published (in certain years only) in the *Commercial Relations* is tedious, and main reliance is placed here on the more complete manuscript form. Special mention may be made of a number of letters printed in 55-1, H Ex Doc 98, of interest to students of this topic and of Far Eastern diplomacy, especially pp 2, 11-12, 16, 19, 29, 46, note also pp 47-48, including discussion of the relative positions of San Francisco and Atlantic Coast ports with regard to the Amur trade, page 63 gives a plan of a "Commercial System for Asiatic Russia". Collins' detailed maps were printed in the Congressional documents. Cf references to Eastern Siberia in Part I, above.

could be settled. At the same time, other Russian representatives were negotiating a commercial treaty at Tientsin, in connection with the other Western powers. In November, 1860, China ceded the coastal province to Russia. It has been supposed that Americans did not notice these developments, but actually American representatives in Eastern Siberia paid particular attention to them and sent in careful accounts.⁶

In view of European suspicion of Russian designs in Eastern Asia, and the actual Russian gains, it is notable that Americans were given a degree of commercial freedom. They neverthe less chafed under generally restraining restraints. Trade Policy, Specific Limitations, with the Russian policy of and Uncertainty state enterprise and concentration of privilege in large

companies, which Collins accused of stupid management.⁷ The Russian-American Company was concerned chiefly with what is now called Alaska, and the Amur Company (1858?) with local interests. Americans at first gained too generous an impression of Muravieff's readiness to open the country. The Amur Company's failure to maintain a proper quantity of supplies for persons dependent on it was cited as an evil which would not have existed but for the limitation of foreign activity.⁷ Foreigners were admitted to trade and residence at coastal points, but were not allowed to engage in "interior" trade, nor might they carry their operations up the Amur beyond the town of Sopshik, about 225 miles from Nikolaevsk. Although Nikolaevsk was called a "free port", presumably with reference to the absence of duties, and commerce was in 1856 declared free for five years, there remained uncertainty among Americans as to the exact

⁶They were so watchful, indeed, that they reported earlier Chinese concessions not otherwise corroborated. For the text, cf. 1 Amoor River Cl., Chase to Collins, No 1, Aug 4/16, 1859, Sept 7/19 and 8/20, 1859, No 2, Mar 24/Apr 5, and No 3, June 30, 1860 (to Sec of State) (In double dates the new style is second.) Russian territorial surveys made in the effort to secure an ice-free port give value to these letters.

For Palmer's report (1846) of a Chinese grant of monopolies to the Russians, affecting goods of interest to American and English traders, see his Memor. Geographical, Political, and Commercial on Siberia, Manchuria, and the Asiatic Islands of the Northern Pacific (30-1, S. Ms. Doc. 30). This work is an extensive and varied factual description, urging closer commercial relations with Russian Asia and a revision of the commercial convention of 1824, see above, 55n., and 70n. (relevant provisions of the convention)

Of interest to students of Far Eastern diplomacy is a communication of October 28, 1858 (1 Amoor River Cl.) from St Petersburg, relating to English, French, and Russian policies and attitudes with reference to North China, and offering an explanation of Admiral Putiatin's seemingly magical appearance in Chinese waters, part of this material is found also in Com. Rels., 1858, 182-186. Note, too, the letter of November 21, 1858, ibid., 186-188.

On British attentiveness to Siberia see For Dom Com., 1858, 195-196 (Interest of the British government in Collins' appointment is evident in F O 5/732, Jan 25, 1860.)

Various references have been made to Russo-American friendship, and hostility to the British. The only points of controversy between Russia and the United States were amicably settled. For an example (1853) of opposition to Russian expansion see 33-1, H. Ex. Doc. 123, 204. The dislike of the (anti-British) Humphrey Marshall for Russian expansion (as a threat of possible interference in Chinese domestic affairs) was consistent with his idea that preservation of order in China would best serve Chinese and American interests, but it placed this commissioner to China somewhat apart from the usual anti-British sentiment of Americans, which tended to be pro-Russian also. Benjamin Patti Thomas's Russo-American Relations 1815-1867 (Baltimore, 1930), is useful—pp. 106ff and 167. Golder's article, "Russian-American Relations during the Crimean War", already cited, bears on Pacific and Far Eastern issues and on international aspects of California history, note especially pages 462, 475, the reference to Peking on page 469 is questionable.

Among the various general accounts of Russian activity, those in Treat's The Far East, ch. XI, and Morse's Int. Rels. of the Chin. Empire, I, ch. XIX, are excellent. The work by "Vladimir" (Zenone Volpicelli), Russia on the Pacific and the Siberian Railway (London, 1899), provides political and military background.

⁶He asserted that there were too many employees and that company ships were brought into port in the worst season of the year (autumn).

A clause of July 7/18, 1860, modifying restrictions of 1807, allowed Gentile foreigners in Russia to register in the merchant guilds, as Russians did. The safety of foreigners' interests was placed under the protection of the common law, and they were allowed to acquire property (Collins, Overland Explor., 402-404). The treaty of Nov 14, 1860, between China and Russia, relating to the frontier, providing for trade across the border free of duties and restrictions, and obligating local authorities to give special protection to such trade and traders, was regarded hopefully. Collins refers (ibid., 381) to a regular monthly mail, to be run from Kiao-kta to Peking, and to a plan to allow merchants from either side to visit the neighboring country.

⁷1 Amoor River Cl., report of Chase to Collins, Feb. 20/Mar. 5, 1860

extent of their privileges They seem to have confined themselves chiefly to trading operations on the coast and to more general commerce up the Amur River⁸

One annoyance to American traders was the existence of certain "municipal ordinances" regulating the same of liquors In view of restrictions placed Complaint on this business in the Russian-American treaty of 1824 about Re-striction it is not strange that of the Sale Russians should have wished of Liquors to control it The American complaint concerned the "injustice" to foreign traders resulting from the imperfect enforcement of the rules In 1860 they were abolished

In the same year official notice of the imperial ukase of June (July?) 7/19 on trading rights was given to foreigners in the Amur region These rights

A Check to Foreign Hopes were dependent on compliance with certain conditions The in 1860 hopes of Americans for a share in them were damped

when the government of the province handed down an opinion that foreigners might not avail themselves of the new privileges under the ukase The old limit at Sophisk remained, and, because of this administrative decision, the prospect for American interests was not gratifying. Uncertainty caused embarrassment and annoyance⁹

Aside from the merchants of the Russian

⁸Com Rels , 1861, 212, report of Feb 2/14, 1861; Hunt's Merch Mag , XXXIX, 176-182

A report to Collins from Chase (1 Amoor River Cl, Feb 20/Mar 3, 1860) had revealed a tendency on the part of the authorities to restrict rights of foreigners (Individual merchants watched with concern the threat of increase in the number of large trading companies) "In reference to Nicolaeefsky and that section of the Amoor within the limits of which foreigners are permitted to transact business, the inducements for foreigners to open or continue trade, are not at present great, and some of the 'municipal ordinances' of Nicolaeefsky which affect their interests have been very imperfectly enforced in some cases thereby giving undue advantage to some parties at the expense of others, and the collection of debts by legal process is difficult and the means of obtaining satisfaction in such matters, not efficient The local authorities here do and have given promises to assist merchants, if possible, when assistance is required, and in some cases valuable aid has been given but such is not invariably the case and one difficulty still is the obtaining of reliable pilots

"The regulations of the port as applicable to discharging, loading, etc of foreign vessels, have been made during the year past much more stringent than formerly" In May, 1858, Governor-General Muravieff had issued a statement regarding rights of foreigners trading on the Amur which ruled that foreign-owned steamboats, under a foreign flag and run as foreign vessels or by foreigners, might proceed on the river only as far as Sophisk, even though they might appear to be under the Russian flag, with an ostensibly Russian owner Although no foreigners had the right to trade on the river above Sophisk, they might pass through the country as travellers They were not permitted to have Russian agents up the river or in the interior Furthermore, they were not allowed to consign goods up the river or to Russian subjects in the interior, all merchandise put into their hands was to be regarded as their actual property

It should be borne in mind that at this time there existed commercial relations between the Russian-American Company and the American firm known as the American-Russian Commercial Company, of San Francisco Besides furs, Russian America also supplied tools for the California gold-seekers, possibly by way of Siberia (At San Francisco there arrived, in 1863, n vessels from the Russian possessions on the Northwest Coast of America, as well as four from Russian Asia) Consideration of purchase of Alaska began as early as the middle fifties This prospective part of the United States was in these years supplying exports, chiefly furs, to China, through Kialkha and Shanghai, in 1863, 8,000 sealskins went to the former place and 10,000 to the latter. (Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska", in Amer Hist Rev , XXV, No 3, Apr , 1920, pp 411-425, Johnson, Com U S , II, 99, for Dom Com , 1863, 188-189, pp 362-374 of Part 1e , Volume 8, of 53-2, S Ex Doc 177, Fur Seal Arbitration Proceedings, of which Part 16 consists of facsimiles of documents—official papers of the Russian-American Company See also references to Schaefer and Collins, 10n , above

The inviting subject of Russian trade with China through Eastern Siberia, as well as the fate of the Alaskan trade with China after the American purchase (1867), must be ignored here Morse gives useful information in his Int Rels , I, 472-477, and more is found in Ritchie's The British World in the East . , II, 512-515, Atkinson's Travels in the Amoor , vii-viii, Com Rels , I, 95ff , esp 102, and a letter from R. G. Rankin (New York, Apr 25, 1854) in the Marcy Papers—large gains to the Russian treasury, smuggling, commodities exchanged, values, balance of trade, and payments in coin Russian regulations for this trade with China, August, 1855, appear in Com Rels , 1860, p. 291, and in 50-1, S Mis. Doc 80, pp 23-24, there is a statement of commercial theory and method in what purports to be a set of Chinese instructions to traders dealing with the Russians In the latter document, 24-25, is an example of a Chinese tea dealer's advertising On production of tea for Russia note Williams, Chin Com Guide , 146 Collins wrote of quantity, high quality, price, and sale, in Overland Explorers , 20-21

⁹1 Amoor River Cl, Chase to Sec of State, Feb 2/14, 1861 This volume, running beyond our period, contains

gilds, there were seven foreign merchants at Nikolaievsk in 1859. Of these, all but one or two were Americans. Five of the twelve stores were American. Col-
Merchants in lins mentions the trading "the Amur", house of Messrs Boardman and Predomiance Cushing, the latter of whom of Americans had been many years in the Pacific trade and had been the first to enter the Amur with the Russians, Pierce (or Peirce) and Company, and Carlton and Company. Luhdorff (given as Ludorf) appears to have been regarded almost as an American Otto Esche and Henry Jacoby, two German or German-American merchants of San Francisco, arrived at Nikolaievsk in 1857, the former only remaining. He operated a vessel known as the Conrad De Savin.¹⁰ The services of American engineers were used in Eastern Siberia. Collins reported to Secretary Cass that, after November, 1858, two parties of Americans, or other persons engaged in American trade at the Amur River, had passed pleasantly along the entire course of that waterway and on through Western Siberia and Europe to the United States.

Such was the simple setting for the activities of the single-minded Major Collins as commercial agent of the United States, in a limited area possessing an elementary trade conducted by a few Russian and foreign firms, and in a time of uncertain and changing political and economic conditions. Collins travelled over thirty thousand miles in the service of his country's trade and, secondarily, of his own projects. Early in the life of the Republic the equally imaginative Ledyard had been turned back from Siberia as he sought to

material regarding trade, communication, telegraph lines, and seamen. Among those who prophesied a growing commerce in the waters of Eastern Siberia was Atkinson, who spent two winters at Irkutsk and two summers in other parts of Siberia, and watched preparations for Russian annexations. One writer states that Atkinson did not actually reach the Amur country, but his book, already cited, has substantial value. (Of incidental interest is his comment, 487-489, on the activities of early Roman Catholic missionaries in Manchuria from 1845, cf. also Chapter I of Ravenstein's *The Russians on the Amur*.)

¹⁰Collins, *Overland Explor.*, 312-313, 319, Ravenstein, *op. cit.*, 445. The German merchant F. A. Luhdorf, formerly supercargo of the brig *Greta*, had had much commercial experience in Japan, from 1853(?) His small book, published in Bremen, has been noticed. Reference has been made previously to the American part in aiding the Russian vessel *Diana* at Shimoda, Luhdorff hired the *Greta* to the Russians to transport the remainder of the shipwrecked crew from Shimoda to the Amur, only to see her captured by the British as she neared her destination (Tilley, *Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific*, 222).

¹¹E.g., Ravenstein, *op. cit.*, *Mis. Letters*, J. M. Orms to Cass, May 28, 1858, and articles in many newspapers, notably different issues of the *New York Herald* (May 11, June 19, and Sept. 25, 1859). The first of these issues of the *Herald* contained correspondence insisting on the impetus given development of commerce by Collins' reports, which were in part translated and reprinted in Russia, this communication stressed the importance of the Amur region in connection with fresh developments in North China.

¹²*Amoor River Cl.*, Collins to Cass, Sept. 20, 1859. See above, note 4 (reference to Collins' plan for a "Commercial System for Asiatic Russia")

extend his explorations. Later, American and Russian interests in the North Pacific were adjusted, but Siberia remained closed. The year 1856 marked a turning point in Russian policy, responding to changes in international affairs and the vigor of the hard-driving Muravieff. Collins had the satisfaction of sharing in the conclusion of the first chapter and the beginning of a new one.

The commercial agent won favorable comment from his contemporaries, and his work constituted a solid contribution to knowledge and to American commerce.¹¹

Range and Vigor
of Collins'
Plans for Amer-
ican Trade
Throughout
Russian Asia

The extent of his travels and interests led him to envisage American commercial possibilities in Russian Asia as a whole. Russian political control of trade required some corresponding official action by the United States, to hasten the opening of commercial opportunities to private enterprise. In seeking Congressional aid, Collins submitted to the Department of State a comprehensive plan for a "Commercial Commission to the Caspian Sea", which he linked with possible Russian advances in Southwestern Asia. To his mind, the inland commerce of North Central Asia was another prize worth working for. He emphasized the advantage to the United States of quicker overland communication across Siberia to Japan. In 1859 he pointed to the hundreds of thousands of dollars already saved Americans, and the government, by his work of development, at the trifling cost of his salary. He compared this with the small returns of the Japan trade in relation to the great expense of Perry's Japan expedition, which, however, he did not belittle.¹² He showed a vigorous competitive instinct as he opposed strong

German interests in Russia, to which (as well as to the English) the Amur Company resorted for the purchase of steamers, after discovering that similar vessels previously ordered in the United States had not measured up either to the promises of the builders or to their own calculations

Collins' interest in Siberia was of long standing.¹³ Following his own application, he was appointed on March 24, 1856, at the instance of the California delegation in Congress Collins (and Travelling from Washington, His Two Sub-ordinates) D C by way of Liverpool, arrived at St Petersburg on May 19. The American minister, Thomas H. Seymour, requested an exequatur for him,¹⁴ in spite of his status as a commercial agent. There were difficulties and a delay of several weeks, for the Amur region had been regarded as a "secret country", not open to foreign commerce. This was the first foreign appointment to a station there, and the Russian government hesitated to give open recognition, lest the British require the same privilege under reciprocal clauses in commercial treaties. It was finally decided to handle the matter unofficially. In the autumn Collins was allowed a passport "in the nature of a certificate of the appointment" which he held from the President. There was no early prospect of allowance of consular officers at the Amur "military station". Seymour advised a course of conduct which would "not invite particular attention to the kind of authority" which Collins was permitted to exercise. "It will not be necessary in order to lay the foundation of your future usefulness in that quarter that you should publish to the world the peculiar circumstances under which you are to

establish yourself on the Amoor." Quietness might prove the best means of initiating trade.¹⁵ It appears that the Russians regarded permission to an American simply to see the country as an unique privilege. Collins found Muravieff hospitable and, on the whole, ready to facilitate his work, even to the point of offering him government quarters at Nikolaievsk and later passage to San Francisco on a Russian government steamer.

In August and September, 1856, Collins was at Moscow. On January 7, 1857 he arrived at Irkutsk, where he secured commercial information from a "Greek priest" who had been at Pekung Asiatic Itinerary. In February he was at Klaikhta. Extensive descriptions of his varied experiences and contacts must be passed by in this summary. Among the officials whose company he shared were Admiral Kozkaevitch, "governor of the sea coast of Eastern Siberia", Admiral (and Ambassador) Putiatin, and Captain Fuljhelm, appointed chief director of the Russian-American Company in 1859. In the spring the commercial agent saw Chita and Nercinsk, and on July 10, 1857, he reached his destination at the mouth of the river. For a month he made observations. Believing that an early and direct report at Washington on the information obtained was preferable to residence at Nikolaievsk during the coming winter, he left that place on August 8 and proceeded to Hakodate--not on a Russian government vessel but on the American bark Behring, which at the time had no fixed destination. From Hakodate he went by way of Petropavlovsk and Kamchatka to the Sandwich Islands. After his arrival at San Francisco he spent a short time in December at his home in Sonoma, California. In February, 1858, he was again in

¹³Collins studied the commercial resources of the American Pacific Coast during a residence of several years in California prior to 1855, when news arrived of Russian activity in the Amur region. His attention had first been turned to Siberia by a reading of Wrangel's narrative of an expedition to the Polar sea. The great resources of Siberia, with possible value to world commerce, pointed to the need of an easy outlet to the sea. Collins thought of the commercial resources of the eastern and western shores of the Pacific in relation to each other. "What I chiefly desired was to examine the whole length of the Amoor, and ascertain its fitness for steamboat navigation. That point settled in the affirmative, everything else was sure to follow" (Overland Explor., 1-2, 402-404, 417-418) In connection with Collins' agitation for a telegraph line from the United States to Europe by way of Alaska and Asiatic Russia, mention should be made of a hope that the general ignorance of Alaska resulting from the exclusiveness of the Russian-American Company's grant would end after the approaching expiration of the company's rights in 1862, and that more general commerce would develop there.

¹⁴Reasons urged for Russian recognition of Collins are given in 1 Amoor River Cl. Collins to Marcy, Jly 24, 1856. Articles VIII-IX of the commercial treaty of 1832 between Russia and the United States gave specific attention to the status of consular officers, with particular mention of those who traded

¹⁵Ibid., Oct. 30/Nov 12, 1856. In the printed form of parts of the letter containing these remarks there is no indication of this particular omission.

Washington, D C

On February 15, Secretary Cass sanctioned his absence from his post and approved the appointment which he had made of George

S. Cushing, a Bostonian resident at Nikolaievsk, as Chase, Col- vice commercial agent¹⁶. A

lins' Absences year later, on February 17, 1859, he announced to Cass that he had appointed Garrison G O. Chase, of Massachusetts, another resident merchant at Nikolaievsk, to act in his stead. On the same day this appointment was approved. Chase had some knowledge of Russian and seems to have been well fitted for such duties as fell to him. Moreover, he was popular with the Russians, as he had rendered service at Kamchatka and De Castries during the "Allied" (i.e., Crimean) War.¹⁷ He continued to report, either directly or through Collins, during the remainder of the period.

Collins travelled again to Russia, was presented on October 22, 1858, to the head of the Asiatic department of the Russian government, and returned from St Petersburg to the United States in January, 1859. He was at Washington in the autumn of this year, when he considered resigning. On September 28, however, he sailed once more to England and early in May, 1860, was at the Russian capital. During much of this time he was concerned, presumably, with his telegraph project as much as with government business, to which his substitute, Chase, gave careful attention.

With the change of administration in

Collins Continued as Commercial Agent to 1869 1861, question arose as to a successor for Collins. It is not possible here to enter into the extremely amusing, but trying, correspondence relating to the appointment and refusal of Isaac Platt. Collins finally was retained, and did not resign until 1869. Seward's willingness to continue him as commercial agent possessed a political aspect.¹⁸

The problems of the commercial agency were simple in comparison with those of larger offices. The absence of any person, other

Few Problems authorized to administer oaths complicated the securing Office of necessary vouchers

Chase experienced difficulty in obtaining statistics of shipping and trade from the authorities during the time when he was not officially recognized. Collins shared in the frequent concern of consular officers of the time over Congressional delay in acting on claims for compensation. The Department of State and several individuals emphasized the importance of his investigations in Northern Asia, and accounts of his alertness were mentioned as the reason for including in the act of August 18, 1856 a small salary of one thousand dollars for the post.¹⁹ He was paid at this rate from January 1, 1857 (about the time of his arrival at Irkutsk) to March 31, 1858. During his absences from his station he bore much of his own expense, but he felt that some further compensation was merited.

¹⁶In Russia (apparently at Moscow, Sept 10, 1856) Collins had anticipated the need of returning home and had conscientiously made advance application for permission to leave his post, according to rule (35-1, H Ex Doc 98, p. 7.) This letter did not reach the Department before Collins returned to Washington, and on February 12, 1858, he renewed his request (Various papers in the Amoor River CL and in the consular instructions.)

¹⁷The acting head of the district sent Chase a document announcing Muravieff's recognition of him as United States Vice Commercial Agent for the Amur River (No 4131, Oct 31, 1860—from the "Ministry of the Home Department Military Governor of the Sea Coast County of East Siberia, and Commander of the Siberian Squadron, and of the Ports of the Eastern Ocean") (1 Amoor River CL, Nov 8/20, 1860, No 11, Chase to Sec of State) This recognition followed Chase's failure to secure from Admiral Kozeskaevitch agreement to his request of July 25/August 5, 1859.

¹⁸Amoor River CL, item with Collins to Seward, New York, Aug 27, 1861, cf. ibid, items of Oct 9 and 10, 1861.

¹⁹35-2, H Ex Doc 55, reviewing his services. For an example of California sectionalism and economic relations, in remarks of Gwin and Scott, see p. 4. These imaginative persons thought of Mongolia, Manchuria, and North China as a "northern India" for the United States, and of the Amur as the "Mississippi of northern Asia." The Department's Statistical Office in 1861 reported the official statement that in Russia prices of certain goods suitable for the Amur trade had been seriously affected by the introduction of American merchandise, following Collins' activities (2 Amoor River CL, Jan. 17, 1861, McLaughlin to Abbott.)

On Collins' claim, extending to the end of the period, see, e.g., 1 Amoor River CL, Collins to Cass, Mar 5, 1859, 35-1, S Jol., 507, 580 (adverse action), and H Jol., 1056, 35-2, H Jol., 621, 86-2, S Jol., 40, and H Jol., 73

Shipping

The amount of American merchant shipping at ports of the Amur region, though not impressive, was sufficient to justify brief notice (The activities of American Ship-American whalers in Russianing Begins, American and Siberian waters, Navigation Russian concern over some of Difficulties their deeds, and the appearance of American whaleships in the story of Anglo-Russian hostilities may be mentioned as a marginal aspect of the subject.) Vessels engaged in these waters faced difficulties in navigation which produced a number of mishaps. The problem of ice has been noticed, some vessels were frozen in. Ships drawing over twelve feet of water could not enter the Amur River at any season. Between Nikolaevsk and De Castries the course was trying, and it is with no surprise that one reads of aid given by the British war vessel Barracouta and by Japanese at Matsumai to American seamen from whaler (the Endeavor), in distress in the Gulf of Tartary in July, 1856. In 1859 the placing of buoys and landmarks on the Amur below Nikolaevsk facilitated navigation. At De Castries the Russian authorities provided pilots up to the season of 1860, when the captain of the port arranged sailing directions. In 1859, regulations relating to discharging and loading of foreign vessels became much more stringent than before. All papers of incoming vessels were deposited with Russian officials at the ports.²⁰

The first American ship to enter appeared in the summer of 1855. In 1856, the first year of foreign intercourse, there were only two vessels, both American. In 1857,

six or seven American mer-

Shipping at the chancery arrived, with cargo Amur: 1855-1857; worth 500,000 (silver) roubles—three from San Francisco and the rest from Boston and Hongkong. Among those at Nikolaevsk were the Lewis Perry (Captain Turner) from San Francisco, the bark Messenger Bird (Captain Homer) from

Boston, and the bark Behrings (Captain Morse) from Boston via the Sandwich Islands, Kamchatka, and Hakodate. They brought assorted merchandise. There were also the General Pierce (sold to the Russian government) and the Burnham (to Luhdorf) from Hongkong by way of Hakodate. Question regarding the national status of the Burnham has been noticed. A Hamburg steamer also appeared.

In 1858 there were four ships of 805 aggregate tons, with cargo of 174,651 roubles, including some articles of Russian production.

In most cases, figures for 1858; cargo must be regarded as little better than general estimates. Operation of an American steamer, the property of the merchant Burling, on the Amur River, recalls the ownership by Americans of pilot boats and river steamers in the interstitial trade of other parts of Asia. It was this vessel, presumably, which demonstrated the navigability of the stream for a considerable distance above its mouth, and led to the prophecy that in a decade Kialkhat and Irkutsk would become tributary to San Francisco.

In 1859 the arrivals of merchant ships at the Amur increased sharply to thirteen (4,414 tons)—five Russian and eight foreign, bringing the total traffic 1859; from foreign countries and from the upper Amur to more than a million roubles,²¹ apart from iron steamers and other cargo for the marine. At Nikolaevsk there were eight vessels (1,886 tons), with cargo accounting for about two-thirds of the total, and at De Castries there were five (2,576 tons)—three Russian and two American).

Of the eight at Nikolaevsk five (?) were American (1,129 tons). A description of them gives an impression of the nature of the

commerce involved. In the American Vessel column "Belonging", some entries may actually mean "From".

The citizenship of one part-owner, Luhdorf, was questionable. Gargoes outward are not available. Some loading seems to have been done at points subsequently

²⁰ Amoor River CL, Feb 20/Mar 3, 1860, and June 30, 1860 (received Oct 15).

²¹ Ibid, Aug , 1859, and Sept 20, 1859, Collins, Overland Explor., 394, Hunt's Merch Mag, XXXIX, 176-182; Ravenstein, The Russians on the Amur . , 424-426. Collins used figures from a semi-official statement in "The St. Petersburg Journal". It was reported that in the period of Anglo-French hostilities against the Russians at Petropavlovsk the American brig Noble secured a good charter to convey from that place a Russian prince who bore despatches (Cp British commissariat use of American merchant vessels during hostilities against the Chinese. Comment has been made in Chapter 18, above, on Americans' and Russians' use of each other's vessels in connection with seaborne commerce with China, then theoretically closed to the Russians)

Name	Type	Ton-nage	Belonging	Owners	Master	Cargo In	Amount or Value (roubles)
<u>Melita</u>	Schr	198	San Francisco(?)	Luhdorf and Martin	Stratton	Assorted Mdse for Luhdorf	104,636 (fr Hongkong)
<u>Lewis Perry</u>	Schr	130	San Francisco	Capt Turner	Gilliat(?)	Same, to Burling or Chase	120,141 (?)
<u>Behring</u> (Bhering)	Bark	376	Boston	W C Boardman (Boston)		Same, to Chase and Pierce	150,465 (?)
<u>Melita</u>	Bark	275	Boston	H A Pierce (or Peirce) (Boston)		Same, to Hall (or E F Hald, Jr)	70,000 (frozen in at De Castries)
<u>Caroline E Foote</u>	Schr	150	San Francisco	Capt A J Worth (of San Francisco)		Same, to Esche	

(The last of these was at Shimoda in 1855)

touched at The interesting itineraries of some of these vessels may be observed in Appendix 4 A The Melita of Boston and the Caroline E Foote visited De Castries, and the entries covering them in the table above may relate to that port rather than to Nikolaievsk A Melita (W L Pollys, master), apparently the same, was wrecked on June 22 in the Gulf of Tartary, near Cape Catherine, about thirty miles north of De Castries, part of the cargo was saved and auctioned off According to Ravenstein the Melita and the Caroline E Foote took cargoes from De Castries valued at £10,500 and £17,863, respectively ²² Of other vessels at the Amur, one (the New Granada Emma, 130) was owned by a resident of San Francisco and was consigned to Silverton and Otto Esche at Nikolaievsk with cargo of 71,084 roubles, one from the Sandwich Islands (Hero, 108) appears to have had American connections, and the Danish brig Theodore and Julia (500) was consigned to Esche, with merchandise valued at 282,922 roubles. American interests accounted for about 700,000 roubles of the year's trade,

according to rough estimates

Ravenstein reports that during 1860, to October 14, there were seven arrivals at Nikolaievsk, including four American vessels

--two schooners from San

Shipping Francisco, the Alert and the in 1860 Orbit, and two barks from Boston, the Behring and the

Starking Whether these went also to De Castries is not stated ²³

Imports and Exports

The Amur trade was distinctly a frontier trade, in some respects reminding one of the earlier commerce at Canton It revealed a simple, though not easy, Aspects of the mechanism of commercial operations Separation between the Amur Trade ownership of vessels and local mercantile business was only partial, and the supercargo was present as a reminder of the undeveloped state of trade On arrival, a vessel was obliged to

²²Remaining vessels were Russian or mainly on Russian account, and carried cargo chiefly for one of the Russian companies. At Nikolaievsk were the Grand Duke Constantine (282) of the Russian-American Company, and the transport steamer St Theodore (312) of the Amur Company, bringing merchandise and furs and iron houses, barges, steamers, etc At De Castries were the Russian-American Company's Tsaritsa (1200), the Amur Company's St Innocent, and the Russian ship Oryz (?) (503), from London, with cargo of the same general description The St Innocent was lost in De Castries Bay

²³In addition, two Hamburg vessels, the Greta and the S Francisco, and the Hawaiian Hero were at Nikolaievsk Another Hamburg vessel was at De Castries, with two more expected (Ravenstein, op cit , 429)

For American figures relating to ports in the United States see below, Appendix 4 C (table and comment in preliminary statement).

supply the authorities with an invoice stating the intended sale price at Nikolaievsk. In order to avoid subsequent disputes, merchants stated higher prices than those actually intended, with the result that statistics ran higher than transactions warranted. Not all the merchandise entered was sold there. Some, for instance, was transhipped to Japan.²⁴ Collins reported that the only circulating medium in Siberia was copper and Russian "credit notes." Foreign trade, however, introduced other metals. In 1858, American gold was at par or at a premium not above 5%. Silver—American, Mexican, Spanish, or Russian—commanded from 10% to 15% premium. On application to the governor, the Russian (paper) bank roubles were exchangeable at par for government drafts on St. Petersburg or on the Russian consul at San Francisco. The rouble was rated at 75 cents. Foreign merchants at Nikolaievsk deposited part of their cash in the government treasury and procured the transfer of like amounts payable at the Russian capital. In the years 1857–1859 these transfers were less than 200,000 roubles annually. Merchandise was sold for cash, although some credit was extended to government employees.²⁵ All questions of trade were settled *ad hoc* by application to the governor or the captain of the port.

Omitting furs and naval stores, a local merchant estimated the imports in 1857 as being worth £58,000. Trade increased from

that year, but, if the heavy

Imports and fabricated goods imported on Exports, from government account are set aside, it fails to reveal an independent character justifying an expectation of a great and early increase, under the existing restriction of internal trading by foreigners. Collins asserted that to 1859 there had been spent in the United States over one million dollars for steamers, machinery, charters, and the like, as a result of Russian occupation of the Amur, and that merchandise shipped to

that region and sold there, duty free, was worth over two million dollars. It must be remembered that the population was extremely sparse.

Imports (largely supplies and mechanical equipment) were more satisfactory than exports—inland agricultural products like tallow, hides, wool, flax, and beef. It was found easier, however, to float the latter down the Amur and its tributaries than to carry the imports upstream. Some exports of meat and horns turned out badly. The horns were badly prepared and it was impossible to better methods of preparation as long as foreign enterprise was confined to a small area and the advantages of the Amur Company discouraged competitive improvements. Exports went to Hongkong, Honolulu, and San Francisco, and possibly to Boston. A number of vessels bringing goods to the Amur left in ballast, partly because of the government's refusal of permission to load with the timber which they desired.

For 1860 there are conflicting statements concerning imports, if they increased at all the change was not large. Even so, a tendency was observed to import more goods than could be absorbed. At the same time, prices at Nikolaievsk varied and there was some scarcity of foodstuffs. A great increase occurred in the cost of living, inland exports failed to gain.²⁶

Much later figures available for the year 1868 show no increase in the number of American vessels engaged in the Amur trade.

Nevertheless, in spite of the disappointing nature of some features of this commerce with a detached pioneer community, under rigid government control, Collins was able at the time of his resignation in 1869 to review his work with some consciousness of success.²⁷ His labors did not precede the first American traders at the Amur, but they resulted in useful new

San Francisco newspapers of the period should offer information regarding local vessels trading with Russian possessions.

²⁴ Ravenstein, *op. cit.*, 425–426

²⁵ Amoor River CL, 1860, 35-1, H Ex Doc 98, p 61

²⁶ Amoor River CL, Aug., 1859, Collins to Cass, Sept 20, 1859, Chase to Collins, report of Feb 20/Mar 3, 1860, 2 Amoor River CL, Chase to Sec of State, Feb 2/4, 1861, Collins, *Overland Explor.*, 544, *Com Pels*, 1661, 212–213, Ravenstein, *The Russians on the Amur*, 427–428.

According to *Commerce and Navigation* for the year ending June 30, 1860 (No 13, pp 548–549), exports from the United States to Asiatic Russia were domestic produce, \$29,268, and foreign produce, \$13,348. Imports into American ports from that region were \$12,974, of this, \$7,156 was dutiable (*Ibid.*, 290–291). American tonnage brought most of the imports.

²⁷ Amoor River CL, report of Sept 30, 1868, and Collins to Seward, Jan 4, 1869

knowledge and contacts, brought tangible rewards to some Americans who became interested in the Amur country, and initiated trade with a region which today is of economic importance. The judgment of Collins' activities that would be suggested by the story of

commerce during intervening decades is not a part of this narrative, which must be viewed simply as a chapter in the contact of two different styles of commercial pioneering, resulting from a temporary combination of varied political and economic circumstances.

CONCLUSION

Chapter 22
CONCLUSION

This inquiry has arrived at certain general conclusions, based on its re-creation of a period, the limited consular and commercial scene, and the issues and events which were of consequence to consuls and merchants. It has also established numerous facts and relations of narrower application, and corrected or amplified earlier interpretations and statements of fact.¹

Broader conclusions, interpretations, and relationships are presented here. Unless otherwise indicated, the setting of place and time is in Eastern Asia during the years 1845-1860, and the application of remarks is to American interests.²

(1) The Basic Importance of Circumstantial Elements in Consular Achievements

An accurate and corrective picture of the American consular service shows that its weakness was less in its personnel and

the evils of political appointment than in impersonal circumstances. These were insufficient governmental support, divided responsibility, and generally faulty administrative articulation, both at home and overseas. Consuls were handicapped by conflicting obligations. Under the pressure of constantly changing conditions and sharply differing standards and civilizations, they were compelled to make fresh decisions and to create important precedents. The consul was not always the first American on the scene in his port, partly because of governmental tardiness in making effective appointments to support existing laws and treaties. Officers were usually remote from their superiors. They suffered from inconveniences, unavoidable neglect of health, enforced preoccupation with abundant but essentially trivial detail, and financial and other trials which

¹ Among the more limited contributions are the location of the origin of Harris' interest in a position in Japan, the story of the first native Americans known to have been at Peking (1855), and recovery of the forgotten activities of Collins in Eastern Siberia. Also included are: a presentation of the true character of the difficulties and achievements of American mariners and American shipping in the Orient (some nine hundred vessels, at twelve different ports), correction of a belief that consuls contributed but little to trade promotion, and evidence of the expansive nature of commercial and consular activity in Eastern Asia, and the diversity of hidden forms of American enterprise. A systematic account interprets early cases in those judicial laboratories known as consular courts, supplying one of many indications of the influence of selfish intolerance and exhibiting frequent use of violence as a general feature of the age.

Certain points established by other writers are emphasized or illustrated, e.g., the unbalanced nature of commodity trade in the Far East, the changing significance of the Pacific area, and the northward trend of American interests on the mainland of Asia and in Japan.

Appendices provide new information and a means of correcting misleading published statements, as in the matter of consular appointments. (The summary in App. 12 sketches concluding material omitted here.)

² The short period treated is more to be judged by its significance and consequences than by its duration, and fairness to the men whose activities created its substance has required discrimination in the use of condensation. The writer as middleman must keep in mind not only the hurried "reader-consumer," but also the equally vital persons who long ago produced the commodity now weighed and delivered. Feeling the individual presentness of many of the men of whom he discourses, the intermediary is satisfied with his discharge of an agreeable obligation only if these men, with their affairs, have established a sufficiently direct and independent relation with readers to guarantee a faithful and understanding utilization of the account for varying current purposes. Single points and agreed truths permit of abbreviated statement without much risk of unconscious bending or distortion, but the complex truth of affairs and highly controversial problems seldom yields to hasty sketches and short-cuts.

made the basis of their work insecure. These facts accounted for a frequent sense of futility, which was seldom relieved by commendation from Washington.

The effect of unfavorable circumstances was constant. A notable example was the difficulty of official communication with local authorities, created by lack of adequate provision for translation. This deficiency was more than a temporary inconvenience in routine and seriously damaged individual and national interests. It gave evidence of a national misunderstanding of foreign conditions amounting almost to cultural illiteracy.

Nevertheless, several consuls achieved a prominence which requires attention, regardless of the quality of their accomplishments. A few have been named who made contributions and sacrifices which constitute a legitimate reason for national pride according to the most exacting standards. They were worthy pioneering representatives of the United States in the remote extension of the national epic. Their place in history is established.³

(2) Congress and Americans in the Orient

Discussion of legislative attitudes and actions, a fresh and systematic view of consular arrangements, functions, and problems, and information about the many treaty provisions relating to consuls have facilitated consideration of the policy of Congress. These approaches have displayed that body's optimistic haste, clumsy mistakes and omissions in bills passed (with consequent need of much corrective and supplementary legislation), and almost consistent penuriousness and suspicion of foreign commitments of important substance. The nation developed a consciousness of national strength at home, but it failed to recognize its weaknesses in the Orient. The consular legislation finally extracted from Congress was embarrassingly inadequate. Congressmen were

generally more sensitive to the question of removing Americans' "unequal" disabilities in the Orient and securing redress for wrongs suffered by them, than in preventing the conditions which favored the production of difficulties. American residents in Asiatic ports were exposed to the competition of alien cultures and tended to adopt attitudes diametrically opposed to those which were dominant at home.⁴ Internal differences and group conflicts within their own number increased irritation.

(3) Diplomatic Officers and the Department of State

Consuls exerted influence on the making of international agreements, but they were more concerned with the application and testing of diplomatic policy and treaty provisions than with actual negotiations. Examination of their frequent contacts with American diplomatic representatives not only improves judgments of the consuls, but also gives a useful perspective in relation to diplomatic affairs. Consular history provides numerous sidelights on members of the Legation in China and on the Department of State. Some of the former were deficient in administration, and the Department was not effective in leading Congress or in developing policies affirmatively, even under the abler Secretaries. It was mild, or even timid, in dealing with the Navy Department, which gave only partially satisfactory cooperation.

(4) The Meaning of National Honor and Equal Status

Numerous occurrences gave solid substance to the concept of national honor and protection of the flag. The chief requirement of this principle in Far Eastern regions, and particularly in extraterritorial countries, proved to be use of greater self-control by forceful Americans who were present, rather than employment of more vigorous action against local authorities.

³Apart from Harris and Collins, American consular officers have not hitherto had an advantage possessed by their English colleagues of the time, namely, an opportunity to speak for themselves to later generations. (The same disability applies to some extent to American merchants.) See Chapter 13, above.

⁴Study of "relations" raises questions of wider application than the period, region, and topic dealt with. One such query is pertinent to the present discussion—What criterion of consular needs and effectiveness should prevail. American opinion at home or the opinion of Americans abroad, the views of those who create the service and are responsible for its support, or the ideas and requirements of the administrators and the beneficiaries of its activities?

Amid a conflict of different cultures, legal ideas and political systems, the issue of status and "equality" appeared repeatedly. It was seen in the wording of treaties, in a great range of expressions of the desire of Americans that no other foreign nation or competing group should possess superior privileges, and in the institution of extraterritorial jurisdiction, erected in several dissimilar places. This system developed manifold emotional aspects and lasting embitterments. Problems of inequality and discrimination affected all the races figuring in this narrative. They appeared, for example, in special restrictions of American seamen in Asiatic ports, in denial to the Chinese government of the right to sue in consular court for customs duties, in the settlement of claims, and in the equating of ranks of American and native officers. They also emphasize the influence of the unilateral character of most early American dealings with an increasing number of Asiatic peoples. Haste to secure immediate material advantages generally obscured the fact—well explained at the time by a few men of insight—that a basis for healthy "equality" could be formed only by very gradual and fundamental readjustments. Beginnings of a sense of special privilege, accepted as their right and their vested interest, were plainly discernible among Americans and other foreigners.

(5) American and Foreign Interests, the Secondary American Position.

The question of equality was intertwined with the matter of cooperation between American and native officials, and the changing degree of identity of the interests of different Occidental races represented at the ports. Chinese and Japanese were often inclined to treat all Westerners as one race or group. Americans, however, were not entirely cordial to European purposes and methods, at the same time, they were not Asiatic in outlook. The result was inconsistencies and vexing triangular situations, which seriously modify any belief in the fundamental identity of American interests with those of Europeans.

British leadership in consular and commercial affairs frequently left Americans in a secondary position. In trade

statistics the customary place of American items was below that of British entries. Sometimes Americans were actually dependent on British aid. On other occasions, American consular officers came into vigorous conflict with British policy and checked its force, to the advantage of native interests. Moderately generous support given British consular establishments by their government was a constant reminder of the deficiencies of American offices and produced a distressing sense of inferiority and envy.

It was not to the British alone that American interests were indebted for assistance. From an amazing variety of sources came charitable help in connection with translation problems, housing, and other essential matters.

(6) Individualism and the Treaty System

In the contact of unlike economic systems at Far Eastern ports, frequent conflict was produced, in a diversity of alignments, by attempts to fit an existing commerce with independent traditions and secretive habits into the pattern of the Western treaty system, which called for some curbing of independence, increasing exposure of trade information, and acceptance of consular restraint. The issue between official supervision and individualism sharpened, in business enterprise and other activities. Doubt which troubled certain thoughtful observers and practical men at the time often suggested, correctly, that American trade in the Far East was at its best in informal, non-treaty situations, and that the introduction of rigid treaties was premature. Extensive information contained in consular materials possesses high usefulness in such connections.

(7) Commercial Changes

The period witnessed a widening of the gap between smaller shipowners and merchants and the larger firms with years of experience and accumulated capital. Although the former flocked to Japan in the first years of commerce and operated at some of the remote or interstitial points, there was in general a growth of the relative importance of a few large houses with diversified and far-flung interests. In some matters a cleavage, and even an antagonism, developed between larger and smaller

American businesses in the Far East Economic methods varied, and the caution of some contrasted with the recklessness of others Overstocking by optimistic traders caused frequent losses (Concurrently there appeared a concentration of the management of the American shipping business in the hands of large operators, notably at New York)

Several problems exhibited the commercial ethics of the age The play of the profit motive appeared in notable cases It had an unsatisfactory relation to humanitarian considerations, public interest, and sacrificial patriotism Like the consuls who performed countless acts of assistance to them, merchants revealed differences in attitude and capacity A few combined ability in trade with marked unselfishness and genuine public spirit

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Conspicuous among merchants were well-known names like Nye, Heard, Wetmore, Olyphant, and Russell The most prominent and extensive house was that of Russell and Company Its internal organization and administration, widespread connections and influence, and varied interests made it almost a small commercial republic in itself These features mark it off as one of the notable institutions and factors in the story of American economic evolution Several of its members acted in consular capacities The termination of our armchair journey to a bygone period is left in the hands of a living relative (1934) of one of these merchant consuls His activities have reached from the vivid clipper era down to the present His retrospect shows the effect, on an interested American family, of commercial and consular activity carried on in remote ports of Eastern Asia

The present study is far enough away from its chosen period to permit use of perspective, and yet, happily, close enough to have the following direct message from one of its younger members, Frank Gray Griswold, Esq , who comments with equal liveliness on the China trade and the current administration.

1845-1860-----1938

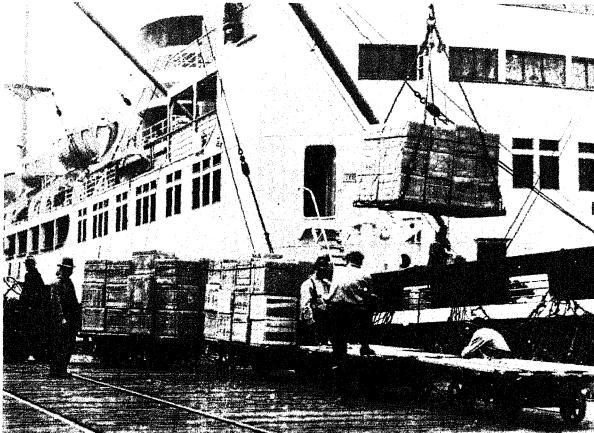
"The original George Griswold, of N L & G [riswold], was my grandfather His son George, my father I had a brother named George, his son, my nephew, is George, and he has a son named George --the eighth of the name I believe in direct line My father's brother was John Noble Alsop Griswold who went to China as supercargo on one of the ships, and became a partner in Russell & Co and second United States consul at Shanghai John C Green of New Jersey, was a small boy in office of N L & G G He finally also went to China as a supercargo, and was taken into Russell Co On his return to America he married my father's sister, Sarah Helen He died in 1875 leaving 7 million that netted 7% Another sister married Henry Winthrop Gray of Boston He became a partner in N L & G G His son George Griswold Gray also went to China and joined R & Co He lost a leg in the riots He returned to New York and was very prominent in social & club life when I was a boy

In the early '50's my grandfather built a massive granite building at 71 & 72 South Street for his business The street was narrow in those days and his ships docked opposite the building with bowsprits almost in the windows⁵ I passed many a Saturday morning there in my early youth Offices full of models and pictures of ships Chinese curios of all kinds and teas and silks sliding into the storehouse from across the street

"We were seven children living in a large house on 5th Ave with nurses, tutors, a country house, yachts, horses, ponies everything The Civil War came which destroyed all shipping The ships that were not destroyed by southern raiders were sold to England We, the U S , had been supreme on the seas, but it was over Congress, in order to protect a few shipbuilders in Mass & Maine

[provided] the stupid law that no ship could fly the American flag unless built in U S England invented the small iron tramps costing much less to run than a clipper, but our merchants were not allowed to buy them as they desired to do, so all the merchants along the coast were ruined My father with a broken heart took his family to Germany for economy, because there was 'no protection for life or property in the U S' What would he say today? That was in 1868 I remember him saying: 'The trouble with the American people is they pray on their knees and steal pennies with their toes' He is buried in Germany My eldest

⁵For a fine view of South Street which fits this description see the illustration facing page 22 of H A Gosnell's Before the Mast in the Clippers (diaries of C A. Abbey)



Japanese Motor Liner Discharging Tea at Seattle, 1936

(By courtesy of Mr. P. H. McClelland.)

brother J.N.A.G. Jr died, so I became head of the family, and when I was 20, in 1875, I was sent home to clean up N. L. & G. G. I rented the building for a bonded...[warehouse] and wound up the business, and settled the accounts. Then one day the ...[warehouse] caught on fire. It was full of tea. The fire boats across the street pumped salt water into the building for three days and liquid tea dyed the river water brown. You may imagine the condition of papers and books in the offices. Everything was soaked and tea colour. I was young

and cared nothing about the past, so sold all the wet stuff to a junk dealer. ...What interested me most was the loss of pictures and models.... So you see there are no records of N. L. & G. G., and I personally am not sorry. ...I believe...that American families, individuals, decrease in ability from generation to generation. ...We must import fresh stock....

"N. L. & G. G. owned many ships--3 named Panama, Sarah Helen, Alert and the ones you mention. My father build the largest, 'Challenge'."

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

(Cf Chapter 14)

**AMERICAN CONSULAR OFFICERS IN EAST ASIATIC PORTS,¹ 1845-1860
(with Diplomatic Representatives,² Secretaries of
State,³ Presidents, and Parties in Power)**

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES	SECRETARIES OF STATE	PRESIDENTS AND PARTIES
<u>China</u>		
A H Everett (Mass) Mar 18, 1845-June 28, 1847	Jas Buchanan (Pa) Mar 11, 1845-Mar 7, 1849	Jas K Polk (Tenn), Dem 1845-1849
John W Davis (Ind) Jan 3, 1848-May 25, 1850		
Humphrey Marshall (Ky) Aug 4, 1852-Jan 27, 1854	John M Clayton (Del) Mar 7, 1849-Jly 22, 1850	Zachary Taylor (La), Whig 1849-1850, and Millard Fillmore (N Y) 1850-1853
	Daniel Webster (Mass) Jly 22, 1850-Oct 24, 1852	
	Edward Everett (Mass) Nov 6, 1852-Mar 3, 1853	
Robt M McLane (Md) Oct 18, 1853-Dec 12, 1854	Wm L Marcy (N Y) Mar 7, 1853-Mar 6, 1857	Franklin Pierce (N H), Dem 1853-1857
Peter Parker (Mass) Aug 16, 1855-Aug 25, 1857		
Wm B Reed (Pa) Ap 18, 1857-Dec 8, 1858	Lewis Cass (Mich) Mar 6, 1857-Dec 12, 1860	Jas Buchanan (Pa) Dem. 1857-1861
John E Ward (Ga) Dec 5, 1858-Dec , 1860		

¹ Resident only, the emphasis being on the men who actually served. The ports included are those intensively examined—six in China, three in Japan, one in Eastern Siberia, and Hongkong and Macao (of the Note attached to Appendix 4, Supplement). The terminology customary at the time is followed.

This material on consular officers is taken chiefly from consular instructions and letters, supplemented by diplomatic despatches, Executive Journals of the Senate, and occasional other sources. These have been checked with the cards in the Bureau of Appointments of the Department of State, which are frequently inadequate or otherwise unsatisfactory. The information which follows sometimes differs from that given in certain general works and standard indexes, the latter of which are particularly misleading.

A few of the dates of service may appear to be at variance with the text, which cites consular correspondence occasionally prepared in *absentia*. Some dates are approximate or probable. A number of officers were in the Orient at the time of appointment.

² Resident only, *ad interim* appointments omitted. See Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 705, and a much more detailed list in Couling's *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, showing great variation in dates.

³ A list of British Prime Ministers and Colonial Secretaries given on page 175 of Margaret I. Adam's *Guide to the Principal Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Dominions 1812-1911* is occasionally useful.

Japan

Townsend Harris (N Y) Consul-General Aug 4, 1855-Jan 19, 1859	Wm L Marcy (N Y) Mar 7, 1853-Mar 6, 1857	Franklin Pierce (N H) Dem 1853-1857
Minister Resident Jan 19, 1859-Apr 26, 1862	Lewis Cass (Mich) Mar 6, 1857-Dec 12, 1860	Jas Buchanan (Pa) Dem 1857-1861

CONSULAR OFFICERS⁴

The following list is arranged by consulates in alphabetical order, with dates of appointment or notification of consuls (by the Secretary of State, unless otherwise stated) and dates of (local) appointment or Departmental approval of subordinates, dates of entry on duties, absences, and dates of resignation or retirement. A hyphen precedes the name of each subordinate and the symbol # precedes names not appearing in the records for these ports in the Bureau of Appointments, Department of State. That office does not have a file record of Entry on Duties.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resig- nation or Retirement</u>
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--Amoy--

Chas Wm Bradley Feb 7, 1849 (New Haven, Conn)	Aug 1, 1849	1851-1853	Left Oct 21 (?), 1851
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-Chas Wm Brad- Nov '26, 1849 (Mar ley, Jr , Conn, 18, 1852 appr'd Vice Con as Con Ag't)		Revoked by C W B, Sr , from Conn Mar 9, 1853, effective June 20; served to that date (Con- sulate closed in part of Aug , 1853, at least)
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Acting Consul (?) By Legation, June 20, 1853 and/or Dec 29, 1853	Dec 29, 1853	Mar 28, 1854
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Thos. Hart Hyatt June 14, 1853 (Rochester, N Y) 1854)	By Mar 31, 1854	Apr 23, 1857- Nov 27, 1858, May (?)-June 1859	Continued in office, resigning Apr 2, 1861
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-Thos. Hart Hyatt, Jan (?) 1854 Jr , N Y ., Act Con., (Vice Con later, also Mar- shal, and Inter- preter-June 17, 1858)		(According to Dep of State, served as Marshal to 1861, and as In- terpreter to May 20, 1862)
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⁴For a general list of consular personnel in office in 1857 and in 1859 see 35-2, S Ex Doc 20, 37-50, and 36-1, S Ex Doc 1, 37-49. Names of consuls in 1842-1845 appear in 28-1, S Ex Doc 240; note also Con Regs , 1855, App , 186ff. The Department of State gives March 9, 1859 for the appointments of C W Bradley (Amoy) and O E Roberts (Hongkong) as Commissioners for Adjustment of Claims under treaty with China.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resig- nation or Retirement</u>
-Dr Thos Hunter, Scotland, Vice Con	Feb 12, 1857 (appr'd Jly 30)	Apr 22		To arrival of Wilson
-Jas T Wilson, Vice Con	May 12 (?), 1857 (appr'd Jly 30)	May (?)		Ca June 28, 1857
#Rev J S Jar- alman (in charge of archives)	----	----		Functions of the office not dis- charged till Dec 4
-Rev Elihu Doty, Vice Con	Sept 23 (?) or Dec, 1857 (by Leg'n, appr'd by Dept Mar 26, 1858)	Ca Dec 4, 1857		Nov 26, 1858 (re- turn of consul)
#T H Hyatt, Jr, Deputy Con or Vice Con	May (?), 1859	June 1, 1859		June 9, 1859

--Amur River--

Perry McD Collins (Calif.), Comm'l Agent	Mar 24, 1856	July 10, 1857	Aug 8, 1857-be- yond end of 1860	(Jan 4, 1860, Sept 10, 1861 continued--no commission)
-Geo S Cushing, Vice Comm'l Agent	Aug (?), 1857 (appr'd by Dept Feb 23, 1858)	Aug (?), 1857		Early 1859 (?)
-Harrison G O Chase, Mass., Vice Comm'l Agent	Feb 17 (?), 1859 (appr'd Feb 17, 1859)	Jly 20/Aug 1, 1859		

--Canton--

Paul S Forbes (Mass.)	Apr. 17, 1843, conf'd and comm'n sent May 17, 1844	1843	s	Dec 30, 1854 (from Nice)
-R B Forbes, Mass., Vice Con.	Oct 27 (?), 1849 (appr'd by Comm'r, appr'd by Dept Feb 5, 1850)	Dec 1, 1849		Oct. 28, 1851 (?), left China Apr 24, 1851 (at Boston in Mar , 1852)

⁵One Gilmore Meredith sent a report, Feb 24, 1849, Forbes was absent Oct 27 (?), 1849-Dec 30, 1854 (but sent report of July 16, 1853 in absentia)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resignation or Retirement</u>
#-D N Spoor'r, Fore part of 1853 Mass , Vice Con		Apr 5, 1853 sent a report		Served until Stur-gis took charge
#-(A H Bancroft in charge, part of 1854?--sign-ing as Act Vice Con)				Not before Dec , 1854
-Robert S Stur- Dec (?), 1854 gis, Vice Consul		By Dec 8, 1854		Sept , 1855 (per-haps left ear-lier)
Oliver H Perry Feb 19, 1855 (New York) (conf'd)		Sept 1, 1855		Continued beyond the period

The Canton consulate's office at Whampoa

#Thomas Hunt, #James P Cook, #Henry P Blanchard, and #Francis H Haskell
At this office the incumbent served as either marshal or consular agent, or both Dates of service, and information regarding exercise of one or both of the two functions are very confused. Hunt was attached to the Canton consulate as marshal, and covered Whampoa as early as Jan 1, 1849, apparently continuing to Jan 1, 1854. Cook (appointed by Spooer) is mentioned in April, 1853, and again in July, 1856. Blanchard (appointed by Consul Perry) appears early in 1855. He was re-appointed by Perry after the Allied re-opening of Canton early in 1858, and served until August 30, 1860. Haskell was consular agent, at least, from that date. His appointment had the approval of the Minister and, later (Jan 5, 1861), that of the Department.

--Foochow--

Material in a despatch from Parker to Webster, September 24, 1851, indicates that, without Parker's knowledge, a Rev J Calder was announced in local papers as Vice Consul--a peculiar and temporary appointment shown on page 85, above. In the published diplomatic correspondence (35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 185-166, 436-437, and 488-489) C W Orne is mentioned as Consular Agent in April, 1854, and a merchant, D O Clark (appointed by his predecessor and confirmed by McLane) as Acting Consul in August and October, 1854.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resignation or Retirement</u>
Caleb Jones (Richmond, Va)	Aug 11, 1853 (re-cess app't , conf'd Jly 31, 1856)	By Nov 5, 1854	Autumn, 1857	Died without re-turning to post
#Thos Dunn, New- port, R I., Vice Con	Sept 23 (?), 1857	Oct 1, 1857		Mar 31, 1860
#H Dwight Wil-liams, N Y (?), Minister Vice Con	Mar 16, 1860 (by	(Probably did not serve)		
Samuel L Gouverneur, (Washington, D. C , and Md)	Jly 18, 1859	Apr 1, 1860		Continued beyond the period

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resig- nation or Retirement</u>
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--Hakodate--

Elisha E Rice (Maine)	June 26, 1856	May 1, 1857	Nov 1860-May, 1861 (?)	Continued beyond the period, conf'd as Consul Jan 18, 1865
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#-Dr George M Bates, Acting Vice Comm'l Agent

#-Wm Robert Pitts, Md , Deputy during illness of Rice in autumn, 1860, and then Acting Com Ag't

--Hongkong--

Thos Waldron	Jly 21, 1843 (recess app't , conf'd May 17, 1844)	Served as early as Mar 30, 1844	Died Sept 8, 1844
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Frederick T Bush	Mar 20, 1845 (Mass or N Y) (conf'd)	By Mar 25, 1845	From Jan 30, 1852	Mar 10, 1853
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-Henry Anthon, Jr., Vice Con during Bush's short absences and final leave	Not later than July 1850, one app't by Bush (on leave) about Jan 30, 1852	Feb 1, 1854	Sept 7, 1853, but again signed a report, May 30, 1854
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James Keenan (Pa)	May 24, 1853 (recess app't , conf'd Mar 14, 1854)	Feb 1, 1854	June 1857, Dec 29, 1857-Jan 26, 1859	Continued beyond the period
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#-Geo L Haskell, Boston, Acting Vice Consul

#-Wm Knapp, Jr , Deputy Con	Aug 7, 1855 (appr'd Oct 19)	By Aug 27, 1855	By Jan 29, 1857
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-Jas T Wilson, N Y , Dep'y Con	By Jan 29, 1857 (appr'd Apr 7)	May, 1857	By May or June, 1857
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#-O E Roberts, N Y (?) , Vice Con.	Jan 13, 1858 (with app'r'l of Min'r)	Jan 13	Jan , 1859 (See above, 258n)
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CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resignation or Retirement</u>
--Macao--				
Robt P De Sil- ver (Pa)	Feb 7, 1849 (conf'd), June 18, 1849 (app't rec'd at Macao)	June 1849	Late Jan (?), 1854	Nov 5, 1855
-S B Rawle, Pa Vice Con	Jan 28 (?), 1854 (appr'd May 11, 1854)	Jan (?), 1854		
S B Rawle	Mar 17, 1856 (conf'd)	Continuation		Died Sept 2, 1858
#Wm A Macy, N Y , Dep'y Con	Sept 22 (?), 1857	Sept , 1857		By Jan 13, 1858
#-Gideon Nye, Jr , Mass , Dep'y Con	By July 2, 1858 (empowered by Min'r as Vice Con)	Jly (or possibly Ap 1), 1858		Continued beyond the period

--Nagasaki--

#John G Walsh, N Y "Acting U S Consul", but in fact Vice Con	May, 1859 (by Har- ris)	May, 1859	At least once (2 mos ,) first half, 1860
#-Richard J Walsh, Dep'y (2 mos , first half, 1860)			

--Ningpo^b--

-(Henry G Wolcott, Vice Con)	(By Consul Forbes, Canton, Mar 22, 1844)		
#Dr D B McCar- tee, Con Ag't , Acting Con , Vice Con , Comm'l. Ag't	One app't by Comm'r McLane, May 19, 1854 Parker gave him a "commission" as Acting Consul dated Feb 28, 1856	1844-until Spring (May?) of 1855, esp from Jly 1, 1849, again, Jly 8, 1855	1856-Oct 28, leaving consular property in charge of R Q (or J) Way
#-Daniel Jerome Macgowan, Vice Con ^c	May or June, 1855	Early June, 1855	June, 1855

^b Ningpo was apparently under Shanghai until 1855-1857, regular appointments having failed

^c Macgowan was appointed by Townsend Harris, who never appeared.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resig- nation or Retirement</u>
Chas Wm Brad- ley (Conn)	Mar 17, 1856 (conf'd)	Aug 3, 1857	In N China with Leg'n from about Ap 15, 1856, was in U S at least from Oct , 1858, and back at post by Jly 1, 1859 (possi- bly by ap), ca Nov 1, 1859- Mar ('?), 1860	Resigned by early Sept , 1860 (ef- fective Oct 1, 1860) ^a
#-Rev Richard Q Way, in charge (?) during Brad- ley's trip with Leg'n)				
#-Geo A Cables, Ca Nov 1, 1859 Acting Vice Cons (also 1860)		Nov 1859 (?)		??
Bradley's in- terpreter at one time)				
#-Geo W Fish, App't by Min'r Vice Con Sept ('?), 1860 (appr'd by Dept Jan 7, 1861)		Oct 1, 1860 (but sent report for first quarter, acting perhaps in place of Cables)		
 <u>--Shanghai--</u>				
Henry G Wol- cott, Acting Con , and Con , giving atten- tion to Ning- po, also)	Mar 30, 1846 (by Comm Biddle)			1848
-E W Bates, Acting Consul		Served Jan -Mar (or longer) 1848		
J N A Griswold (N Y)	May 10, 1848 (conf'd)	Summer or autumn, 1848	From Dec 30, 1851	---
#-Edward Cunningham Dec , 1851 (advance ham, Boston, request appr'd "Consular by Dept Nov 6, Agent" and (by 1851) courtesy) Vice Consul				Continued at least to the beginning of 1854 ^b

^aBradley seems, nevertheless, to have received salary (at the rate of \$5,000 a year), returning home, Oct 1-Dec 26, 1860

^bCunningham claimed judicial salary for all of 1853, and signed a report of Dec 31, 1853, on January 20, 1854 he issued a notification to Americans

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resig- nation or Retirement</u>
Robert C Murphy (Ohio)	July 21, 1853 (recess app't, conf'd Jan 31, 1854)	Mar 4 (6 th) 1854	Jan 1-Aug 6, 1858, from Mar , 1857	June 25, 1857
#-Dr M W Fish, Jan 1, 1856 Act Vice Con	(appr'd Ap 8, 1856)	Jan 1		Aug 6, 1856
#-Wm Knapp, Jr , Mar 1, 1857 Boston, Act Vice Con	(appr'd May 16, 1857)	Mar (?)		Jan 5, 1858
#-F H B Jenkins, Charles- ton, S C , Act Vice Con	Jan 5 (?), 1858 (app'd by Knapp, not appr'd by Min'r but appr'd by Dept May 18, 1858)	Jan 5, 1858		Jan 28, 1858
#-A L Freeman, He accepted tempo- rarily Act Vice Con		Jan 23, 1858		Mar 8, 1858
#-Geo B Glover, Feb 2, 1858 (app't Vice Con	by Min'r)	Mar 8, 1858		Autumn (?), 1858 (reported Oct 4)
W L G Smith	Mar 30, 1858 (Buffalo, N Y) (conf'd)	By Oct 4, 1858		Continued beyond the period

--Shimoda-Kanagawa--

Townsend Harris, (N Y) Com- sul-General	Aug 4, 1855 (re- cess app't), conf'd Jly 31, 1856 (Minister Resident, Jan 19, 1859 (rec'd at Shanghai ca May 31)	Aug 21, 1856	Late Ap or early May, 1859, back ca June 20, 1859	Min'r Res from 1859, cons dut- ies taken over by succeeding officer in June, 1859
#-Henr, C J Heusken, Vice Con	Jan 23, 1857	Covering inter- mittent illness- es and short ab- sences of Harris		Killed Jan 14, 1861
#-E May Dorr, Cal , Act Con or Con Agent at Kana- gawa (actually at Yokohama, later)	By June 10, 1859	June 10, 1859		

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of App't or Notification, etc</u>	<u>Entry on Duties (or Arrival)</u>	<u>Absences</u>	<u>Date of Resig- nation or Retirement</u>
--Swatow ¹⁰ --				
#-Chas Wm Brad- ley, Jr , Conn Vice Con	By Dec 10, 1859 (app't by Min'r)	Jan 1, 1860		Feb (?) , 1861

¹⁰ Wm Breck, of New Hampshire, the first regular appointee (confirmed, Mar 12, 1860) as consul to reach Swatow, did not enter upon his duties until Feb. 18, 1861

Appendix 2

PARTIAL DIRECTORY OF AMERICANS
(exclusive of consuls)
in, or concerned with, the East

This Appendix is designed to aid genealogists and other experienced investigators to "peer" into the movements and concerns of individuals and members of firms, and to assist those who are interested in following the biographical approach to further information on the period. The collection of names is distinct, a miscellaneous one, gathered incidentally, as a by-product in the use of material for the text, and no attempt has been made to settle questions and inconsistencies created by it or to correlate it with the index and other appendices, in which some duplications will be found. The names included are simply those of persons or firms believed to be American, but a number of question marks interpolated show that in respect to this, or other descriptive points, there is often uncertainty. Even the unquestioned items, in many instances, should be regarded as suggestive rather than as finally accurate. Some men were partners in different firms at different times. Some of the names which receive frequent mention in the text are omitted here. Shipbuilding firms are usually passed by, as mention of them here would add little to what various books relate.

Naturally the list is far from complete. To make it exhaustive would require use of consular registers of Americans at all the ports, minute search of newspaper files, and customhouse records, and employment of a method not generally suitable to the present inquiry. Lists of foreigners in China appeared in The Chinese Repository almost continuously, from 1841 (e.g., XIV, 2), in Volume XV (3-8) is a list of commercial houses (with members), agents, and others, at different ports, unclassified, however, by nationalities. The North-China Herald of August 3, 1850 gives a list of fifty-six foreigners then in Shanghai.

Furthermore, if completeness were sought, the range would necessarily be extended to include some additional ports not dealt with intensively in this study. It may be pointed out, by way of suggestion, that within the Asiatic scene, and even beyond it, certain American families and firms were "international." Whether business history has much to gain from a study, for example, of relations between different branches of a single firm is a question, but the general fact of variety and interdependence should not be lost to view.

Many of the names indicate persons within the United States who were in some way brought into contact with East Asiatic interests, even though they did not leave their own country. Merchants, shipmasters, clerks, missionaries, naval officers, artisans, seamen, and others are among those who appeared in the Orient, some of them with their families. Whenever possible the native state and town or county are given, immediately after the name, and then, following a dash, is listed the point of appearance in the East, if any. The succeeding date, in parentheses, indicates the original time from which the particular record used has been taken, and not the duration of residence or interest in the Orient. Abbreviations of place names are used, if some are not clear, reference may be made to the keys to abbreviations used in following appendices. Descriptive abbreviations are easily followed, such as "d" for "died", "kd" for "killed", "mar" for "mariner", "mas" for "master" or "ship-master", "mer" for "merchant", "miss'y" for "missionary", and "vis" for "visiting."

A

- Abbott, Geo J
Allen, C G --Bangkok (1858) Blacksmith and machinist D 1865
Alvord and Co --Canton (1855)
Andrews, A A (New York City)
Angel, C H --Yokohama (1860?, 1861)
Anthon and Co --Hongkong
Anton, Reginald H (NYC)--Bangkok (1857) Mer
Appleton and Co (Boston)
Armstrong and Lawrence--Hk
Ashbey, J P , and R F (Mystic, Conn)
Ashley, R (San Francisco)--Mas
Ashmore, Wm. (Ohio)--Bang (1856) Miss'y Left for China
Asiatic Marine Insurance Co
Atkinson, Jas (Baltimore)--Bangk (1858) Enginer
Atlantic Mutual (Ins) Co (NYC)
Ayers, J S --Bangk (1858) Mas , Ocean Queen
Aymar, Wm (NYC)

B

- Baker, A (Bn)
Baker, D H --Yoko (1860?, 1861) Mer
Baker, John H (Brooklyn)

Barrett, F (NYC)	Christian, W S --Bangk (1858) Mas mar D
Baxter, John (Bn)	Clarke, C G --Ca
Bearse, R (NY)--Shanghai Mas , Cleone of Bn	Clark, D O (Bn)--Bangk (1857) Mer and ag't for Russell and Co Left for China, Dec , 1859
Bellooses (?), A R --Ca (1849) Mer	Coit, Thomas (Bridgeport, Conn)--Ca (1860, 1861) Officer of Amer river str <u>Melee</u> Kd
Belmont, Peter (Williamsburg, NY)--Bangk (1857) Mas mar	Collins, Perry C
Bennett, F (NY)	Comstock Bros (Bn)
Benson, A G , and A W (NY)	Comstock, Wm , jr
Benson, E L (NY)	Cooksey, C H (Balt)--Sh (1851) Mas , bk
Bloodgood, J Thomas (NYC)--Sh (1856) Traveler and partner of Hiram Young (NY) D	Huntington D
Boardman (W H) and Co (Bn)--Mer	Copeland, F H (NY)
Booker, D McK (NYC)--Bangk (1857)	Corwin, S C
Boone, W M T --Sh (1854) Amer Episc miss'y	Crawford, T T (or P)--Sh (1854) Amer Bapt miss'y
Bourne and Co (?)--Ca (1845) Mer	Cressy, V A (NY)
Boyd, E B H --Sh Office, Russell and Co	Crocker, Warren Co --Fo
Bradish, W F --Bangk (1856)	Crosby, Nathaniel (Mass , or Wiscasset, Me)--Hk
Bradley, Dr D B (Marcellus, Onondaga Cty , NY)--Bangk (1856) Physician and miss'y	Critchell, W W --Sh Office, Russell and Co
Breck, Wm (Bn , b Sullivan Cty , N H)	Culbertson, M S --Sh (1854) Amer Presb miss'y
Brickland and Pearce (Balt)--(1850) Mer	Cunningham, I C (Bn)--Bangk (1859 or 1860) Mas , <u>Orestes</u>
Brooks, C W (San Francisco)--(Ca 1860) Comm'l agent, Japanese Government	Cunningham, Edw (Bn)--Sh Mer (and vice consul)
Brower (J H) and Co (NYT)	Cunningham, F (Bath, Me)
Brown (Alex) and Sons (Balt)--(1850) Mer	Cunningham, W N
Brown, N , jr (Bn)	Cunningham, W T (or Y) E --Sh (1854) Meth Episc miss'y
Brund (E W) and Sons (?) (Balt)--(1850) Mer	Curry, Capt --Ca (1858) Mas , <u>Willamette</u>
Bryson, Lester (New Haven)--Mas	Cushing, Geo S (Bn)--AR Mer
Buckler, Wm --Ca (1845, 1850) Mer	Cushing, Henry J (Providence)--(1854) Belonging to brig Brenda D
Bucklin, T D (NY)	Cutler, Thos M
Bull, Purdon, and Co --Foochow (1860)	D
Burgess, W (NY)	Dabney, C W --Chi (?) Mer
Burling, J --Ningpo	Dabney, F O
Burr, Wm Abraham (NYC)--Bangk (1859) Mas mar	Daniels, Geo (NY?)--Shipowner
Burrows, O H (Balt)	Davis, George (Bn)--Bangk (1859 or 1860) Mas mar
Burrows, S E (SF)--Hk Shipowner	Davis, J W C (NYC)--Bangk (1858) Mas mar
Burton, G B --Ad Mer	Deacon, E --Sh Office, A Heard and Co
Burton, G W --Sh (1854) Amer Bapt miss'y	Dearborn, T D --Sh Mas , <u>Confucius</u>
Bury, John (Bn)	Dehn (or Dehon), T (NY)
Butt, J E (NY)	Delano, Warren, jr (NY)
Buxton, Benj (Balt)--Sh Mas , <u>Union</u>	De Silver and Thomas (Phila)--Mer
C	Devol, P H (or W) (Lancaster, O)--Bangk (1858) D
Cables, Geo A (Conn)--Ni	Dexter, Franklin D (or G) (Bn)
Callahan, P (Bn)	Dibblee, Albert (SF)--(1850's) Shipping and comm'l business
Campbell, Jas C (NY)--Bangk (1858) Clerk	Dixon, E W --Chi Mas and mer
Campbell, John (NYC)--Bangk (1856) D at Singapore, 1859	Doane, T (Bn)
Cane, W K (NY)	Dougherty, John (Balt)--Bangk (1858) Eng'r
Canfield, R (NY)	Drinker, Sandwith (Phila)--Hk Mer
Carew, Austin (Balt)	Driscoll, J J (Bn)--Banker(?)
Carpenter, S (?)--Sh (1854) Miss'y	Du Bois, T B (Bn)
Cary and Co (NY, 90 Pine St)	Dunn, Geo (NY)--Bangk (1858) Mer D 1861
Chambers, J (NY)	Dunn, Thos (R I)
Chandler, A G C	Durger--Mas , <u>Natchez</u>
Chandler, J H (Conn)--Bangk (1856) Machinery agent	Duval, R P --Mas , <u>Bangkok Mart.</u> D 1861
Chase, F (NY)	
Chase, Harrison G O (Bn)--Mer	
Cheston (Jas) and Co (Balt)--(1850) Mer	
China Mutual Insurance Co (Bn)--Sh agent, Russell and Co	

Dyer, Atkins (Provincetown, Mass) --Bangk (1857)
Mas mar and pilot D 1876

E

Eagleston, J M
Ellis, R H (NY)
Elwell, E (Bn)
Endicott, Jas B --Macao (1857) Mer
Endicott, Wm --Sh Mer
Esche, Otto (SF) --Shipowner

F

Fellowes --Yoko (1860?, 1861)
Fish, M W --Sn Phys
Fisher, Rodney --Ca (1845) Mer
Fitch, Brown and Co (?) --Fo
Foster, Frank --Sh Mer
Foster, W H (Bn)
Francis, R --Sh Office, Bull, Nye, and Co
Fraser, Daniel --Sh (1855) Partner, J Dewsnap
D
Frazar, A A --Mer
French, L (Bath, Me) --Sh (1856) Mas,
 Melita
French, T B (NY)
Funck and Weinke (NY)

G

Gassett, Ed
Gibb, Livingstone, and Co
Gibson, O --Fo
Gilbert, Lucas
Gill, Chas (NY)
Giman and Co --Sh
Gilman, Bowman, and Co --Sh
Glendy, W M (1850) --Chi (1850) Capt., U S S
 Marion
Goodhue and Co (NY)
Goodridge (G W) and Co (NY)
Gookin, W D (NY)
Cough, Richard S (Bn)
Gouverneur, S L (NY?) --Postmaster (?)
Goover, F I (NYC) --Bangk (1858) Mas, bk St
 Paul
Gray, G G --Sh Office, Russell and Co
Gray, H, jr --Amoy
Green, C R (NY)
Green, G F --Sn Office, Bull, Nye, and Co
Gregory, M B (Bn)
Grew, Henry S --Of Russell and Co
Griswold, Chas
Griswold, Geo (NY)
Griswold, G, jr (NY)
Guest, John --Chi U S N
Survey, Michael (NY) --Bangk (1856) Mer

H

Hald, E F, jr --AR Mer
Hale, Nathaniel (NY)
Hall, Dr --Sh Phys

Hall, F --Yoko (1860?, 1861)
Hall, G H (NY) --Bangk (1858) Eng'r D
 1866
Hall, Geo --Yoko (1859)
Hallett and Bros
Hansen, H (NY)
Harbeck, J H, and W H (NY)
Harding, C F (NY)
Harding, T P --Mas, Oscar of Damariscotta, Me
Harrison, H (Balt) --(1850) Mer
Harrison, W G (Balt) --(1850) Mer
Haskell, Geo L (Bn) --Bangk (1857) Mer D,
 Singapore, 1861
Hastings, H (Bn)
Hatch --Sh Mas, schr Dart of Boston
Hathaway, F S, and T L (NY)
Hayes, W H (NY)
Hazard, Peter --Bangk (1856) Mas mar D
Heard, Albert F --Sh (1860) Made Russian consul
Heard (Augustine) and Co --Ca (and Yoko, 1861)
Hedge and Co --Fo
Hitchcock, L N --Ca (?)
Hitchcock, S W (?) --Ca Mer
Hollinback, O V (NY)
Holmes, S (NY or Bath, Me)
Hooper, Jas A (Balt)
Hotchkiss, Wooster (New Haven)
House, Dr Samuel R (Waterford, NY) --Bangk
 (1856) Miss'y
Howard, A --Chi Mer or mas
Howard, Geo (Bn) --Bangk (1860?) Boarding-house keeper
Howell (Wm) and Son (Balt) --(1850) Mer
Howes, Osborn (Bn)
Howland and Aspinwall (NY)
Howland, W (NY)
Hubbell, Henry H (or W) --Ca (1852) Mer and
agt., NY Mut Ins Co
Hubertson, G F (?) --Sh
Hugg, J W (Balt)
Hungerford, H C (NY)
Hunt (T) and Co --Ca (?)
Hunter, W C --Ca (1858) Mer
Hussey, W H (NY)

I

Insurance Co of N America (?) (Phila)

J

Jacobs, J (NY)
Jenkins (Hugh) and Co (Balt) --(1850) Mer
Jenkins, Jas L (Me) --Bangk (1856) Eng'r D
Jones, Benj (Brooklyn) --Shipowner and mas
Jones, J H (Bath, Me)

K

Kelley, H A (Bn)
Kelly, J --Sh (1853) Comm, U S Sloop Plymouth
Kenney, David (Bath) --Bangk (1858) Carpenter

Kilburn, P C (NY)
 Kimball, W S (Bn)--Bangk (1857) U S Marshal
 King and Co --Ca
 King, David O (Newport)--Bangk (1856) Mer Left Aug 11, 1858
 King, T H (SF)--Mas
 King, Wm L (NY)
 Kingman, S K (Bn)
 Kirkland, Chase, and Co (Balt)--(1850) Mer

L

Ladd and Co (Sand Isl)
 Lane, C Y (Bn)
 Lane, G C (NY)
 Lapham, L (Bn)
 Latham, R (SF)--Shipowner
 Lawrence, A M (NY)
 Lawrence, Geo Richard--Of Bull, Purdon, and Co
 Lee, R (NY)
 Leland, J A (NY)
 Lemmon (R) and Co (Balt)--(1850) Mer Lewis, Wm D --Ca (1853) Mer
 Liggins, John (Phila)--Sh Miss'y Lincoln, W (Bn)
 Lindsay and Co --Sh Lloyd, T S (NY)
 Lodge, J E (Bn)
 Low, A A , E A , and J O (NY)
 Luce, R (NY)
 Ludens, F J (Balt)
 Lyman (E H R) and Bros (NY)
 Lynch, H (Bn)

M

MacCallum, D S (NY)
 McCormick, Jas (Cincinnati)--Bangk (1857) Mas mar
 Macgowan, Jos (Newburyport)--Ni D
 McKean, Borie, and Co --Ca (?)
 McKenzie--Mas, Houqua
 McKim, Wm , and H (Balt)--(1850) Mer Manning, F C (Bn)
 Manon (or Mannor), W W (SF)--Shipowner Manton, D B (NY)
 Martine, Henry (Balt)--(1850) Mer Matthews, S (Bn)
 Maxwell, Chas S --Sh (1855) Surgeon, U S S Powhatan
 Melchers and Co (SF)--Shipowners
 Mellus, E --Sh (1856) Mas, Antelope (coaster)
 Mercantile Insurance Co (NY)--Chi ag'ts , Nye, Bros and Co
 Mercantile Mutual Ins Co of NY
 Miller, H R (NY)
 Mills, Richard M (Bath)
 Minturn, R B (NY)
 Moore, M G (Scranton, Pa)--Bangk (1856) Clerk Left for Chi, 1869
 Moorehouse, J H (SF)--Shipowner

Moores, L (NY)
 More (H A) and Co --Ca
 Morewood and Co (NY)
 Morse, A P (Madison, NY)--Bangk (1856) Miss'y
 Morse, W H --Yoko (1860? , 1861)
 Morton, Samuel C (Phila)
 Munroe, J (NY)
 Munsford, J (?)--Sh (1855) Comm , Chinese ship of war

N

Nagle, G (Bn)
 Neilson, A R , Jr --Ca (?)
 Neilson, H B
 Nelson, Robert--Sh (1854) Amer Episc miss'y Nesmit and Sons (NY)
 New York Board of Underwriters
 New York Insurance Co (?)
 New York Mutual Insurance Co --Chi ag't , Henry H (or W) Hubbell
 Nye, Perkins (Parkin?), and Co --Ca

O

Oelrichs and Lurman (Balt)--(1850) Mer
 Olphant, R M (NY)

P

Park, R --Am
 Parker, John S (Bn)--Bangk (1856) Mer D Parvenstead, E (Belfast, Me)
 Party and Co --Sand Isl Pederson, J (Balt)
 Peete, Lyman B --Fo
 Peirce and Brewer--Sand Isl Mer Pennock, A M --(1850) Lieut , U S S Marion Percy, Geo --Sh (1854) Amer Bapt miss'y Philadelphia Board of Underwriters Pierce (D) Bros (NY or Bath)
 Pierce (H.A) and Co (Bn)
 Pierce, Wm G --Sh Mer
 Pierce, W P
 Plumer, J B (Bn)--Bangk (1857) Mas mar Porter, David--Bangk (1856)
 Porter, W H (Brooklyn)--Bangk (1857) Clerk Pratt, Benj (Newburyport)--Bangk (1856) Carp Proctor, D. L (Salem)--Hk (1850) Office, Rawle, Drinker, and Co D , Sh Proctor, F P (NY)
 Purdie, Walter L --Ca(?)
 Purdon (Jas) and Co --Ca (1853) Mer Purlington, R (Bath)
 Putnam, W E (Bn)
 Pyke, T --Sh (1854)--With Bull, Nye, and Co

R

Ranlett, C A (NY)
 Rathbone, Worthington, and Co (?)--Sh Rawle, Drinker, and Co --Sh Rawle, S. B

Record, John (Newark, N J)--Bangk (1856)
 Lawyer
 Reed, John H (Bn)
 Reiss and Co (NY)
 Reynolds, W H H (Springville, Erie Cty , NY)--
 Bangk (1859) Mas mar
 Ricaby, Abram--Ca Owner, Amer river str
 Meleel Kd 1861
 Ritchie, A A --Ca (1845) Mer
 Robinet (W M) and Co --Sh (1858)
 Robinson, W F (Salem)--Sh Office, Bull, Nye,
 and Co D 1851
 Rogers, Jacob C (Bn)
 Roosleinidnight (?) and Co (Balt)--(1850) Mer
 Ropes, Wm (Bn)
 Rothwell, T --Sh Office, Russell and Co
 Ruggles, Samuel B (NY)
 Ryan, J --Ca (1845) Mer

S

Sampson and Tappan--Fo, etc
 Sampson, G K
 Schaffner, T P --Telegraph promoter
 Schibye, N P (Bn)
 Schoyer, R --Yoko (1860?, 1861)
 Schumacher (A) and Co (Balt)--(1850) Mer
 Shaw, S (Bn)
 Simmonds, D B --Yoko (1860?, 1861)
 Simonson, R (Bn)
 Simpson, L H --Am
 Sledge (or Stage), J A (SF)--Shipmaster
 Smith, Kennedy, and Co --(Asiatic Marine Ins
 Co)

Smith, King, and Co
 Smith, C F (Bn)
 Smith, Chester F (NB)--Bangk (1856) Mas mar
 Smith (R B) and Co (later Smith, Archer, and
 Co)--Yoko (1860)
 Soule, H I (or J) (New Haven)
 Spooner, D N --Ca (?) (1858) Insurance
 Starr, Norman (New London)--Bangk (1858) Mas ,
 bk Friendship

Steele, J (NY)
 Steward, Louis (Wash , D C)--Bangk (1856)
 Eng'r

Stodard, T C (NY)
 Stone, Warren, and Co. (?)
 Stone, H. M (Bn)--Bangk (1856) Mas mar D ,
 Sh

Stover, Chas B (Newburyport)--Bangk (1856)
 Carp.

Stratton, H B (Bn)--Mas
 Sturgis, H P (Bn)
 Sturgis, R, Jr --Sh Office, Russell and Co
 Suckley, John A (NY)

Summer, Chas (Cambridge, Mass ?)--Sh (1860).
 Mas , Carrington D

Sun Mutual Life Ins Co of NY

Suydam, J F A (NY)
 Sword (John D) and Co --Ca and Phila (1845).
 Mer
 Syles, J A (NY)
 Symonds, Geo D --Fo

T

Talbot, G W (NY)
 Taylor, J (Brooklyn)--Bangk (1858) Eng'r D ,
 Hk, 1860
 Taylor, Moses (NY)
 Taylor, R L (NY)
 Taylor, S N (NY)
 Terrence, Daniel (NY)
 Tibbatts, E (Bn)
 Tilford, Robert (Ontario Cty , NY)--Bangk (1856)
 Miss'y
 Tucker, B W (NY)
 Turner, W R (NY)
 Twist, Benj --Sh (1850) Mar , bk Mary Adams
 D
 Tyers, Richard R --Ca (?)
 Tyson, Geo --With Russell and Co

U

Upton, G B (NY)

V

Vail, D Olyphant--Ca (,), and Bangk (1856)
 Virgin, Geo W --Bangk (1856) Mas mar and
 mail ag't Later (1862) vice consul Left
 for Singapore, 1865 D , Sing, Dec 31, 1869
 Vreeland, B --Sh

W

Wagener, Geo B (NYC)--Bangk (1859 or 1860)
 Mas , Race Horse
 Walker, W S --Chi (1851) Capt , U S N
 Walklace, Wm (Buffalo)--Bangk (1859 or 1860)
 Blacksmith
 Walsh, Hall, and Co --Yoko (1859)
 Walsh, J G
 Walsh, Thomas--Ca (1858) Mer
 Wardner, H (?)--Sh (1854) Miss'y
 Wardwell, B A --Sh Office, Russell and Co
 Watson and Co (?)--Sh
 Wells and Emanuel and Co
 Wenke, G (NY)
 Westervelt, A G (NY)--Hk and Bangk (1858)
 Shipbuilder in U S , en route
 Weston, R W (NY)
 Wetmore and Cryder--Chi Mer
 Wheeler, W E (NY)--Of A A Low and Co
 Wheelock, J Andrew--Fo
 Wheldon, Irving (Hyannis, Mass)--Sh (1858)
 Vis A Heard and Co Friend of W A Sale
 and Co of NY D of cholera
 White and Calder--Fo Mer
 Whiting, G C (Bn)
 Whitney, Asa (NY)
 Whitridge (Thos) and Co (Balt)--(1850) Mer
 Wilbornson, J A --Fo
 Wiley, W (Balt)
 Willcomb, J A (Salem)
 Williams, Hugh (Ore.)--Bangk (1859 or 1860). Mas
 mar D

Williams, H Dwight--Fo	Wolcott, Bates, and Co
Williams, H S (NY)	Woodward, M S (Stoneham, Mass)--Bangk (1856)
Williams, J A (NY)	Mas mar Left for China, 1859
Williams, T D --Sh Mer	Wright, John D (or S) (Bn)
Wilson, G (NY), also Wilson, G--Sh (1856) Mas , Golden Racer (?)	<u>Y</u>
Wilson, Phineas Oliver (New London)--Bangk (1856) Mas mar and pilot D , Bangk, 1857	Yates, Matthew T --Sn (1854) Amer Bapt mass'y
Wilson (Thos) and Co (Balt)--(1850) Mer	Young, Hiram (NY)--Partner of J Thos Blood-
Wilson (Wm) and Sons (Balt)--(1850) Mer	good (q <u>y</u>)

Appendix 3

LIST OF OWNERS OF AMERICAN VESSELS

Appearing at

Canton in 1845, in Eastern Siberia in 1859,
and in Ports of China (with Hongkong and Macao) and Japan in
1860, with Names of the Vessels

This List draws on the consular statistics relating to vessels at Canton in 1845 and at all ports of China and Japan in 1860 and Eastern Siberia in 1859. It permits some comparison of the distribution of ownership of American shipping in this part of the Orient at the beginning and the end of the period; it gives an idea of the spread of ownership, indicates the position of the larger owners, and in conjunction with Appendix 4 suggests the range and type of trade in which different owners were interested. It will be recalled that, at the outset, Canton was the only one of the ports intensively studied which had a large basic trade. The information supplied should complement the work of those who study the tedious and sometimes fragmentary records of American customhouses and trace the history of the foreign commerce of different American cities, states, or sections; it may also aid those who investigate the history of commercial families and firms. (Note the articles by Duren--Bibliography, F--and by Hitchings--Bibliography, G II.)

Unlike the later records, the earlier consular reports do not supply the names of owners and it has been necessary to gather such names for the year 1845 from different standard works devoted to ships. Less than half of those sought have been located, a fact which may throw the information for 1845 somewhat off balance, the names of the other vessels at Canton in that year are listed below for the benefit of those in a position to check up in detail on ownership. In several cases there were a number of vessels of the same name, e.g., there were at least three named Eagle.

It has not been possible to provide a broad view of ownership in a typical year at the middle of the period, although a few (Hongkong) entries of 1854 which have been identified are included parenthetically. If it is understood that many dates used indicate the time of arrival of a vessel and many others the time of departure or the mere circumstance that the vessel happened to be "in port," too much will not be expected of the List. For more accurate information of this kind reference should be made to Appendix 4. Persons desiring the exact length of a vessel's stay at each

port should see the logbooks and the consular manuscripts (or the transcripts thereof, in a location noted in the Bibliography).

The number of duplications of the same entry is not likely to be large enough to distort the general picture. Use has been made of five entries at the "Amur River" in 1859 in lieu of 1860 entries, which are not recorded. The fact that records are not available for a few quarters at some other ports during 1860 is of limited importance, since a high percentage of the vessels in question entered at more than one port. The List is but a partial data contribution, however, rather than a final study, a fact made more evident by the need of similar attention to the records of consulates at Manila, Batavia, and other ports.

Variations in spelling, lack of uniformity in assignment of ownership (in cases of joint ownership), and similar mechanical faults have been adjusted in some cases, in others it has been necessary to reproduce the variations and differences. Persons interested in such matters can readily check up by reference to descriptive books on ships. Home ports of vessels may not always be regarded necessarily as the places of business of the owners, whose offices shared in the migratory tendencies of the period. Readers concerned with this subject should examine local histories, newspapers, commercial reports, and directories. It is possible that in some cases of joint ownership this circumstance was not noted by consuls, and failure to enter the owner's name at all has resulted in some omissions in the later years.

A glance at the List will quickly suggest the firms or the individuals whose interests were largest, most widespread, or most sustained, and the American ports which achieved increasing importance in the East Asiatic trade.

Names of owners for some other years than those given here are scattered throughout Appendix 4 B. Those who desire a list of masters to supplement this list of owners can derive much of the essential material from the same appendix, subject only to the shortcomings of the entries on which it is based.

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Placement in the List is made under the initial letter of the name of the first of two or more owners, when plural entry is made in the manuscripts. The following columns show where additional or uncertain names are to be found.

Aspinwall	under Atkins (1845)	Lee	under Cabot
	Howland (1845)	Leland	" Lyland
Barron	" Servoss (1845)	Llibey	" Lilly
Bergh	" Morgan (1845)	McLean	" Servoss (1845)
Bigger	" Dehlin	Martin	" Ludorf
Buckly (?)	" Suckly	Parkin	" Nye
Champlin	" Morgan (1845)	Peabody	" Curtis
Clement	" Burton (1845)	Pederson	" Hangy
Crocker, Jos C	" Dixwell (1845)	Perkins	" Forbes (1845)
Dana	Dane	Sampson (Sampson and Tappan)	" Cooke (1845)
Dick	" Servoss (1845)	Sears	" Thacher
Dickinson	Gookin	Seary	" Beasey
Edgar	" Booth (1845)	Stugg (or Stagg)	" Hangy
Fish	" Rowland	Talbot	" Gordon
Hall	" Gassett (as well as Hall)	Tappan	" Upton
Haven	" Williams	Whittemore	" Lombard
Hawes	" Ryder	Wilder	" Bush
Heiser	" Chambers	Williams, G B	" Wetmore
Holmes, A	" Doane	Wilson, J	" Sewall
Ironside	" Siffkin	Wood, J	" Clark
Kendall (or Kim- ball or Kin- dall)	" Randall (as well as Ken- dall)		

Vessels at Canton in 1845

for which names of owners are not supplied here (Some of these vessels, like others in the pages which follow, entered more than once during a year, thus increasing the number of entries above the number of individual vessels named.)

<u>Ann Maria</u> , Salem, 489	Henry, ----, 474
<u>Aquduct</u> , Bristol, 328.	Henry Pratt, Phila , 589
<u>Arab</u> , Boston, 353	<u>Huntress</u> , New York, 546.
<u>Arcatus</u> , Boston, 548	<u>Lantre</u> , Salem, 415
(or <u>Areatus</u>)	<u>Lark</u> , New Bedford, 286
<u>Belvidere</u> , Boston, 396	<u>Leland</u> , ----, 347
<u>Boxer</u> , Salem, 143	<u>Lenox</u> , Boston, 360
<u>Carthage</u> , Boston, 426	<u>Loo Choo</u> , Boston, 639
<u>Cayuga</u> , New York, 246	<u>Lucas</u> , Boston, 349
<u>Chile</u> , Boston, 569	<u>Mariposa</u> , New York, 317
<u>Clarendon</u> , Boston, 536	<u>Mary Ellen</u> , ----, 529
<u>Douglas</u> , Boston, 466	<u>Merchant</u> , Baltimore, 389
<u>Eagle</u> , New York, 328	<u>Pactolus</u> , Salem, 175
<u>Eliza Ann</u> , ----, 370	<u>Sarat</u> , Boston, 346
<u>Farewell</u> , ----, 698	<u>Stephen Lurman</u> , Baltimore, 453
<u>Fred Warren</u> , Boston, 250	<u>Talbot</u> , New York, 623
<u>Grafton</u> , ----, 330	<u>Tongquin</u> , Boston, 496
<u>Hamlet</u> , Boston, 694	<u>Victoria</u> , Salem, 440
<u>Hannah</u> , Salem, 152	<u>Yumchi</u> , ----, 419

For convenience, the names of owners who had ships at Canton in 1845, as far as has been learned, are underscored. If a vessel made but one entry at each port visited no indication is given in the last column on the right, a figure in that column totals all the entries of the vessel in question at all the ports covered.

The following abbreviations are used

AMOY	Am	Hongkong	Hk	Portsmouth	Port
Amur River	AR	Kingston	King	Rockland	Rock
Baltimore	Balt	Macao	Ma	Sag Harbor	SH
Bangor	Bang	Mystic	My's	San Francisco	SF
Belfast	Bel	Nagasaki	Na	Shanghai	Sh
Boston	Bn	New Bedford	NB	Singapore	Sing
Brookhaven	Broo	New Haven	NH	Stonington	Ston
Brunswick	Brun	New London	NL	Swatow	Sw
Camden	Cam	New Orleans	NO	Thomaston	Thom
Canton	Ca	New York	NY	Warren, R I	Warr
Fairhaven	Fair	Ningpo	Ni	Wilmington	Wil
Foochow	Fo	Philadelphia	Phil	Wiscasset	Wis
Hakodate	Ha	Pittston	Pitt	Farmouth	Yar

Owner	Vessel	Of	Noted at	Year	Number of Times
Adams, W , et al	Coquimbo	SF	Hk	1860	
Allen, et al	California	NB	Na	"	
Almy, C , et al	H W Almy	"	Hk	"	
Ashby (or Asnby), J P , et al	Lucy C (or E.) Ashby	Mys	Am,Hk,Ni	"	
Atkins, Joshua (or Howland and Aspnwall)	John G Coster	NY	Ca	1845	
Bacon, D C , et al (See too under Dixwell)	Heber	Bn	Ca	"	
	(Santiago	"	Hk	1854)	
	(Thos W Sears	"	"	")	
	Game Cock	"	Na,Sh	1860	
	Phantom	"	Sh	"	
Bacon, W B	Competitor	"	Fo, Sh(3)	"	2
Baker, F , Jr	James Brown	Phil	Hk	"	4
Baldwin, S , et al	Reliance	Bn	"		
Bangst, et al	Whirlwind	NY	Ca(2), Hk	"	
Banitie, B	St George	NB	Na	"	
Barker, et al	Vesper	NL	"	"	
Barnes, et al	Rival	SF	Hk,Sh	"	
Batchelder, J M	(Brothers	Yar	Hk	1854)	
Baxter and Bros	Alexander	NY	Ca	1860	
Baxter, J A , and Co	Judge Shaw	Bn	Ca,Sh	"	
Beasey (or Seary), T H	J Wakefield	NY	Ma	"	
Berry, H G , et al	Lady Adams	Balt	Ca	1845	
Birckhead, Hugo	(Pampero	NY	Hk	1854)	
Bishop, J , and Co	Moonlight	Bn	"	1860	2
Blanchard, A , et al	Behring	"	AR	1859	
Boardman, W C	Tartar	--	Ca	1845	
Booth and Edgar	Marengo	NB	Ha	1860	
Bourne, J , jr , et al	Red Gauntlet	Bn	Sh	"	
Boyd, F	Onward	"	Hk,Sh	"	
Boynton, E.	Ahelios	Yar	Hk	"	
Brittiston, B. , et al	What Cheer	SF	"	"	
Broderson, W	Gov Morton	NY	Ca	"	
Brown, E W	Geo Hallett	Bn	Am	"	
Bruce, J B	Intrépid	NY	Ca,Hk,Ma	"	
Bucklin (or Bucklen), J. L., et al.	Comet	"	Hk,Sh	"	
Bucklin, T P , et al	Contest	Bn	Ca,Hk	"	
Bullard, Wm.	Free Trade	NY	Hk	"	
Burk, R , et al	Racehound	SF	"	"	
Burrow, O H	Jas Marshall	"	Am	"	
Burrows, J. H.	(John N Gosslen	"	Hk	1854	2
Burrows, S (or S E), jr , et al.	Garland	Balt	Ma,Sh(4)	1860	5
	Sea Nymph	SF	Hk	"	2
Burton, Robt , and Clement, Edward	Venice	Phil	Ca	1845	

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Vessel</u>	<u>Of</u>	<u>Noted at</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>
Bush and Wilder	(Whistler	Bn	Hk	1854)	
Bush, F	Cygnet	"	Ca,Hk	1860	
Bush, J P	Charmer	"	Ca,Hk,Sh	"	
Cabot and Lee	(Bombay	Bn	Hk	1854)	
Cabot, S	George Lee	"	"	1860	2
Caldwell, E (See too under Upton)	Romance of the Sea	"	"	"	2
Carmell, N , et al	Ringleader	"	"	"	
Case, Theodore, et al	Flying Must	"	"	"	
Chambers and Heiser (For the Sweepstakes see too under R L Taylor)	Eureka	NY	"	1854)	
Chase, Geo , et al	Sweepstakes	"	"	"	
Chase, T , et al	Industry	Bn	"	1860	
Cheeser, T H	(Eagle Wing	"	"	1854)	
Child, S P , et al	Home	NY	Sh	1860	
Church, H A , et al	(Bowditch	Warr	Hk	1854)	
Clark, H , and Wood, J	General Scott	Fair	Na	1860	
Coffin, J , et al	Golden Horn	Wis	Hk	"	
Collins, E K	Flora	NY	"	"	
Cook, M M	Isabella	Wis	Hk,Ma	"	
Cook, Thos M (Balt), and Sampson and Tappan (Bn)	Congress	NY	Ca	1845	2
Coolidge, J , et al	(Persia	SF	Hk	1854)	
Coombs, D F	Inca	--	Ca	1845	2
Cooper, H , et al	Annie Bucknam	Bn	Ca,Hk	1860	
Cox, S C , et al	Kin Soon Lee	Sh	Sh	"	10
Crocker, E B , et al	(Levant	SH	Hk	1854)	
Crook, F A	Ocean Steed	NY	Ca,Ma	1860	
Crowell, P S	(Archer	"	Hk	1854)	
Cunningham, J , et al	(Queen of the East	"	"	")	
Curtis and Peabody	" " "	"	Ca,Hk(2)	1860	3
Dane, Dana, and Co. (See too under Lodge and Nott)	Raven	"	Hk	"	
Dane ¹ , Dana, and Co	Swordfish	"	Sh	"	2
Dean, W P , et al	Edwin Forrest	"	"	"	
Dearborn, Thos W	Christopher Hall	Bn	Fo	"	
Dehin, T	Norseman	"	Ca,Hk	"	
Dexter, F , et al	(Josiah Quincy	"	Hk	1854)	
Dixon, E W	Don Quixote	Bn	Hk	1854)	
Dixwell, J J , Bacon, D C , and Crocker, Jos C	Storm King	"	"	1860	
Doane, T , and Holmes, A	Tinos ¹	NY	Ha,Sh(5)	"	6
Downes, Geo	Yangtze ²	China	Fo,Na	"	
Drummond, W H C	Yangtze ²	NY	Ca,Nl(4),Sh(9)	"	14
Dumaresq, P	Egeria	Bn	Ca,Hk	"	
Emery, R T	Chusan	Sh	Sh	"	18
	Kin Yuen Lai	"	"	"	6
	Lin Van Tai	"	"	"	
	Sappho	Bn	Ca	1845	
	Messenger Bird	King	Hk	1854	2)
	(Stephen Baldwin	Phil	"	"	
	White Falcon	Pitts-ton	Sh	1860	
	Florence	Bn	Fo,Sh(2)	"	3
	Premier	Bang	Sh	1860	2

¹ Wrecked off Hakodate, Jan 10, 1860² Dearborn's vessel and Dehin's, both steamers, may possibly have been the same, in spite of inconsistencies in tonnage entries. The two names Dearborn and Dehin may indicate one person, serving perhaps as master only, in the employ of another owner (T Bigger?).

CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

Owner	Vessel	Of	Noted at	Year	Number of Times
Fessenden, C B Flint, B , et al	(<u>Jedford</u> <u>Flying Flint</u> <u>Frank Flint</u>	Bn Thom " " "	Hk Hk "	1854) 1860 "	
Forbes, J M and F B , and Perkins, C C , E N , and Jas H	<u>Akbar</u>	Bn	Ca	1845	2
Forbes, P S (Also int in Coffin's <u>Isa-</u> <u>bella</u>)	<u>Peiho</u>	NY	Am(2),Hk(2)Sh	1860	8
Forbes, R B , et al " , and Perkins, Thos H (See too under J M Forbes)	<u>Nankin</u> <u>Edith</u>	Bn --	Hk,Sh Ca	1845	2
Frazar, A A	<u>Fruiter</u> <u>Maryland</u>	Bn "	Hk,Sh Fo,Na(3), Sh(6)	1860 "	10
Freeman, W	<u>Rosette</u>	NY	Hk	"	
Gassett and Hall Bugg, Daniel Gibbs, J L , et al	(<u>Mermaid</u> <u>J R Mora</u> <u>Continent</u>	Bn SF NB	Hk Ca,Hk Hk	1854) 1860 "	
Cibbs, Wm L B Gilders, Wm , et al	<u>Adeline Gibbs</u> <u>Bride of the West</u>	Fair Bn	Na Hk	" "	
Goodne and Co Gookin, W D , and Dickinson, J B	<u>Mandarin</u> <u>C E Tilton</u>	NY "	Fo Ca,Fo(2),Hk, Ni,Sh(3)	" "	8
Gordon, Isabell, and Co Gould, B , et al	<u>Fairy</u> <u>Edward</u>	" Bn	Ca Ca,Hk	" "	
Gra, H , sr , and jr Green, C R	<u>Kathay</u> <u>Snow Squall</u>	NY "	Am,Hk Am,Sh	" "	
Grinnell, M H , and Co	(<u>Flying Cloud</u> " "	" "	Hk Fo	1854) 1860	
Grinnell and Minturn Griswell (Griswold?), G	<u>Horatio</u> <u>Challenge</u>	NB NY	Ca Ca,Hk	1845 1860	3
Griswold, N L and G , or Griswold, G , et al , or	<u>Cohota</u> <u>Helena</u>	" "	Ca "	1845 1845	
Griswold, G , Jr (See too under Griswell)	(<u>"</u> <u>Panama</u> <u>Eureka</u> <u>Matilda</u>	" " " "	Hk Ca Sh Am,Hk(3),Ma, Sh(4)	1854) 1845 1860 "	3 2 9
Gruble, W , et al Grunwell, J , et al (Grinnell?)	<u>Kingfisher</u> <u>Flying Cloud</u>	" "	Ca,Hk Hk	" "	
Hall, G P Hallett, H S.	<u>Fennimore Cooper</u> <u>Mennon</u>	-- Bn	Na,Sh Sh	" "	
Hamilton, A G Hangy, Jas Co , Stagg (or Stagg),	<u>Lebanon</u> <u>Cornelia L Bevan</u>	NY Balt	" Fo,Hk,Na,Ni, Sh(3)	" "	
J W. , et al (possibly Feder- son too)					7
Harbeck, J , et al Harbeck, R , et al	<u>Antelope</u> <u>Competitor</u>	NY Bn	Hk "	" "	
Harbeck, W , et al Hardy, A , et al.	<u>Eagle</u> <u>Camper</u>	NY Bn	" "	" "	2
Harkul, G. S (See too under Hutchinson.)	<u>Mountain Wave</u> <u>Ocean Pearl</u> <u>St Louis</u>	" " Sing	Sh(3),Sw Hk Sh	" " "	4
Hastings, H , et al	<u>Charger</u> <u>Kate Hastings</u>	Bn "	Ca,Hk Sh	" "	6
Hatces, C. , et al Hathaway, F , et al.	<u>Iconium</u> <u>Independence</u>	" NY	Hk Ca,Ma	" "	

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Vessel</u>	<u>Of</u>	<u>Noted at</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>
Hathaway, Francis A , et al (of NB), and Nye, Gideon, Jr (of NY), perhaps owned by Boyd and Hincken earlier	<u>Oneida</u>	NB	Ca	1845	
Bathaway, T S	<u>(Architect</u> <u>(Horatio</u> "	NY NB "	Hk Fo,Sh	1854) 1860	
Haynes, T P	<u>(Pathfinder</u>	SF	Hk	1854)	
Hazard, W H , et al	<u>Ann</u>	NY	Am	1860	3
Heard, John	<u>Sarah</u>	En	Hk	"	
	<u>Wanderer</u>	SF or Balt	Ca, Hk(3), Sh(6)	"	10
Holmes, J W , et al	<u>Haze</u>	Mys	Hk,Ma,Sh(2)	"	4
Hooper, J A	<u>Kate Hooper</u>	Balt	Am,Fo,Na, Sh(2)	"	5
Hooper, S	<u>Magenta</u>	Bn	Sh	"	2
Howard and Co	<u>Lee Chang Kee</u>	Sh	"	"	
Howard, A	<u>Tung Ying</u>	"	"	"	17
Howes, A (or O) , et al	<u>(Lightfoot</u>	SF	Hk	1854)	
	<u>Renown</u>	Bn	"	1860	
	<u>Revere</u>	"	Sh	"	2
<u>Howland and Aspinwall</u> (See too under Atkins and Servoss)	<u>Ann McKim</u>	NY	Ca	1845	
Howland, G and M , et al	<u>Rainbow</u>	"	"	"	
Howland, W , et al	<u>Arctic</u>	NB	Na	1860	
Hussey, G , et al	<u>George and Susan</u>	"	Ha	"	
Hussey, W H	<u>Sea Serpent</u>	NY	Ca,Ma,Hk(2)	"	4
Hutchinson, R (Perhaps the same as Harkul's St Louis)	<u>Viking</u>	NB	Hk	"	
	<u>Matanzas</u>	NY	Am,Sh(2),Sw	"	5
	<u>St Lewis</u>	?	Hk	"	
Ingersoll, T	<u>Francis P Sage</u>	NY	Hk(2),Ma	1860	3
Jacobs, R	<u>Spirideon</u>	Thom	Sh	"	
Jones, B , et al	<u>Mary and Louisa</u>	Broo	Hk,Na(2),Sh(7)	"	10
Jones, F or T , et al	<u>Amaranth</u>	NY	Am,Ca,Hk	"	
Jordan, F E , et al	<u>May Queen</u>	Bath	Hk,Na,Sh(2)	"	4
Kendall, B F	<u>Magnolia</u>	Bn	Sh	1860	
Kendall, D S , et al (or King-dall, J , et al)	<u>Florence Nightin-gale</u>	"	Hk,Ma	"	
Kilbourne (or Kinborn), G , jr , et al	<u>Seaman's Bride</u>	NY	Hk,Sh(2)	"	3
Lawrence, A M , et al	<u>Live Yamasee</u>	NY	Hk,Ma	"	
Leckei, J , et al	<u>Lotus</u>	Bn	Hk	"	
Leonard, H C	<u>Orbit</u>	SF	Ha	"	
Lethridge, R , et al	<u>Albion</u>	NY	Hk	"	
Luke, E B , et al	<u>Saxonyville</u>	Bn	"	"	
Lilly (or Libbey), J (or B), et al	<u>Eliza and Ella</u>	"	Hk,Sh	"	
Lincoln, Nathan W	<u>Emma</u>	--	Ca, ³ Ma(2)	"	3
Lodge, J E , et al , sharing some vessels at least with Dane, Dana, and Co	<u>Alfred Hill</u>	Bn	Hk,Ma	"	
	<u>Argonaut</u>	"	Fo	"	
	<u>Copack(?)</u>	"	Sh	"	
	<u>Esther May</u>	"	Na,Sh	"	
	<u>Kremlin</u>	"	Ca	"	
	<u>Magnet</u>	"	Fo	"	
	<u>Marion</u> (ownership uncertain)	"	Hk	"	
	<u>Sancho Panza</u>	"	Fo,Hk(2),Sh	"	4

³ At Canton—sailing under a sea letter Macao returns for 1857 indicate that she was formerly under New Granada colors

CLIPPERS AND CONSULE

Owner	Vessel	Of	Noted at	Year	Number of Times
Lombard and Whittemore	(Ellen Foster	Bn	Hk	1854	2)
Low Bros and Co , or A Low and Bros (See too under the following entry and under Wm S Wetmore)	(David Brown Benefactor	NY "	" Fo,Hk	1860	
Low (firm) , and Lyman (firm) (The Lyman group possibly shared in the ownership of the Benefactor also)	Houqua "	"	Ca Am,Hk,Sh	1845 1860	2
Lucorff (or Luhdorff) and Martin Lurman, G W	Maury Melita (schr) Canvass Back Union	" SF(?) Balt	Am(2),Hk(2), Ni	" 1859 1860	5
Leland, J (or Leland, J A), <u>et al</u>	Swallow	NY	Am,Hk,Sh(2)	"	4
Lyle, J , <u>et al</u> (See State also)	Wizard	"	Hk	"	3
Lyles, S , <u>et al</u>	Messenger	"	Ma	"	
Lyman, E (or E H R) , <u>et al</u> (See too under Low and Lyman, above)	Contest Jacob Bell N B Palmer	" "	Hk "	" "	
MacKay, Robert	Dolphin	Bn	Hk	1860	
Mandell, E D , <u>et al</u> (For the Montreal see too under Morgan)	(Alice Mandell Montreal	NB "	Hk Na	1854) 1860	
Maundray, F W	Torrent	SF	Sh	"	
Maxfield, <u>et al</u>	Harrison	NB	Na	"	
Meyer, W , and Co	(Geo E Webster	SF	Hk	1854	2)
Miller, H R	Urania	NY	Sh	1860	2
Minneil, G , <u>et al</u>	Nestorian	"	Hk	"	
Monwood, G B	Resolute	"	Sh	"	
Morgan, E E , Champlin, H L , Bergh, C , <u>et al</u> of N Y (For the Montreal see too under Mandell)	Montreal	--	Ca	1845	
Morton, T H	Albers	Bn	Ma,Sw	1860	
Mumford, Benj A , and Co	Simoon	NY	Ca	"	
Mumford, O , <u>et al</u>	Tornado	NY	Hk	"	
Nelson, Wm , <u>et al</u>	Rover	NY	Ha,Ma,Sh(3)	1860	5
Nsmith, J J	Screamer	Brun	Sh	"	2
Nichols, F , <u>et al</u>	Waverley	Bn	Ca,Hk(2)	"	3
Nickerson, F	Golden Rule	"	Sh	"	
Norton, C B	Ida D Rogers	SF	Hk,Sh	"	
Nott, W , <u>et al</u> (See too under Dane, above Nott had an interest in this vessel as early as 1854)	Don Quixote	Bn	Ca,Fo,Hk	"	
Nye, Gideon (See also under F & Hathaway)	(Isabellita Hyne	NB	Hk	1854)	
Nye, Parkin, and Co	(Anity Brenda (Minna (Oneida	SF Bn " "	" " " "	" " " ")	
Olyphant and Co	(Wild Pigeon	NY	Hk	1854)	
Osgood, H N	John W White	Bn	Sh	1860	
Park, Rufus, <u>et al</u>	Myrtle	NY	Hk,Ma,Ni	1860	
Parker, Daniel P	Jno Q Adams	Bn	Ca	1845	2
Parkins, W , <u>et al</u>	Arab	"	Hk	1860	
Parrott, W F	Boston Jumna	"	Ca,Hk Sh	"	2

APPENDIX 3 OWNERS OF VESSELS

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<u>Owner</u>	<u>Vessel</u>	<u>Of</u>	<u>Noted at</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>
Patterson, J , et al	Isaac Walton	NY	Hk	"	
Pedersen, J	Templeman	Balt ⁴	Sh	"	
Perry, E , et al	(Jireh Ferry	NB	Hk	1854)	
	(Pacific	"	")	
Pierce, David (or J), et al	Progressive Age	Bel	Hk,Ma,Sh(2)	1860	4
Pierce, N , et al	Harriet	Bn	Hk	"	
Pierce (or Peirce), H A	Melita (bk)	"	AR	1859	(See under
Pierson (or Pearson), J H	Onward	"	Sh	1860	Stratton)
Pope, Wm G , et al	Trimountain	"	Hk	"	
Potter, G , et al	Chandler Price	NB	Na	"	
	Hotspur	NY	Ca,Hk	"	
Randall (or Rendall or Kendall or Kimball or Kindall), B , et al	Minnehaha	Bn	Hk	1860	2
Randall, J (or Randall, J , et al)	(Hellespont Pursuit	Mys	"	1854)	
Raymond, R C (or E)	Alert	NY	Sh	1860	3
Redsant, J , et al	E R Stringer	SF	Ha(2),Sh	"	3
Reed, J H	Nabob	Balt	Hk	"	
Reed, W , et al	Horizon	Bn	Sh	"	
Reid, Wade, and Co	(John Wade	"	Hk,Sh(2)	"	
Reikie, M , et al	John Haven	Port	Hk	1854)	
Rogers, J , et al	H E Spearing	NO	"	1860	2
Rop, D L	May Queen	NY	Sh	"	2
Ross, D	Commodore	SF	Hk	"	
Rowland, Fish, et al	Florida	Fair	Ha	"	
Ryder, H , or Hawes, Ryder, et al	Star King	Bn	Ha,Sh	"	
Sampson, G R (See too under Upton)	Indiaman	Bn	Sh	1860	2
Schiff Bros and Co	(Wide Awake	NY	Hk	1854)	
Servoss, Thos L , and Barron, Thos , of New York, and Dick, Nath'l , McLean, Wm J , et al , of New Orleans ⁵	Natchez ⁵	--	Ca	1845	
Sewall, M , Wilson, J , et al	George Warren	NY	Am,Ca,Hk,Sh(2)	1860	5
Siffkin and Ironside	(Fly Away	"	Hk	1854)	
Simpson, S H	Kitty Simpson	"	Ma	1860	
Slate--see under State					
Small, H , et al	Daniel Elliot	Brun	Hk	"	
Smith, A H	Fanny McHenry	Phil	Hk,Sh(2)	"	2
Smith, J , et al	Gratitude	NB	Hk	"	3
Smith, J G O	Beaver	Bn	Sh	"	
Smith, P S (or L)	Carrie Leland	NY	Am,Sh	"	
Snow, A	Leonidas	Warr	Ca,Hk	"	
Soule, E	Superior	NH	Sh	"	
Spalding, C , et al	Alice Thorndike	Rock	Hk	"	
Sprague and Co	(Telegraph	Bn	"	1854)	
Stackpole, J	Wandering Jew	Cam	Sh	1860	2
Stanard, E	Daniel Webster	SF	"	"	
Standt, C	Forest Eagle	Rock	"	"	2
Stanwood, J , et al	Richard Busted	Bn	Fo,Hk,Sh(3)	"	5
State (Slade?) and Co (See Lyle (Wizard also)		NY	Hk	1854)	
Stratton, H B , et al	Melita	Bn	Am,Ca,Hk	1860	11
(See under Pierce, H A , above Stratton, master, probably was part owner)			Ni(3),Sh(3)		

⁴ Reported as built at Chester, England⁵ Given by Clark (Clip Ship Era, 75) as Howland and Aspinwall

CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Vessel</u>	<u>Of</u>	<u>Noted at</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>
Suckley or Buckley?), I (or J), <u>Rosette</u>		NY	Ca,Hk	"	
<u>et al</u>		"	" "	"	
Sutton, C , <u>et al</u>	<u>Typhoon</u>	"	Hk	"	
	<u>Vulture</u>	"	"	"	
Suydam, J A , <u>et al</u>	<u>Flying Scud</u>	"			
	<u>Granada</u>	"	Fo(2),Na(3), Ni,Sh(5)	"	11
Sweetland, J , <u>et al</u>	<u>Elizabeth Spalding</u>	Thom	Hk	"	
Tatnal, J	<u>Early Bird</u>	Wil	Hk	1860	2
Taylor, B , <u>et al</u>	<u>Red Rover</u>	Phil	"	"	
Taylor, W , <u>et al</u>	(R B Wilam	NY	"	1854)	
Taylor, Pott L , <u>et al</u>	<u>Sweepstakes</u>	"	"	1860	
(For the Sweepstakes See too under Chambers A H Clark assigns her to Crun- neil, Minturn, and Co)	<u>Tarolinta</u>	"	Hk,Ma	"	
Terrence, Daniel	<u>North Wind</u>	"	Am	"	
Thacher and Sears	(Cape Cod	Bn	Hk	1854)	
Thaxter, A (or A W), Jr <u>et al</u>	<u>Star King</u>	"	Hk,Sh	1860	
	<u>Western Continent</u>	"	Sh	"	
Thompson, M	(Mischief	NY	Hk	1854)	
Towing, W	D Codfrey	"	Fo	1860	
Tiernan, R	<u>Wavelet</u>	SF	Sh	"	
Tirrell, M	<u>Weymouth</u>	Bn	"	"	
Tucker and Co	(Storm	NY	Hk	1854)	
Turner, Capt	Lewis Perry	SF	AR	1859	
Upton, G B , Sampson and Tappan, et al (See too under Calawell)	(Romance of the Sea	Bn	Hk	1854)	
Wales, T B	<u>Hesperus</u>	Bn	Sh	1860	
	<u>Templar</u>	"	Ca	"	
Walker, T W , <u>et al</u>	<u>Sportsman</u>	"	Hk,Sh(4)	"	5
Warren, <u>et al</u>	<u>Dromo</u>	Warr	Na	"	
Watts, D , <u>et al</u>	<u>Lawson</u>	Bath	Ca,Hk	"	
Wenzell, H	<u>Troy</u>	Bn	Sh	"	2
Weston, R W , <u>et al</u>	<u>Mandarin</u>	NY	Hk,Sh(2)	"	3
Wetmore, Williams, and Co , and G B Williams	<u>Shun Lee</u>	Sh	Sh	"	13
	<u>Matilda</u> (boat)	"	"	"	14
	<u>Rosita</u>	"	"	"	15
	<u>Montauk</u>	--	Ca	1845	2
Wetmore, Wm S (possibly A A Low and Co also)					
Whitney, G , <u>et al</u>	<u>Nautilus</u>	Bn	Ca,Hk(2)	1860	3
Whitridge, J , <u>et al</u>	Mary Whitridge	Balt	Ca,Hk	"	
Williams and Haven (?)	(North America	ML	Hk	1854)	
Williams, C P , <u>et al</u>	(Prudent	Ston	"	")	
Wilson, F , <u>et al</u>	<u>Black Warrior</u>	Balt	"	1860	
Winslow, G	<u>Moneka</u>	Bn	Fo,Sh(6)	"	7
Winslow, N	<u>Pleiades</u>	Bath	Sh	"	2
Wood, J E , and Co	(Daniel Wood	NB	Hk	1854)	
Worth, Andrew J	Caroline E. Foote	SF	AR	1859	
	" " "	"	Ra	1860	2

RETURN of the Arrival and Departure of American Vessels, &c., and Statement of Fees received at the United

States Consulate at Foochow for China during the quarter ending 31st March 1857

[Form No. 6—Continued.]

CARGO.					CREWS.						TONNAGE FEES.		FEES FOR			DECEDENTS' ES- TATES FEES.		TOTAL OF FEES.		DATE OF CLEARANCE.	REMARKS.						
OUTWARD.					INWARD.		OUTWARD.		DISCHARGED.		SHIPPED.		Dollars.	Cents.	Noting protest.	Certified copy of same.	Extending pro- test.	Certified copy of same.	Orders of sur-vey and re- certaining.	Amounts paid to surveyors.	Certified copy of survey.	Arrest and re- lease.	Certificates to crew list and articles.	Other certifi- cates and services.	Dollars.	Cents.	
Where produced.	Where manufactured.	Description.	Quantity.	Value.	American.	Foreign.	American.	Foreign.	No.	Amount Fees.	No.	Amount Fees.															
China		Linens			1	6	8	6	1	\$3	1	\$3	4	18.92	2	4									20.18.	5 January	Wrecked on the 19 th January. Total loss.
China	China	La.	lbs 815.500	\$125000	20	6	20	6	1	\$3	1	3	4	36										12.36	7 11		
"	"	"	818.500	\$130000	16	8	16	9					6	37										8.37	19 n		
<i>Ballast of passengers.</i>					10	3	10	3					1	03										3.03	21 n		
<i>" Linens</i>					8	3	10	3					1	03										1.03	13 March		
<i>"</i>					9	5-	9	5-					1	57										3.57	23 n		
<i>"</i>					10	3	10	3					1	03										3.03	30 n		
																								\$37.51			
																									<i>Gale Force McLonsdale</i>		

APPENDIX 4

LIST OF AMERICAN VESSELS APPEARING IN PORTS
OF CHINA (WITH HONGKONG AND MACAO), JAPAN, AND SIBERIA,
1845-1860,

With Descriptive and Analytical Data
(tonnage, Cargoes, Masters, Destinations, etc.),
in Three Parts, with a Supplement, "Exhibit of American Commerce
at Additional Asiatic and Pacific Ports", 1855-1856

Introduction

This appendix is divided into three parts

- A Trips and Cargoes of Vessels (alphabetical in arrangement--a union log of all vessels reported),
- B Reference List of Vessels (alphabetical in arrangement and generally descriptive of individual vessels),
- C American Vessels and Their Commerce (arranged by ports--chiefly a condensation and re-casting of specific information concerning individual vessels)
(A supplement gives an Exhibit of American Commerce at Additional Asiatic and Pacific Ports, 1855-1856)

Nearly all the material used in parts A, B, and C is from the manuscript returns from consuls filed in the Department of State. Occasionally other sources have been consulted, but an effort has been made to adhere to the official reports as closely as possible. Vessels which made pre-consular, informal, or illegal entries into port are apt, therefore, to be omitted. Prolonged study of newspapers might

supply a few additions or corrections but these would seldom possess unusual significance. Each of the three parts of the Appendix is prefaced by an explanation, the list of abbreviations used in parts A and B follows this general introduction. Before this page is a specimen of one of the kinds of forms from which information has been derived,¹ many returns were extremely long and complicated, making the work of transcription exacting, especially in the cases of poorly written entries. If all the slips and inconsistencies in spelling, tonnage calculations and notations, and other features of the reports were to be eliminated an excessive amount of time would be required.² The more obvious errors have been corrected, but since parts A and B of this appendix are intended largely for that considerable number of persons who cultivate the history of ships, sailing routes, and other nautical interests, it may be assumed that they can settle specific questions of detail by reference to the growing number of elaborate volumes devoted to ships. Older books like R. B. Forbes' Notes on Navigation and Notes on Ships of the Past should be used, Morse (Int. Rels., I, 558n and passim) gives some figures of ships under

¹The forms for reports varied. In earlier years, Form No. 2 included a Statement of Imports, with much descriptive detail and estimates of values, in American vessels (including arrival date, name, tonnage, master, place from which the vessel came, etc.), Form No. 3 covered exports in a similar manner (including, of course, departure date and destination). Subsequent forms related (No. 1) to arrivals and (No. 2) to departures, with No. 4 and No. 5 presenting the quantity and value of imports and of exports, respectively; the change in forms shows (Shanghai, at least as early as the middle of 1855) a segregation of information about ships from that relating to commodities carried. The first form noted (Shanghai) giving the names of owners was used in the first quarter of 1856. The numbers given in certain volumes of consular regulations do not agree with those mentioned, the form reproduced here (No. 6) coincides with the corresponding form (No. 14) given in Con. Regs., 1856 only through the cargo columns, the remainder of it is partially identical with Form No. 14 as given in that volume.

²Transcripts were made early in the course of the study, when collateral evidence had not supplied a comparative means of reading the manuscripts critically. It has been possible subsequently to determine, for example, that Tumchi (tubu, master) was Yunchi (Steele, master), that Gonquin and Tonquin were one (the latter form, presumably), that Lt. Lurman referred to Stephen Lurman; and that the uncomplimentary Nullus meant (E.) Mallus. Maltese becomes Mather, "Sampson and Popper" becomes "Sampson and Tappan", and the mysterious Neptune's Cao emerges as Neptune's Car. In part A the February, 1850 entries under the Alfred Hill and those for February, 1852 under the Amity suggest some inconsistencies. Apparently, incompleteness of recording accounts for omissions of such items as ports touched on the way; and some terms seem to have been employed by consular officers with conflicting meanings. Comparison of records shows that at times a vessel reported as leaving for a specified destination (in the Orient) did not go to it. Nor is it clear that customhouses in the United States always recorded the farthest foreign port "out" as the one from which a vessel entered. Furthermore, the indications of place from which a vessel came and where it belonged sometimes seem to mean "where built".

different flags, and other information Many items from books on ships, used in the text of this study, supplement parts A and B, and in some cases use of the index will lead a reader interested in a particular master or vessel to additional data

The report form reproduced suggests the nature and amount of re-arranging, digesting, and condensing which have produced the following lists From January 1, 1845, to December 31, 1860, over nine hundred different merchant vessels of American registry entered the twelve ports included in the records used, comparison with Clark's useful *The Clipper Ship Era* shows that, of his list of 174 California clippers built in the United States from 1850 to 1857, 123 visited these Oriental ports Under many of the more than nine hundred names it will be seen that several trips were made Parallel numbering is employed in A and B, each letter of the alphabet beginning a new series In a few instances it has been impossible to ascertain whether or not varying entries bearing the same name relate to one vessel only, in other cases it is clear that a single name was given to more than one vessel, e.g., Panama Attention is called to the character of the names, which possess considerable interest in themselves

The case of vessels at Hongkong requires mention of certain omissions here The consular returns of this port are very extensive Of many reports complete transcripts have been made, but for some years or portions of years only the names of the vessels (and the aggregate tonnage) visiting Hongkong have been copied from the returns in the Department of State, the data under other headings being omitted in these instances The returns actually employed in detail permit a sufficient amount of sampling It happens, furthermore, that a large number of the vessels at Hongkong also entered at other ports, accordingly, where the fully utilized reports from other districts mention that a vessel had been at the British colony, or would go there, this fact is noted in the proper column (Annual totals of the number of vessels and their tonnage at Hongkong appear in part C and are not subject to the qualification just outlined) Persons desiring to secure the remaining information on masters, owners, cargoes, etc. for individual vessels at this port in the years for which this particular material is not presented here may readily secure inexpensive photostats of returns from the Department of State³

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³The list of years (or portions of years), with the volume of consular letters, the despatch, and the number of photostat pages required, follows

1851 (first half), Vol 1, No 61, Aug 21, 1851, 4 pages
1852 (second half), " 2, " 52, Jan 29, 1851, 2 "
1853 (first half), " 2, " 75, Aug 5, 1853, 2 "
1853 (second half), " 2, " 76, May 30, 1854, 2 "
1854 (second half), " 3, — —, Dec 31, 1854, 1 page
1855 (first half), " 3, — —, — —, 2 pages
(The Department has no returns for the second half of 1855)
1856 (first quarter), Vol 3, — —, — —, — —, 4 pages
1856 (second quart.), " 3, " 55, Aug 9, 1856, 4 "
1856 (third quart.), " 3, " 55, Oct 14, 1856, 4 "
1856 (fourth quart.), " 3, " 1, Jan 29, 1857, 4 "
1857 (first quart.), " 3, " 45, May 22, 1857, 4 "
1857 (second quart.), " 3, " 12, Jly 1, 1857, 4 "
(The Department has no returns for 1858)
1859 (first quart.), Vol 4, No 10, Aug 7, 1859, 4 pages
1859 (second quart.), " 4, " 13, Aug 27, 1859, 4 "
1859 (third quart.), " 4, " 16, Dec 1, 1859, 4 "
1859 (fourth quart.) " 4, " 1, Mar 10, 1860, 2 "

Returns are often bound out of place, either earlier or later than the covering letter To secure full information about one entry of a particular vessel it is not always necessary to have all the pages of the return reproduced

In connection with these omissions it may be pointed out that the Department's file of returns is not complete for each East Asiatic port in every year of the period Returns often show much confusion in use of dates.

Abbreviations for Appendices 4 A and 4 B

A	America	food st	food stuffs	Ncl	
AO	Arctic Ocean	For	Formosa	Nl	Ningpo
AR	Amur River	FrR	Fraser River, B C	Nor	Norfolk, Virginia
Ad	Adelaide	furn	furniture		
An	Amy			OS	Okhotsk Sea
An	American	g	goods		
Anj	Anjeer	genl		PI	Philippine Islands
Arr	Arakan, Burma	mdse	general merchandise	PS	Puget Sound
AsnI	Ascension Island	Gl	Glasgow	PT	Port Townsend, Wash
asst	assorted (cargo, merchandise)	Gu	Guam	Pan	Panama
Auc	Auckland	H	Half (of yearly returns)	pass	passengers
Aus	Australia	1H	First half	pb	put back
b de m	bâche de mer	2H	Second half	Pda	Philadelphia
	ballast	HR	Hugli River	Pei	Peiho
Balt	Baltimore	HT	Hobart Town	Pen	Penang
Bang	Bangor	Ra	Hakodate	Pet	Petropavlovsk
Bat	Batavia	Ram	Hamburg	Pitt	Pattston
Bel	Belfast, Maine	Hav	Havana	Plee	Pechelee (Pechili)
BK	Bangkok	Hk	Hongkong	prod	produce
bl teas	black teas	Hon	Honolulu	Prov	Providence
Bn	Boston	I	Island, Islands	prov or	provisions
Bom	Bomby	Ind	India	provns	
Br or	Bristol, R I	in p	in port	Port or	Portsmouth
Bris				Pts	
Brook	Brookhaven, Mass	J or Ja	Japan	Q	Quarter (of yearly returns)
Brun	Brunswick, Maine	JS	Japan Sea	1Q to	first quarter to
C	Coast	Kam	Kamchatka	4Q	fourth quarter
CB	Chimo Bay	Kan	Kanagawa	ratt	rattans
Ca	Canton			raw s	raw silk
Cal	California or	1 ells	long ells (cloth)	reex	re-exported
	California Coast	Lah	Lahaina, SI	ret	returned
Cam	Camden, Maine	Liv	Liverpool	Rio	Rio de Janeiro
Car	Cardiff, Wales	Lmb	Lombok, EI	Rock	Rockland, Maine
cas	cassia	Lo	London		
Cc	Chindhu	lum	lumber	S	South or
Cey	Ceylon				Sea
Ch or	China, Chinese	Ma	Macao	Sam	South America
Chi		Man	Manila	Sau	South Australia
Co	Callao, Peru	matt	matting	SF	San Francisco
Co Sp or	Cold springs	Maur	Mauritius	SH	Sag Harbor, Long Island
Colds		Maz	Mazatlan (W C. Mexico)	SI	Sandwich Islands
cot	cottons	mdse	merchandise	s candy	sugar candy
cru	cruise, cruising	med	medicines	Sal	Saigon
Cta	Calcutta	Mel	Melbourne	Sal	Salem, Mass
CuM	Gumsing Moon	Mo	Mobile	schr	schooner
dom	domestics (cloths)	N or	North	Sh	Shanghai
dr	dress goods	No		sheet	sheetings (cloth)
		NB	New Bedford	Shi	Shimoda
E	East	NH	New Haven	shirt	shirtings (cloth)
EBn	East Boston	NLd	New London	Si	Siam
EC	East Coast (China)	NO	New Orleans	Sing	Singapore
ECSA	East Coast of South America	NY	New York	siwd	sandalwood
EI	East Indies	NZ	New Zealand	ScC	South Carolina
Eng	England	Na	Nagasaki	spn	sapawood
FI	Fiji Islands	Nan	Nantucket Island	st	stores
Fa or	Fairhaven, Mass	nan or	nankeens (cloth)	Ston	Stonington, Conn
Fair		nakn		str	steamer
Fal	Falmouth	Nbpt or	Newburyport	Str	Straits
fire cr	fire crackers	Nbt		sug	sugar
Foo	Foochow	New or	Newcastle, Maine	sund	sundries
				Sw	Swatow

Swan	Swansea	vegs	vegetables	Wis	Wiscasset, Maine
Sy	Sydney	W	West	Woo	Woosung
TI	Tonga Island	WCSA	West Coast of South America	wr	wrecked
tob	tobacco	Warr	Warren, R I	x	times (into port in one year)
The or	Thomaston, Maine	Wh	Whampoa	YS	Yellow Sea
Tn		wh	whaling	Yar	Yarmouth
treas	treasure	wh st or	whaling stores		
		whal st			
Val	Valparaiso	Wil	Wilmington		

Appendix 4 (continued)--A

TRIPS AND CARGOES OF VESSELS

(alphabetical in arrangement--a union log of all vessels reported)
(See introductory remarks and list of abbreviations, above)

This list makes it possible to determine whether any particular vessel one has in mind touched at ports in China, Japan, or Eastern Siberia (with a recording consular office) during the years 1845-1860 and made a regular entry therein. It describes the inward and outward cargoes of most vessels.

Consular officers' designations of cargoes show no uniformity, the investigator often has to be content with such terms as "assorted", "general", "merchandise", "products", "food stuffs", "piece goods" (either cotton or woolen), etc. In many cases it cannot be determined whether a vessel carried a full cargo or entered partly in ballast. Comparison with logbooks suggests that dates given do not always necessarily indicate the actual day of appearance in port, but the day when the consul made entry in his records. Not all of the many vessels listed in the section on logbooks (C II) in the Bibliography visited the twelve ports included in this appendix, and minor variations may be noted in the cases of those which were present.

Vessels showing long service in this East Asiatic trade follow:

Houqua	1845-1860 (except 1855 and 1857)
Horatio	1845-1860 (except 1847 and 1858)
Oneida	1845-1856 (except 1855)
Tartar	1845-1853, and 1856 and 1858
<u>Thos W Sears</u>	1846-1850, and 1854, 1858, and 1859
<u>Ariel</u>	1847-1851, and 1853, 1854, 1856, and 1858
<u>Vancouver</u>	1857-1849, 1851-1853, 1855, and 1856
<u>Joshua Bates</u>	1847-1858 (except 1851)
<u>Samuel Russell</u>	1848-1859
<u>Argonaut</u>	1850-1860
<u>Stag Hound</u>	1851-1860
<u>Sea Serpent</u>	1851-1860 (except 1856)

Note--Few persons will do continuous reading in the lists which follow in parts A and B. Their chief value is for reference. Economy dictates use of reductions of draft pages, which, practically, serve as copy in finished form. Readers who employ these reductions frequently will find an ordinary reading glass helpful.

Appendix 4 (continued)—B

REFERENCE LIST OF VESSELS

(alphabetical in arrangement and generally descriptive of individual vessels)

(For a complete list see part A, above, a
key to abbreviations precedes part A)

While there is some duplication, in parts A and B, of information regarding home ports and tonnage, it has seemed best to segregate most of the descriptive data about each vessel from that relating to its trips and cargoes. Some vessels appearing in part A, for which additional details are not at hand, are omitted in the present part (On Hongkong records and other points see the general introduction to the entire Appendix.) This list identifies and describes vessels with reference to tonnage, home port, class, year and place of construction, owners, and masters. Inconsistencies and contradictions regarding single vessels in the entries made in the records of different ports and different years indicate that the descriptive details should be used with a touch of caution.

The names of masters of any particular vessel are arranged in order of service, but exact dates are not supplied, each name, with dates, is available in its place in the records in the Department of State and may conveniently be approached by way of the voyages given in part A, above.¹ In several cases the owner acted also as master (e.g., Caroline E. Foote, Worth, Carrie Leland, Smith, Commodore, Ross, Daniel Webster, Standard, in a few others the master became the owner. In an age of shifting commands some masters remained in charge of vessels for long periods, as in the case of the Progressive Age, under Aurelius Holmes, showing many entries 1856-1860. Certain owners shifted their able masters—such as Hale, Dumas, etc.,

Bearborn, Cutler—from ship to ship

An asterisk before the name of the owner (or owners) indicates that other persons shared in the title to the vessel, but the absence of this symbol does not necessarily show that the person or persons given held sole title. In one record one owner may be mentioned, in a second report another may be entered. Nor do statements of ownership apply to the entire life of the vessel, for there were many transfers and, it seems, sales of shares by different individual members of a company of owners. For an interesting case of divided ownership see the Penguin.

The earliest construction date noted was 1803 (Endeavor, bark, 251 tons).

In 1845 the largest vessel mentioned in the China records was the Rainbow, of 747 tons, launched in the same year. During the period the twelve largest vessels encountered, with tonnage and dates built, were:

<u>Tornado</u>	1801 (1851)
<u>Napier</u>	1811 (1855)
<u>Comet</u>	1826 (1851)
<u>Pioneer</u>	1841 (1851)
<u>Gauntlet</u>	1860 (1852)
<u>Black Warrier</u>	1890 (1855)
<u>Flora Temple</u>	1915 (1852)
<u>Sierra Nevada</u>	1942 (1854)
<u>Young America</u>	1969 (1853)
<u>Lightfoot</u>	1995 (1852)
<u>Challenge</u>	2006 (1851)
<u>Norway</u>	2078 (1857)

¹ Most of these names and dates appear in the writer's transcripts, which may be drawn on by persons with a valid interest.

APPENDIX 4 B: REFERENCE LIST OF VESSELS

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CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

Appendix 4 (continued)--C
AMERICAN VESSELS AND THEIR COMMERCE
(arranged by ports--chiefly a condensation and re-casting
of specific information concerning individual ships)

The purpose of this part of the Appendix is to make good as far as possible the previous deficiency of manageable statistics of the sort which are generally published for later years. The following tables give the most complete and the most nearly reliable information which is available.

It should be noted that consular recording suffered from many handicaps, interruptions, and official mistakes. It is hardly possible that the copying and re-casting of the mass of figures on which the tables are based has been achieved without some errors. Accordingly, what follows is an approximation to the truth. When one is adding variables, the sum necessarily involves some use of judgment and, occasionally, the best guess one can make.

For information arranged by "quarters" in the last third of the period, the volumes of the Commercial Relations are helpful, although sometimes wrong. In spite of the risk of error it has at times been necessary to use the figures contained in these publications. In following pages figures from all sources used have been made to follow the calendar year, regardless of their original form.

The reader is cautioned not to identify exactly "cargoes inward" and "cargoes outward" with American imports and exports (for which see the chapters in Part IV), cargoes are introduced here primarily to show tendencies in shipping, which it is desired to emphasize. Consular reports in the archives of the Department of State often contain entries showing the geographical origin of specific portions of cargoes. These entries, used in conjunction with certain tables in the annual Commerce and Navigation, would aid detailed studies of commodity movements between the United States and regions of Eastern Asia. Such inquiries, however, are too detailed for the present purpose.

United States naval vessels are ordinarily not included in the total of entries for each year. Furthermore, the vessel and tonnage figures given here are in nearly all cases those for entries, the "cargoes outward", therefore, should usually be understood as departing in vessels (and an amount of tonnage) only approximating the figures supplied. In some instances, a number of vessels entered held over from one year to the next, their outward cargoes naturally being noted in the later year. Consuls occasionally allowed for this

circumstance in making up their reports, at other times they did not. Sometimes a vessel remained in one port for several months.

An effort has been made to avoid the duplications and overlapping which crept into the consular manuscripts themselves. In the cases of vessels engaging in both general and local or coastwise trade the reading of cargoes requires care, since many vessels departed from ports with many of the commodities which they had brought in. Thus, the origin of cargoes often is obscure.

In making additions of figures for this Appendix fractions have nearly always been ignored, a fact which affects the tonnage totals slightly in a few instances. Variant (and less likely) figures emanating from a source worthy of attention are here and there added to the tables, in parentheses. The symbol + follows figures which are certainly or probably considerably less than the true amount. Totals for each port for the entire period are not supplied, readers who desire them can easily arrive at them. The annual totals are sufficient for most purposes. Now and then the quantity of a certain commodity is given, as well as the value, in order to suggest the unit price.

The writer has supplemented American figures by use of British figures published in the Orient, and has had a check made of British Sessional Papers, in addition to those noted in the Bibliography. The Sessional Papers yield little additional information, the trade reports in them "relate only to Great Britain's trade with foreign countries in bulk, or by commodities, and specify no ports. The volumes in earlier years 'East Indies China' ceased to appear after 1849, so far as a scrutiny of dozens

shows--the East Indies grew in bulk, but never mentioned China." (For those interested in British trade, mention may be made of a list of relevant Sessional Papers contained in an enclosure with a letter to the writer from the office of the Librarian of Congress, October 23, 1934. This enclosure also indicates the Library's volumes of earlier returns of trade of the Inspector General of Customs of China for different ports and years, the only ones within this period which it possesses are those for Canton, Oct-Dec., 1859 and June-Dec., 1860.) Attention may be drawn to the List of Foreign Office Records to 1878 Preserved in the Public Record Office (London, 1929).

Following tables present American shipping at its Asiatic extremity. The other extremity (ports in the United States) has received brief notice in Part I of the text. Further attention may be called here to the home figures relating to shipping which appeared in the reports known as *Commerce and Navigation*. For example, the volume covering the year ending June 30, 1860 (Serial 1087) gives the number of American and foreign vessels and their tonnage (as well as domestic and foreign exports and total imports) clearing and arriving in the trade with specific regions abroad.

Figures (*ibid.*, No. 10, pp. 526ff., and No. 11, pp. 530ff.) for three regions follow:

Asiatic Russia the three foreign vessels were Russian. The foreign vessel entering from Japan sailed under the New Grenada flag. The nine foreign clearances for China were divided thus: British (4, of 2,163 tons), French (4, of 3,552 tons), and Hamburg (1, of 340 tons); the eight foreign entries included 5 British vessels (2,802 tons) and 1 each under Hamburg, French, and Dutch colors. The same volume (Nos. 17 and 18, pp. 564ff. and 586ff.) gives the number, tonnage, and crews of American and foreign vessels clearing and entering at each customs district of the United States, with the foreign countries (but not the specific foreign ports) to which they went and those from which

	Departing to				Entering from			
	Amer Vessels		Foreign Vessels		Amer Vessels		Foreign Vessels	
	No	Tonnage	No	Tonnage	No	Tonnage	No	Tonnage
China	82	78,370	9	5,755	80	77,254	8	4,213
Japan	8	1,982	-	--	5	1,180	1	126
Asiatic Russia	3	881	3	1,736	4	1,374	-	--
Total (all nations)	12,682	6,165,924	10,912	2,624,005	12,206	5,921,285	10,725	2,353,911

Additional information (*ibid.*, No. 12, pp. 534ff.) shows the national character of the foreign vessels listed. In the case of

they came

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Cento.

Year	Number of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1845	All	81 (93)	56,929 (58,855)	American drill, sheeting, etc.; flannel, supplies, ginseng, lead, silver dollars (488,007)		Tees, silk piece goods, rancceans, shawls, camphor, vermillion, fire-crackers, matting, fans, rattans, rhubarb, etc		The figure (93) includes river sts. British figures give 38 vessels of 58,855 tons and in- dicate that Americans got a fair share of the Continental trade
1846	All	54 (50)	23,982 (25,383)	Much as above		Much as above		British figures give 54 vessels of 29,040 tons, with inward cargoes of \$2,024,004 and out- ward cargoes of \$6,207,378
1847	All	67 (61)	25,914 (28,151)			Green tea; 16,459,675 lbs (\$7,835,192) Black tea; 4,475,107 lbs (\$952,503) Mer- chandise (\$1,682,972)	\$10,420,669	
1848	5,4	51 (52, all)	15,150 (26,226- all)	Much as in 1845		Much as in 1845		
1849	All	50 (58)	25,407 (24,457)	Usual—values not given				
1850	All	70	35,160					Ms cargo figures vary from im- port-export figures printed in <u>Com. Rept.</u> , Ill., 372
1851	All	70 (45 in second half)	44,555 (28,632 in sec- ond half)					
1852	All	75	57,227					
1853	All	65 (72)	44,809 (45,000)					
1854	All	66 (25)	46,520 (45,690)	For commodities see Chap. 15.		For commodities see Chap. 18		
1855	All	84	65,829	" " " "	" " " "	" " " "		
1856	All	66 (66)	49,349	In second quarter: English coal, 1,000 tons (\$80,000— <i>sold</i>); For- mocean sugar, 270 tons (\$10,000); sunfishes, "in ballast", etc	\$1,616,357 (\$1,616,558)	In second quarter: 25 tons of sunfishes (\$300) 5 vessels sold		Trade suspended Oct 10 Pos- sible small duplication on ac- count of confusion in recording
1857								
1858	All	25	20,228	India rice (17,500 piculs; \$605,000— <i>sold</i>), 500 piculs (\$5,000 piculs, \$145,000), Singapore rice (16,500 piculs, \$55,000), other rice, sapan wood, Japan ware, "in ballast" (Reports possibly incomplete)	\$458,200(?)	Tees, silk, matting, firecrack- ers, "in ballast" (Incomplete)	\$352,578+	
1859	All	48	49,160	(Reports for quarters 1,2,3.) Desserts, jeans, cotton, oil, matting, iron, tin, lead, lime- ber, spars, rice, sheet, peas, seaweed, Japan silk, rum, indigo, sapan wood, "in ballast"	\$1,195,420 (Quarters 1,2,3)	(Reports for quarters 1,2,3) Tees, silks, mats, coal, machin- ery, sugar, general 11 vessels in ballast (Year incomplete)	\$1,413,889 (Quarters 1,2,3)	Coolies
1860	All	71	59,220	Gotton, rice (exp on 15 vessels), coal, machinary, spars, sugar, peas, general, "in ballast" (Year incomplete)		Tees, silks, mats, coal, machin- ery, sugar, general 11 vessels in ballast (Year incomplete)		Additional: 250 entries of river steamers Total entries, all 540 (178,582 tons),—second half

Shanghai

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1845								
1846	All	17	5,822	Cottons, woollens glassware, sandalwood (British figures)		Tea (2,510,948 lbs), raw silk, camphor, chessie, copper cash (British figures)		Vessel figures from <u>Chin Repon</u> , XVI, 256-361
1847	All	20	5,454	As above + Indigo (British figures)	\$190,402 (Brit figs)	Tea (2,549,885 lbs), silk piece goods (British figures)	\$110,189 (Brit figs)	British figures, All flags: 102 (26,755 tons)
1848	All	17	6,892	Oct 10-Dec 31 (7 vessels; 3,111 tons); tin, sugar, cotton goods, indigo, rattans, hides, sapan wood, bōche de mer, "ballast"	\$180,-84 (Brit figs)	Oct 10-Dec 31 tea, silks, nankens, firecrackers	\$581,400+ (\$155,194)	Brit annual figures for ships Export increases due to tea
1849	All	25	4,882 (first half only) (9,828)	As in 1848 plus shirtings, long ears, cambrics, etc., ice, lead, speelite, wool, silk fabric salt-peter	\$727,258	Tea, silk, nankens, cotton, wool, etc Some re-exports	\$1,755,512	For Hongkong and Whampoa the brig Antelope (755) cleared 7 times, the bark Coquette (464) 6 times, the schooner <u>Dart</u> (147) 5 times
1850	All	58 (37)	14,507+ (13,08)	Usual, and some for re-export	\$850,398	Tea, silk, sugar, nankens, fans, sunries Re-exports in second half-year: cassia, matting, fire-crackers, drills, woollens, guns, sugar, provisions.	\$2,100,506	Values at least partly in Spanish dollars
1851	All	54	26,614	As above, and ebony, furs, hard-wood	\$1,216,392	Usual	\$4,615,633	5 entries of the Antelope Estimated values
1852	1,2 (All)	20 (56)	11,108 (88,760)	Usual	\$688,481 (First half-year)	Usual	\$1,476,554 (First half-year)	Estimated values
1853	All	38 (57)	34,822 (39,605)	Usual, and fox, beaver, land and sea otter skins; tin plates, coal, quicksilver, flint; cosmetics, quicksilver, and cassia for re-export (\$9,562)	\$1,665,525	Usual (with re-exports), and 320 "Ulivestock" and sundries (\$6,988) for San Francisco Bōche de mer and valreteam (at least \$5,500) mentioned as re-exports	\$5,770,612	
1854	All	47 (1)	36,140+	Usual, with many vessels in ballast from June to Oct (Partial record)	\$417,596+ (Second half-year only— incomplete)	Tea, milk, etc (Partial record)	\$5,280,195+ (Partial)	Very confused data, especially for the earlier nos
1855	All	60 (85?)	54,277 (54,742)	Usual, with many vessels in ballast	\$700,548	Usual Some vessels cut in ballast to Ningpo, Foochow, and Amoy	\$8,246,100	Heavier cargo in second half-year: incoming—\$415,576; outgoing—\$5,058,100 Maritime customs figures for second half-year show also 17 entries of small coasters
1856	All (excepting mo. of June)	60	44,232	Usual, with some U.S. coal and Manila paper Many omissions in cargo reports		Incomplete cargo returns		Records (especially of cargo) are very sketchy 1856-1859
1857	1 (part), 2, 3 (part), 4	35+	27,059+	Cargo columns not filled in		Cargo columns not filled in		
1858	All	92 (97)	87,510 (66,820)			Very limited returns show tea, silk, rhubarb, sapan wood, cotton, tin		Against 42 vessels (29,918 tons) in first half-year Maritime Customs figures give 58 (\$8,959 tons). The <u>Nabob</u> was in port nearly 1 month
1859	All	170	85,621			Partial report: teas, silks, assorted		At least 41 entries (during only part of the year) were small boats, 26 of these being from Ningpo (q.v.)
1860	All	250	104,516	The only detailed recording indicates the following in the Ningpo boats: planks, timbers, furniture, firewood, stones, rate, rope, bamboo products, hemp, paper, bags, umbrellas, paint, charcoal, gypsum, medicines, candles, dyes, oil, alum, tea silk, tobacco, rhubarb, foodstuffs, strings of cash, etc				51 entries were for the small Ningpo boats, each of 50 tons or less—Chusan, Kin Seng Lee, Kin Tuen Lai, Kee Chang Kee, Lin Van (?) Tai, Matilda, Rosita, Shun Lee, Fung Ying

¹In Shanghai Almanack and Directory, for the Year 1866, 114-125²Dried fish, hams, dates, chowchow, dried shrimp, fish melon seeds, nuts and fruits, etc

Hongkong¹

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment	
				Chief Articles		Value	Chief Articles		
				Chief Articles	Value		Chief Articles	Value	
1845	3,4	48	14,049(?)	Treasure, lumber, coal, iron, rice, domestic, merchandise, etc			Tea, silk, medicines, hemp, sugar "in ballast" (smry)		
				"in ballast"					
1846	All	60	17,287						
1847	All	66							
1848	All	66							
1849	All	61	25,695						
1850	All	97	45,980						
1861	All	108	55,610						
1862	All	122 (174?)	70,250 (96,287)	25 with oil, < in ballast (all but 2 of these from Calif.) Much of inward cargo was taken out by same vessels			Chinese passengers (several vessels) Oil, etc. Most vessels entering in ballast cleared in the same or with Chinese passengers		Vessel and tonnage figures in parentheses may cover vessels "in port"
1863	All	82	45,859						
1864	All	129 (incom- plete) (145)	85,187 (97,703)						
1865	1,2	69	56,242						
1866	All	169	63,396 (Quar- ters 1,3)						
1867	1,2	106 (100)	72,505						
1868	All	165	62,015 (Quarter 1)						
1869	All	185 (ap- prox.)	176,000 (approx.)						
1870	1,2,4	157	188,584						Quarters not exactly 3 mos each. Figures include 18 entries (19,905 tons) chiefly from fourth quarter, 1869 but clearing in 1870. Note also some entries in 1870, 18 additional trips of 2 river steamers (White Cloud and Willamette)

¹ Some vessels show repetition of entry; some river boat figures may be included.
Cargo entries have not been given here for Hongkong in most years, of the notes on Hongkong in the preliminary remarks introducing Appendix 4

Macao

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment	
				Chief Articles		Value	Chief Articles		
				Chief Articles	Value		Chief Articles	Value	
1849	3,4	9	4,546	Opium, rice, sundries, "in ballast"					
1850	All	5	1,675	Tea, natting, sundries					
1851	All	0							
1852	All	5	1,875						
1853	All	5	1,425	Rice, coal, passengers		Rice, passengers, "in ballast"		All in first half-year	
1854									
1855	All	5	2,441	Rice, coal, salt provisions, sundries		Coolies chiefly	Rice, sundries		
1856									
1857	All(?)	28	19,282 (?)	Tea, rice, China produce, general, "in ballast"		Coolies, Tea, China produce, sundries, etc		Add at least 35 arrivals of river steamer Spark (100 tons) and 26 of str. Willamette (404 tons)	
1858	3,4	54	20,592	Rice, rattans, coal, saltpeter, general, "in ballast"		Coolies, Tea, rice, milk, general, etc	I vessel sold	Add the tonnage of the river str. Spark (100-ton), <u>Same</u> (74-1 tship), <u>Same</u> (24-1 tship)	
1859	1,2,3,4	18	18,658	Tea, rice, sugar, indigo, cotton, goat's hair, China produce, Straits produce		Tea, silk, rice, China produce, "in ballast"			
1860	All	22	37,622	Coolies Rice, silks, tea, guns, Straits produce, sundries, "in ballast"		Coolies, Tea, oil, guns, general			

CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

Amoy

Year	Bun's of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1845								
1846	?	2			\$61,237(?)			British figures
1847	All(?)	6	1,850	General cargo, paying duties of \$2,00—apparently "board" cargo, although no distinction is given	\$104,781 (Brit. flag- figures)		\$2,244 (Brit. flag- figures)	British figures give 6 American vessels of 2,012 tons
1848	All	0						British figures give 3 arrivals of American vessels
1849	All	5	1,880	No distinction between inward and outward cargo. Yarn and shirting listed at \$5,750	\$150,427 (Brit. flag- figures)			No entries Aug 1 to end of year
1850	All	5	1,542	India cotton, yarn, piece goods	\$100,000+	Rice, tea, sugar, sugar candy, birds' nests, sandalwood, sepium wood, treasure (\$15,000)	\$46,657	All entries seem were between Feb and June
1851	All	2	1,049	India cotton 1,064 bales worth \$100,284	\$100,384+	Treasure (\$40,000+)	\$40,000+	No entries in second half of 1851
1852	All	6	2,121	Cotton drilie, yarn, piece goods	\$119,300	Emigrants Sugar, sugar candy, iron, general	\$77,400	All entries seem were between Feb and May
1853								
1854	,4	7	,044	Cotton, yarn, shirtings 4 vessels landed all of their cargoes, 1 landed part, and 2 landed none	\$92,550			Apparently no direct voyages between Amoy and the U S
12-5	1,?	14	3,803	Cotton and cotton yarn (\$14C,100), beef and pork (\$7,00), woolens (\$4,000) rice, cuadrat, 6 vessels without cargo 4 vessels landed all their cargo & landed none	\$149,800+	Rice 18,000 piculs of it being valued at \$36,000, sundries Ccoiles 5 vessels in ballast	\$56,000+	
1856	All	42	8,642	Yarn (466,600), rice and cotton (81,700), sandalwood, batche de mer, indigo, etc 14 in ballast	\$68,210	Tea (\$45,000+), sugar, tobacco, rice (\$4,000), salt, medicines, tiles, stone, porcelain, 10 left in ballast, some in port	\$121,475	Arrivals under all flags: 397 (113,705 tons)
1857	All but 1 mo	47	In first quarter 1,755 tons (5 ves- sels)	Cotton, sugar, rice, opium, assorted merchandise, etc 2 or 3 in ballast	\$16,654+	Tea, rice, sugar, foodstuffs, camphor, stones, "in ballast", etc	\$385,720+	
1858	All	16	9,382	Treasure, coal, tin, wheat, rice, paraffin, paper, wood, rattans, mangrove bark, etc—largely from Southeastern Asia Coolies 3 vessels in ballast	\$205,184	Teas, treasure, sugar, candy, casia oil, copper cash 4 vessels in ballast Coolies	\$215,021	
1859	All	25	15,582	Rice, beans, fish, sugar, tobacco, cotton, hemp, nankems, yarn, sapan wood, teak wood, spars and lumber (etc.) Japan products, general, etc, etc Some vessels in ballast	\$323,054	Teas, sugar (Fukien and Formosa), wheat, India cloth goods, grantees, tiles, paper, rattans, sapan wood, Straits goods, rice, food and local products, "in ballast" (5), etc	\$768,156	Reminders: clearances in a given year did not always coincide exactly with entries of that year
1860	All	25	16,614 (16,780)	Ch-nu cotton, Japan foods, beanscake, opium, shirtings, yarn, woollens, quicksilver, coal 10 vessels in ballast	\$326,905 (\$380,974+)	Teas direct to U S, food, sugar candy, rice 7 vessels in ballast (some having entered in ballast)	\$350,074 (\$380,074)	No entries in second quarter—a result of disturbed conditions in China

Foochow

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1865	3,4	15	10,635 (10,340)			Tea—15,120,070 lbs (15,105,070)		7 vessels, of 6,00 tons, already in port Year 1865 about 100 arrivals under all flags
1866	All	29 (34)	18,027 (22,368)	Most cargo not recorded Some vessels in ballast Fourth quarter: China sundries and 4,291 pigs of lead		Teas; 10,4,6,528 lbs and additional value of \$110,000 Wood \$1300 Other articles not recorded	\$715,000+ in fourth quarter	
1867	All	29	16,067	Rice, opium, tin, Formosan coal cotton, yarn May-Oct., 4 vessels in ballast	\$148,84+	Teas; May-Oct., about 2,755,580 lbs (\$240,000), first quarter \$955,000 Treasure, opium (?), ice, camphor	\$610,500+	In the fourth quarter, all foreign vessels took \$5,000,000 lbs of tea (\$8,20,000)
1868	All	28	17,532	Rice (\$153,000), lead, iron salt-peter, rattans, sapan wood, success "in ballast"	\$324,900+	Teas; \$1,032,000+ (Incomplete) Salteter; 1,000 piculs (\$15,000) Chowchow, wood, "in ballast"	\$1,086,450+	Of 6 hold-overs from second to third quarter called in ballast
1869	All	32	25,475 (25,517)	Rice, sugar wood, Chinese goods, lead, coal, cotton Several vessels in ballast	\$506,768+	Rice, tea, sundries	\$3,588,605	
1870	All	28 (35)	22,895	Lacquer, satting, cassia, wood, lead, tin, drills, Chinese cargo Several vessels in ballast	\$165,158+	Tea, Japan lumber, etc	\$8,329,470+	To third quarter tonnage was not given for 3 additional vessels In fourth quarter 7 vessel were from Shanghai

Ningpo¹

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1856	2	4	1,688	Asiatic products Two vessels had no cargo	\$15,715+	China rice, wheat, alum, pass	\$29,228	No report seen for first quarter no entries in fourth quarter
1857								Unrecorded local traffic probably existed
1858	1	1	236	Sugar (\$32,500) fleur and copper coin (\$1,010)	\$55,810	Ghakiang wheat and peas (\$15,160), varnish, oil, and copper coin (\$1,251)	\$15,591	
1859	2,3,4	32	5,821	Six rice, etc (\$28,000), sugar (chiefly China), cotton and woolen goods, cotton, coal vegetables, re-imports, "in ballast", etc	\$37,984+	Fens (600 bags, \$12,000), peacock cotton cloth, matting, wood, sticks, bamboo logs, timber, spars, sandalwood, alum, sulfur, medicines, candy Some of this was from Japan	\$57,954+	27 entries were for small "Chinese boats" of about 50 tons each built at Ningpo and "Be-Ningpo" at Shantung, which ran between these two ports, under Chinese masters
1860	All	107	9,386 (12,155)	Much as above for "Chinese boats" 100 re-imports, sugar molasses, lead, bêche de mer, drillings, China produce, etc Of 13 of these in 2 quarters 5 were in ballast	\$69,747+	Much as above for "Chinese boats" 100 re-imports, silk (\$255,204), tea, paper, rice, wheat, pass, medicines, etc	\$69,747+	Of 27 entries in fourth quarter, 24 were from Shanghai, 20 of these being "Chinese boats", for which the year shows 57 entries

¹According to British figures three "Chinese boats" under the American flag entered from Chusan in 1848 with cargo valued at £1,128 and left for Chusan with alum and rhubarb valued at £1,118 In 1848 cargo worth \$355 was entered

Swatow²

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1860	1,3	10	6,873	First quarter only: 50 sheets of opium from India (\$40,000), bean-cakes, cotton (from Shanghai), without cargo (at least three vessels)	\$125,647+	First quarter only: emigrants, sugar from Swatow	\$90,683	

²Presumably some earlier unrecorded traffic was carried on

CLIPPERS AND CONSULS

Hakodate

Year	Numbers of quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1857	From Oct 18	4	854	Whaling stores		Whaling stores		Only 5 of those recorded Oct 18, 1857-May 10, 1858 were constructed after 1845
1858	"o May 1)	17 ¹ 1,10	1,10	Whaling stores 1 ves cl with sundries		Whaling store 1 vessel with sundries		18 ships, 5 brks, 1 schooner The largest 578 tons
1859	1,2,3	40(?)	15,485	Whaling stores, and assorted mer- chandise		Whaling stores and assorted mer- chandise		In less than 6 months 26 vessels arrived as from the Sandwich Is
1860	3,4	11 (5 for the year)	5,568	Whale oil (4,070 bbls) in 5 ves- sels ² Assorted cargo (200 tons) in 1 vessel 7 vessels as bal- last or without cargo		Whale oil (same as inward) Assorted, " " " Of those vessels entering empty 1 took a full assured cargo, 1 a cargo of salt fish, and 1 a cargo of lumber		Con Rals , 1861 (Pt I, 556) gives for the year 24 whalers and 9 merchantmen in a total of 58 vessels there

¹The ship *Espanion de Savre* (from Honolulu with whaling stores) appears also to have deposited her papers like an American ship (Mar 26, 1858)

²presumably, not landed for import

Nagasaki³

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1859	Ap 1- Dec 31	29	18,918	The consulate could not provide details of cargoes Chiefly "general cargo"		"Japanese products"		Con Rals , 1860 (1852-185) gives 26 vessels (12,052 tons) in first half year
1860	All	55(?)	8,154					

³If Pascoe-Smith (*Western Barbarians*, 529, 540-541) for useful data, including names, consignees, etc in 1861 Of 47 British ships calling at Nagasaki 1859-1860 only one exceeded 1,000 tons Of 59 vessels there June-Sept 1861 35 were British (including 10 ships of war or other government vessels) and 14 were American. British and American firms seemed to use shape of both flags indiscriminately On Dusareeq and the Florence see above, p 332

Shimoda-Kanagawa

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1857 ⁴	4	0		No entries		No clearances		
1858	All	1	550	Whaling stores (fourth quarter)		Whaling stores (?)		
1859	1,2,3	16	6,286	China sugar (\$53,000), assorted cargo and species, brandy, cotton goods, "in ballast"	\$198,600	Wax, oil, seaweed, copper, lac- querware, tea, silk, assorted	\$219,000(?)	
1860	1	12	4,121	Specie (\$46,000), cotton goods, provisions; general	\$158,000	Tea, silk, oil, lacquerware	\$158,000	

⁴For earlier years see the text, pp 320-322

Amur River

Year	Numbers of Quarters	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Cargoes Inward		Cargoes Outward		Comment
				Chief Articles	Value	Chief Articles	Value	
1860	Season	5	1,129	Assorted and provisions	\$45,542(?) roubles			In 1857 at least 6 American vessels (with "general mer- chandise") had entered—values and tonnage not given For Mikolajevsk see the text

Appendix 4 (continued)--Supplement
EXHIBIT OF AMERICAN COMMERCE AT ADDITIONAL ASIATIC AND PACIFIC PORTS

(Note--Reference to the index will guide the reader to other facts relating to the regions and ports of Southeastern Asia and the Pacific. In case an extension of portions of the present volume is published--on microfilm or in some other form--it will contain numerous other references and items of information on consular and commercial affairs in these places, and will supply some facts about consular appointees.)

ABBREVIATIONS

Acapulco	Aca	Marseilles	Mls
Adelaide	Ad	Melbourne	Mel
Akyab	Ak	Montevideo	Mont
Amoy	Am	New Bedford	NB
Amur River	AR	" " Fishery	NB-Fi
Arctic Ocean	AO	Newcastle	Ncl
Auckland	Auc	New Orleans	NO
Australia	Aus	New York	NY
"ballast"	bal	New Zealand	NZ
Baltimore	Balt	Ningpo	Ni
Batavia	Bat	N Pac Fishery	NP
Bombay	Bom	Okhotsk Sea	OS
Bordeaux	Bx	Padang	Pad
Boston	Bn	Penang	Pen
Buenos Ayres	BA	Philadelphia	Pda
Calcutta	Cta	Point de Galle	PG
California or Calif Coast	Cal	Port Phillip	Pt-P
Ceylon	Cey	Port Townsend	Pt-T
China	Chi	Puget Sound	PS
"cruising"	cru	Rio de Janeiro	Rio
East Indies	EI	Salem	Sal
Fairhaven	Fa	Samoa	Sam
Falmouth	Fal	San Francisco	SF
Fiji Islands	FI	Sandwich Islands	SI
Foochow	Foo	Shanghai	Sh
"foundered"	fa	Siam	Si
Glasgow	Gl	Singapore	Sing
Guam	Gu	Soerabaya	So'y'a
Hilo	Hi	"sold"	sd
Hobart Town	HT	South Australia	SAu
Holland	Ha	S Sea Fishery	SS
Hongkong	HK	Swatow	Sw
Honolulu	Hon	Sydney	Sy
Hugli Rive	HR	Talcahuana	Tal
Japan Sea	JS	Tonga Islands	TI
Lahaina	Lah	Valparaiso	Val
Liverpool	Liv	"whaling"	wha
London	Lo	Whampoa	Wh
Madras	Ma	"wrecked"	wr
Manila	Man	Zanzibar	Za

EXHIBIT OF AMERICAN COMMERCE AT ADDITIONAL ASIATIC AND PACIFIC PORTS
Chiefly October 1, 1855--September 30, 1856^o

Port	Number of Quarters	Number of Vessels [#]	Tonnage Entering	Vessels Entered From		Chief Cargo In	Value	Vessels Departed For		Chief Cargo Out	Value	Comment	Port
				Chiefly	Other Ports			Chiefly	Other Ports				
Manila	4	78 (41+37)	59,298 (32,340+ 26,958)	SF 21 Wh 5 Bat Hon 3 HK 17 Bn Mel 5 ea. Sy 5 Gu NY 2	Am Sh pb 1 Balt 4+2 other ports ^x FI	China goods (\$132,400); sundries, machinery, flour, bread, coal, ice, oil, gin, wood, sandalwood, species (\$50,000+), etc., etc. In ballast (25).	\$485,468	Bn 18 HK 6 Bat NY 11 Cork 2 SF 8 Lo each By	Am 1 Sing 1 Cru 1 Wh 1 Mel 1	Hemp, sugar, tobacco, condage, indigo, oil, rice, cigars, grass cloth, hides, China cargo, molasses, sundries. In ballast (1).	\$4,969,563	Figures for second half of 1855 and first half of 1856.	Manila
Batavia	4	58 (29+18)	19,350 (8,248+ 11,082)	Bn 11 Sing 5 Mel 9 SF 2 Sy 5 NY 2	Cta Man 1 each 3 other ports So'ya	Sundries (\$19,013), wheat and flour (\$15,000), cotton goods, naval stores, domestics, ice, cigars.	\$316,635			Coffee, sugar, rice, hides, rattans, arrack, pepper, indigo, gum elastic, sapanwood, etc.	\$1,074,762	In 1855—the last 5 mos.; first 2 quarters of 1856. In third quarter of 1856 an American vessel from Java entered Rotterdam.	Batavia
Padang (Sumatra)	4	12 (2+5+ 3+2)	6,852 (920+2,767 +2,452+713)	Bat 8 So'ya 1 Pen 2 Sy 1		Not reported.		Bn 9 (1 via Hd) Hd 1 NY 1 SF 1 (via Bat)		Coffee, rattans, pepper, nutmegs, mace, India rubber.	\$702,105		Padang
Bangkok	1 (1)	2 (11)	1,701	Hk 1 Wh 1 (Hk 6 Sing 4 NY via Sing 1)		Specie and sundries (machinery, piece goods, specie, "in ballast".)	\$50,980 (\$177,469)	Wh 1 (Hk 4 In port 6) Sing 2		Specie and sundries. (Rice and produce.)	\$3,495 (\$137,975)	Third quarter, 1856. (In parentheses, fourth quarter, 1859.)	Bangkok
Singapore	5	37 (7+11+ 19)	24,760 (4,582+ 8,700+ 11,487)	NY 6 Ak 1 Bn 5 Ncl 2 Cey 1 Man 3 Pen 1 ea. Hk Sw 1 SF 1 SI Sy 1	etc., etc.	Notion (4), coal (2), Chinese passengers (1), etc., etc. Many in ballast. 8 not reported.		Bn 8 (2 via Pad) NY 6 Hk 3 Cta 5 Bom 2	Ak SF 1 each Lo Sh 1 Sau Si Not reported 2	General (12); Straits produce, etc. (gambier, tin, sapanwood, rattans, nutmegs, camphor, rhubarb) (3); rice (3); timber and plank (2); etc. In ballast (2). Several not reported.		Fourth quarter 1855, and first and third quarters, 1856.	Singapore
(Penang) Prince of Wales Island	2	7	3,451	NY 3 Bom 1 Bn 1 ea. Chi Mel 1		Lead, pitch, etc. (1). Sundries (1). None (5).	\$46,336	NY 3 Bn 1 Cta 1 Mls 1 each Sel Sing		Tin, black pepper, nutmegs, India rubber, betel nut, hides, rattans, gum bengoin, cutch, camphor, wild cinnamon, shell, tea, etc.	\$316,564	Second half, 1855.	(Penang) Prince of Wales Isl.
Calcutta	4	252 (120+51 +51+50)	207,036 (100,583+ 39,410+ 24,742+ 42,501)	Lix 54 Lo 31 Ma 7 NO 5 Bn 41 SF 28 Sy 6 BA 4 Mel 19 Mls 5 Pda 4 NY 3	Ak Hk 2 HR str. 1 Balt Mont 1 ea. other ports	Railroad iron, etc. (54); general and mds. (35); salt (29); salt and sundries (25); coal (7); pine spars, etc. (4); tar, pitch, etc. (6); cotton goods, ice, cigars, etc. In ballast (74+).		Lo 110 Ch 5 Bn 105 HR str. 3 NY 15 Mel 3 Bom 7 Fal 5 Bx 2	Mls 1 fd 1 Pda 1 sd 1 Numerous other ports	General cargo (151); hides, sugar, skins, linseed, salt peter, ginger, hemp, wheat, shawls, etc., etc. (42); rice, etc. (8); cigars, etc. (manila) (1); HR str. (3); fd (1); sd (1).		Usually there were 25 to 30 vessels "in port".	Calcutta
Bombay	2	33	28,671	Bn 7 Lo 5 Chi 1 Cta 5 NY 3 Liv 2 Aden 4 Mel 1 Sy 1 ea.	Aus Balt 1 Rio 1 ea.	General (11-\$5,666,250). Silks, etc. (\$760,000+).	\$5,187,100	Lo 8 Liv 3 Cta 7 Mls 5 Sing 3	Muscat 1 Za 1	Cotton, opium, general and sundries, seeds, mustard, linseed, salt (7-\$254,600), etc. In ballast (1).	\$5,909,510	First half, 1856.	Bombay
Sydney	5	50 (15+9 +6)	12,912 (6,463+ 4,155+ 2,296)	NY 7 PS 2 Bn Mel 1 SF 7 FI TI 1 Val 3 Lo 1 ea.		Foodstuffs; flour (1-\$125,000); tobacco, oil; lumber, sundries; general. In ballast (2).	\$1,264,167 (Reported only in third quarter, 1856.)	Gv 2 Cta 1 Hk 1 FI 1 Vo Vou 1		Oil and other original cargo (5), coal (2-\$1,550), "in ballast" (between 9 and 15).	\$96,500	Fourth quarter, 1855, and second and third quarters, 1856.	Sydney
Newcastle	2	4 (1+3)	1,551 (349+962)	Sy 4		Reported (1-ballast).				1 reported (coal).		Fourth quarter, 1855, and second quarter, 1856.	Newcastle
Melbourne	4	75 (38+23 +14)	40,832 (19,962+ 14,098+ 6,772)	NY 20 Tal 5 Ad 3 Bn 13 Cta 3 SF 7 HK 1 ea. Sy 1	Auc Gl Rio St. John's, N.B. Not reported 6, etc. etc.	Flour, etc. (20); general and assorted mds. (19); lumber, furniture, etc. (8), EI produce (2); rice, sugar, etc. (4); passengers, etc. (5); fruit, tea, etc. In ballast (1).	(Only in part) \$1,280,000	Cta 15 Sy 5 Ad Bat 10 AK Hk 6 Bassein 2 Man 6 Moulin Sh 1 ea. PG Val Sd 6	Bom Rio El Sing 1 each HT Tal Not rep'd. 1 Sd 6	Passengers and general (8); sd (6); wool, skins, and gold (1); inward cargo (1); "in ballast" (at least 47).		Second half, 1855, and first and second quarters, 1856.	Melbourne
Hobart Town	2	2 (1+1)	337 (188+149)	Mel 1 NY 1		Flour (1-1450 bbls.). In ballast (1).	\$22,000	Ad 1 HT [?] 1		Timber (1-30,000 ft.); "in ballast" (1).	\$20,000	First half, 1856, only.	Hobart Town
Bay of Islands (N.Z.)	6	82 (31+51)	28,771 (10,414+ 28,771)	Year SS 24 NB-Fi NP 1 1855 AO 5 Not rep'd ea. First half 1855 SS 50 NY 1		First half, 1856, only—oil and bone (50); provisions and ship stores (1).		(First half, 1856, only) SS 50 NB 1		(First half, 1856, only.) Oil and bone (48); oil, bone, and gum (2); provisions, etc. (1).		Year, 1855, and first half, 1856.	Bay of Islands
Honolulu	2	53	19,945	SF 14 Cal 5 Bn 1 Hi 4 Lah 5 Pt-T 2 Ko- wh ea. fumber ea. diak 4 Teaka- let	Aca PS 1 ea. Others 9 Ncl Sy 1 ea.	Mds. (15), whale products (11), lumber (6), coal (2), fire-wood (1), rice, tea, cocoanut oil, "in ballast" (4) not reported (14).	(5 vessels) \$62,070	wha (north'd) 15 SF 12 Teekalet 4 NZ 5	Cta 2 AR, Callao, etc. Hk 2 PS 2 Sd 1			Second and third quarters, 1856.	Honolulu
Hilo	2	25 (20+5)	8,250 (7,531+ 719)	NB 12 SF 2 OS 3 cru 1 Fa 2	Others 5	Whale and sperm oil and whale bone.		cru 19 Hon 1 Not rep'd 5 Sing 1				First and second quarters, 1856.	Hilo
Guam (Ladrone Islands)	2	7	1,724	cru 3 Hon 1 Japan 2 SF 1		Sperm oil and bone (4). Assorted cargo (5).	\$195,180			Part of inward cargo (5)—\$176,220. Oranges and lemons (1)—\$800. In ballast (1).	\$177,026	Figures for second half of 1855 only.	Guam
Apia (Navigators' Islands)	2	17	3,974	cru 16 Sy 1		Sperm oil, whale products, etc. Pearl shells, 50 tons (\$5,000). Mds. (\$2,000).	\$472,000	cru 15 Sy 1 In port 3		Same as in, \$58,800. Mds. Condemned (1): in ballast (1).	\$415,000	Figures for second half of 1855 only.	Apia
Lanthala (Fiji Islands)	3	6 (2+3+ 1)	1,438 (225+627+ 586)	Sy 5 Bn 1 Sam 1 ea. SF 1		General cargo and mds. (5-\$48,000); flour, boots, shoes (1-\$25,000), "in ballast" (1).	\$74,000	Man 1 Tal 1 By 1 Val 1	Others in port.	Yams, cocoanut oil, and livestock (1-\$5,000); bœche de mer (1-\$16,000); inward cargo (1-\$25,000).	\$46,000	Fourth quarter, 1855, and first half, 1856.	Lanthala

^oFigures and additions accepted as in Commercial Relations, 1856, which shows numerous omissions, even of entire quarters.

[#]The number of entries; in addition the returns show many vessels "in port"—over 50 in one case. Naturally the number of departures does not coincide.

^xAddition of quarterly figures of unnamed "other ports" almost certainly would duplicate in many cases; the form followed here presents each quarterly or semi-annual figure encountered for "other ports".

Appendix 5

REPORT ON A PENNSYLVANIA RESOLUTION RELATIVL TO A LINE OF MAIL STEAMERS

(House Journal of Pennsylvania Legislature,
1851, Vol I, pp 78-79 Cf Chapter 1, note 78, above)

"Mr Hart, from the Select Committee for that purpose appointed, reported resolutions (No 85), relative to the establishment of a line of mail steamers between San Francisco and China, and Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Europe, accompanied with a report upon the same subject, which was read as follows, viz

"Mr Hart, from the committee to whom was referred the resolutions relative to a steam communication connecting China, California, and Europe, with Norfolk, in Virginia, and Philadelphia, beg leave to report, that they have examined that subject, and regard the projected enterprise as one of the first importance to the Union States, and directly advantageous to the commerce of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

"In a national point of view the projected undertaking promises a vast accession of commerce to the country. When we take into view that the National Government has contributed largely, both of her money and influence to the formation and support of a steam communication from New York to England, by which the north and east profit so largely, it would seem but simple justice, and an equal conferring of favors, if the government would secure, by her encouragement, a line of steam communication beneficial to the southern States directly, and which would enable the commercial enterprize of Philadelphia to contribute to the common benefit of her sister States. A wise national policy indicates[...] that favors should be equally distributed, and it is the duty of statesmen to see that advantages common to all are protected rather than that one State should be favored at the expense of others, who ask but an equal participation in the business of the country.

"In the opinion of your committee, the commerce of the Pacific and China, now about being more perfectly developed, will, from its nature, be controlled by the line of steamers proposed to be established, as by means of which it must necessarily concentrate itself at the ports of Norfolk in Virginia, and Philadelphia in this State, and in consequence it cannot fail to engage the energies, enterprize, and wealth of the inhabitants of the two cities mentioned. That the profits resulting there-

from must be great there cannot be a doubt, and will add vastly to the wealth and commercial importance of the cities mentioned, as their prosperity, in the opinion of your committee, cannot fail to extend itself to the interior of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and impart additional value to their lands, give impulse to their interior trade, and rapidly develop the mineral resources with which they abound.

"Your committee think it proper that Pennsylvania should lend her countenance, and if necessary her aid, to build up a foreign commerce of the character contemplated, for the reason that it promises to equalize the commerce of the nation by securing to the southern States such a share of it as must secure their advancement, hand in hand, with the other Atlantic States, and while conferring them equal advantages, it promises to increase the commercial intercourse between Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other southern States, by means of which prejudices will be dissipated, the Union strengthened, and all the advantages flowing therefrom greatly enhanced.

"Experience has proved that commerce and trade strengthens States by enriching their inhabitants.

"The truth of this declaration is so apparent that it has long since passed into an axiom, and as such needs no elucidation at the hands of your committee. Convinced ourselves that commercial intercourse tends to the most rapid development of internal resources, and combines, in consequence, the united energies of the people of the several States, and conceiving that the projected lines of steamers will produce these beneficial results in the greatest degree, we regard it as proper and patriotic to commend this enterprize to the patronage of the United States Government, and as the session of Congress is drawing to a close, your committee think that no time should be lost, but that their immediate action should be invited, and to that end report the accompanying resolution[s] as committed to our hands, with the recommendation that the House take immediate action thereon, and pass them.

George H Hart,
R Simpson,
J B Packer "

Appendix 6

RECOMMENDATIONS OF CONSUL (ROBERT C) MURPHY ON TREATY REVISION,
December 27, 1856

(4 Shanghai CL, No 10, to J A Thomas,
Assistant Secretary of State, with
Departmental marginalia)

"While on a visit to Washington last May you did me the honor to ask verbally my views as to the revision of the Treaty of Wanghia In compliance therewith I gave an outline which has ever since been most unsatisfactory to me, and I therefore have availed of the first opportunity, although burthened with Official duties, to lay before you more in detail the suggestions which in my opinion would be found most advantageous if observed in our next Treaty with China

"At the time the Treaty of Wanghia was signed, but little was known, compared with our present knowledge of China, especially its internal commercial resources Then the Treaty was good But experience has taught us that the most serious objection to it is founded on its being too minute, and miserably translated into Chinese

"From being so minute we are estopped from making necessary alterations, and met by the Chinese always with the assertion, 'that the regulation you propose is contrary to Treaty' [] On one or the other and sometimes both these grounds I have often been overthrown in my discussions with the Authorities, particulars of which I have given in despatches as they occurred We all know that the Chinese Officials are averse to any intercourse with us, that they have only yielded what we now enjoy because it could not be avoided

"And it is also well understood that ever since the Treaties have been made they have steadily and pertinaciously endeavoured to put us back until finally at all "true" the ports except this, we are not a whit in advance of where we were twelve years ago

"This trickery should be circumvented if possible The imperfections of Treaties should be pruned off in the new. With a view to the accomplishment of these objects, I suggest a Treaty in revision of the present containing as few Articles as possible, the fewer and be complete, the better

"The particulars of each port should be regulated by Rules and Regulations, subject to alteration as circumstances may "doubtful" require, provided for by Treaty, and as binding

"I have given you a Treaty and Rules and Regulations for this port from which you may see clearly what I suggest These are not furnished as complete in themselves, but only as the Skeleton of the fabric on which more skilful workmen [sic] may erect the structure "A Treaty founded on these suggestions will I am sure protect us from a continuance of the evils under which we have so long laboured As our intercourse increases "true" with this people and our commerce expands, both of which must happen, we will then be enabled to modify and extend our laws for its protection, instead of being compelled to carry it on as we have hitherto done under embarrassments [sic] which have well nigh stopped the trade.

"We are now sufficiently acquainted with this Empire to know what we want, which is more than could be said twelve years ago

"With a view to that I have enclosed a paper on the most desirable portions, and the great commercial Artery of China, the Yangtsz Keang This paper I have made as brief as possible, though the points therein alluded to afford field enough for a book Also a map for reference, which embraces all the places above alluded to

"Much has been said about the residence of the Minister at Peking I have had, and do now entertain serious doubts as to whether any great advantage could be derived therefrom Besides the Emperor may change his Capital, His Majesty may be obliged to I have therefore thought best not to mention 'Peking' in the inclosure No 1, but merely the Imperial Capital []

"Mention is also made for the appointment of a 'Chief Superintendent of Trade' Such an Officer is much needed now, and would be almost indispensable to a thorough "wanted" organization of the revised Treaty should throw open the great commercial field of the Yangtsz Keang To him should be entrusted the supervision of all Commercial affairs at the ports, the classification for the use of both governments, of the Trade, and the Collection of Statistical and other useful information To him also should

"most important" be assigned the appellate Judicial power now exercised by the Comr If the Chief Diplomatic representative of the U S should reside at the Imperial Capital, it would be quite impossible for him to discharge the duties of Supreme Judge

"The distance, and delay incident thereto, would render such a distribution of power most unwarrantable

"The Chief diplomatic representative of the U S in China, should be relieved from all other duties, save such matters as are by Treaty referred to the higher Authority referred to the higher Authorities and those which are of a purely political nature

"How is this Treaty to be made?"

"The interests of England, France, and the U S are identical in "good" China

"Their Treaties require revision as well as ours and as they have such an available and powerful Naval force in these seas I would recommend that an understanding be

"right" had between all three to cooperate in sending Embassies to Peking These Embassies should leave Hongkong in the spring of the year, part of the naval Force should be sent up to Chinkiang fu on the Yangtsz Keang at the intersection of the Grand Canal with that river, and the remainder with the Embassies should go to Tinsin at the mouth of the Peiho, near which river is situated the Imperial Capital. The expeditions should be of a friendly nature, but of force and display sufficient to insure freedom from impediment or molestation

"There can be no doubt but that an offer from the U S to send such an Embassy would meet with a hearty response from the Governments of France and England

"Three Embassadors would produce a more imposing effect on the Chinese than one, and besides it is quite in accordance with their Custom The Naval Commodore is

"only one responsible [?] suggested as one, as then his hearty Cooperation would more party possible likely be secured

"For the Treaty of Wanghia \$40,000 was appropriated, for this I would suggest some hundred thousand

"The present Naval force is sufficient for ordinary purposes, but for this expedition two Frigates in addition would be required

"An expedition under the arrangement suggested I feel confident would be crowned with success. A great object would be attained, one worthy of great effort

"From a sense of duty I make these suggestions, and Cannot refrain from expressing the hope they may be of some service in shaping our future policy with this Curious people, and I do so more from a firm conviction, than from any other motive, that they will be found by experience useful in accomplishing the desired

end, a revision of our Treaty with China "

"Inclosure No 1

"Proposed Treaty with China

"Preamble

"The United States of North America and His Majesty the Emperor of China desiring to make more firm and more clear the peace and friendship which happily prevails between both nations have resolved to revise in a manner clear, positive and distinct, the rules which shall in future be observed between the one and the other, by means of a revised Treaty, in addition to the one already ex-

"one person to listing, and which is to relate fall back on more particularly to commerce Commodore in and navigation For this most case of accident" desirable object the President of the United States has conferred full powers on (Embassy consisting of at least three the Naval Commodore of the E I Sqd being one, and the conclusions arrived at by any two of said Ambassadors to be considered as the act of the President) and His Majesty the Emperor of China &c &c &c who having exchanged their said full powers in due and proper form have agreed to the following Articles

"Art I

"The peace and friendship which has existed shall be continued, and each shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other

"Art II

"His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that Citizens of the United States with their families and establishments shall in addition to the five ports now open to trade

"right" be allowed to reside at Chung Keang, Nanking, and Hankau on the Yangtsz Keang, at two or more ports on the promontory of Shantung which ports will be determined upon hereafter by Special Regulations, and the Merchant Ships of the U S as well as vessels of war shall be allowed to visit these ports without let or hinderance from any of His Majesty's subject or Officers And the Citizens of the U S residing in China for the purposes of Trade shall be allowed to visit and trade at the Cities of Soochow

"good" and Hangchow, the former in the province of Keangscoo, and the latter in Chekeang provided each person so visiting these Cities shall produce a passport from the consul of the U S residing at Shanghai But no Citizen of the U S shall visit these last named Cities for the purposes of Trade except from the port of Shanghai

"Art III

"His Majesty the Emperor of China hereby agrees that all goods and Merchandise whatsoever imported into and exported from China in

American Ships shall be free of all duties and charges except the products of this Empire which shall pay the dues as Regulated by the Tariff of the Treaty of Wanghia
 All Merchant Ships of the U S
 "unless in port 6 mos"
 in Cargo entering or departing shall pay Tonnage dues at the rate of 5 mace per ton, once every six months, and His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to make all improvements at the various ports necessary to render their navigation safe and easy Should these improvements not be made, or neglected to be repaired when made the obligation on the part of the U S to cease in regard to tonnage dues Vessels of the U S coming into any of the ports of China declared open by this Treaty with an exclusive cargo of Rice to be free from all charges whatsoever, provided she came from a port or ports not under the dominion of His Majesty the Emperor of China
 "good"
 All Vessels carrying Opium or munitions of war to be confiscated to and by the Chinese Government

"Art IV

"His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to receive at His Imperial Capital the Chief Diplomatic representative of the U S and that suitable accommodations shall be at once prepared for him and that his representations from the Government of the U S relating to Affairs in the Tasing Empire shall always receive prompt consideration His Majesty the Emperor of China further agrees to grant exequaturs to as many Consular Officers as the President of the U S may deem necessary for the protection and supervision of the interests of the U S at the various ports now opened by this Treaty Should the President deem it necessary in order to facilitate as well as to clarify and systematize the trade of the various ports now open to appoint a Chief Superintendent of Trade His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to receive said Officer

"Art V

"To prevent any misapprehension it is agreed by the contracting parties that so soon as practicable after the signing of this Treaty

Rules and Reg

- ulations shall

"periodically made by the local and approved by the higher Authorities of each Nation, having for their object to define more distinctly and minutely the privileges granted in this Treaty, and such Rules and Regulations to be as binding on both parties when made as though they were part of this Treaty, but they may be altered and amended from time to time as circumstances and the general execution of this Treaty may require

"Art VI

"The Emperor of China agrees to publish and promulgate under His Imperial sign manual and seal the foregoing Treaty and also from time to time to publish and promulgate in like manner the Rules and Regulations at the various ports as they may be agreed upon by the Authorities at each port

"Art VII

"Nothing in this revision is to be construed as restricting the privileges granted to Citizens of the U S resorting to China for the purposes of Trade as specified in the Treaty of Wanghia []

"Art VIII

"The Ratifications of this Treaty shall be exchanged as soon as the great distance which separates the U S from China will admit, but, in the mean time Counterpart Copies of it, signed and sealed by the Ambassadors on behalf of their respective Governments, shall be mutually delivered and all its provisions and arrangements shall take effect

"Done at

"Peking &c &c "

(Rules and Regulations suggested for Shanghai in Inclosure No 2 may be omitted here)

Inclosure No 3 describes in some detail certain proposed new ports. The introductory paragraph follows

"When the Treaty of Wanghia was signed July 4th 1844, Canton was as it had been for more than a Century the principal port of Foreign Trade Twelve years have now elapsed and great commercial changes have taken place. Shanghai has become a port of Tea & Silk" trade greater in amount and value than the entire foreign trade at all the five ports ten years ago Its geographical position Commanding as it does by water (the safest cheapest and most certain mode of Communication in China and therefore the most popular with the people) one third of the most productive and populous portion of this vast Empire The policy too which has been steadily pursued here by foreign Officials, differing widely as it has done from that followed at Canton, has gradually but surely created in the minds of the Chinese a faith and respect for foreigners which is not enjoyed any place else in China, on which bases more than any other is to be founded the rapid growth of this emporium Had we not been trammelled by a Treaty of limits, there is no imagining to what extent the Trade of this port might not now have been carried in the interior In my previous communications I have alluded in extenso to this point as a vantage ground from which to conduct our commercial operations in future, and the statistics which I have from time to

"true" time forwarded will give a view of the data from which I have made such a deduction. At present I will only add that this port is destined under a wise policy to become, as it should be, the grand

entrepot of foreign trade in the Empire of China "

The map includes the region from Peking to Hangchow

Appendix 7

CONSUL HYATT'S REPORT ON THE LOG OF THE COOLIE SHIP WAVERLY

(1 Amoy CL, No 4, June 1, 1856, to Marcy
Cf Chapters 6, Fifth Group, Sect b, and 11, Sect b, above)

"You have doubtless, ere this, been officially apprized of the fearful calamity which occurred on board of the American clipper ship Waverly, at or near Manila in October last--by which some three hundred lives were sacrificed But as the ship sailed from this port, and as you may not have before you all the particulars in as authentic a shape as you may desire, I feel it my duty to transmit to you an abstract of the log of said vessel, which I extracted from the log-book of the Waverly on her return to this port a short time since

"By this log, kept by the first mate, French, it seems that on the 27th of September 1855, the Waverly, Capt Mellman, took on, in the outer roadstead of Amoy, 353 coolies, and on the 2nd October left the roadstead for Swatow, where she arrived on the 4th On the 8th, they took on 97 coolies (making 450 in all) At night one coolie deserted--supposed to have swam ashore

"Oct 11--'Eight of the coolies very sick, and under the doctor's care, and a great number with sore legs, two coolies sprung over board and were drowned, in the night'

"Oct 12--Left Swatow, bound to Callao, on the 13th, at 12 M 'had a war between the Amoy coolies and the Swatow coolies--the latter had two slightly wounded;--lasted half an hour' On the night of the 15th, 'two coolies a little sick, sprung overboard, and were drowned before we could get boat overboard' On the 15th, Capt Mellman was taken sick--and died on the 17th--in Lat 17 degrees 32 minutes, Long 113 degrees 46

"Oct 18--'A good many of the coolies sick, and the remainder is nothing else than a set of pirates and thieves'.

"Oct 19--'Interpreter and carpenter still sick, and eight of the coolies', and the Mate French, adds--'I have considered it not prudent to go on our passage--so I have shaped my course for Manila Lat 16 degrees 37 minutes,--Long 160 degrees 32 minutes'

"On the 21st--'Saw the land, being east'--

"On the 22nd--'One of the Swatow coolies died at 7 o'clock a m '--and they 'hove him overboard'.

"Oct 24th--'At 9 a m , passed the Corregidor, served out provisions to the coolies,

at 10, a great numero of the coolies made a rush towards the barricade, and wanted opium, and I was obliged to give them some to get them quiet At 9 p m , had another disturbance with them Mr Meeks (one of the officers) was for taking the part of one of the coolies--the rest rushed to the barricade and wanted to get him out among them, so they could heave him overboard At 11 p m , came to anchor in nine fathoms water ' One coolie died last night'

"Oct 25--'Cooks kept refusing to cook without getting their wages paid down every month--and the coolies wanted their food three times a day--and wanted a dollar before they went to sea '--They 'have rows and fighting every day--they almost killed one of the Swatow cooks' The health officer came off and put the ship into quarantine

"Oct 26--This morning the coolies made a rush and came aft the barricade, and wanted opium, to keep them quiet, gave them some, after they had got it they wanted some bread, and I was obliged to give them some Got orders this morning to go down to Cavita, with the ship, and bury the body of Capt Mellman, but the crew refused to lift anchor, saying their [sic] were not safe '

"Oct 27--'At 6 a m , commenced hoisting up anchor and made all sail and proceeded down towards Cavita where we came to anchor At 11 a m , the coolie cooks came aft, and refused to cook any longer without they could get their wages paid down every month I promised them I should do all I could, when I got on shore, but that would not satisfy them, and all the coolies came aft, with the intention to kill me, and Mr Meeks got the men all aft, and got the arms on deck and then commenced to show fight--which killed about four or five and drove them all down below, between decks In the afternoon, at 3 o'clock, being obliged to get water on deck, we went down and found that they had broke the lock on the sister hatch, and had got hold of some of the provisions, there was one of them who was very impudent, and I killed him At 4 p m , we heard that they were breaking off the forward hatch, and two of them then stood on the steps, tried with all their strength to come on deck--but shoved them down again Washed the ship inside and outside, at 8 p m , set the watch with one officer and six

men I think we should have had no trouble with the coolies, if we only had a good interpreter and doctor for them on board, for that is the greatest trouble in carrying coolies,¹ and by having had lots of Chinese on board is very fatal'

"Oct 28--'At 12 midnight, between the 27th & 28th, took off the hatches to let the coolies come on deck again--got some lanterns and I went down myself to get them up--but to our greatest astonishment found that they had murdered one another--they had broke the bars off the hatches, and broke two or three of the after berths down, which they had used for weapons--it was an awful sight to look at, some were hanging by the neck, some were shoved down into the tanks, some had their throats cut--and the greatest part were strangled to death. We went to work and took all the bodies on deck, and provided some water for the live ones, which were all the poorest and sickliest men on board the ship. At 3 p m , the government steamer came down and anchored a cable's length from us, and sent two large boats alongside, for us to discharge the dead bodies into--and we got through by 10 p m '

"Oct 30--'At 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ a m , the doctor from shore came on board and overhauled the sick coolies in number 16, and in all found on board 150 coolies, with the doctor '

"Nov 3--Twenty-eight soldiers came on board and several custom house officers

"Nov 4--'Spanish officers and soldiers to the number of 25, remain on board, as a guard to keep us from running away, while they are investigating the case

"At Manila, Dec 17-18--'At 10 a m , the Capt of the Port came off with the troops

for the purpose of seeing the coolies leave without trouble, but the coolies would not go, saying that they would die first--they became very exciting [sic] --falling down--bowing their heads to the deck--crossing their throats, either to cut their own, or ours, I don't know which--provided they were forced into the lighter. The coolies have refused my offer to give them provisions five times today. Tomorrow they are to be bound, I believe, and put into the lighter which is alongside. Six soldiers on watch tonight, over the hatches'

"Dec 19--'Coolies refuse to eat,--at 6 p m , had some rice nicely cooked for them, and put below, with nine buckets of water. The water they took, but the rice remains untouched till now, 9 p m . Physician says they are determined to die '

"Dec 20--'Mr Penn came off saying that nothing would be done today by the Spanish Government, in taking the coolies out of the ship. At 11 a m , we undertook the affair on our own hands, and by 12 had every Chinaman in the lighter, unhurt--and by 1 p m all delivered safely on board of the Bark Louise, and the 138 received for. The coolies had got Capstan bars, knives etc for their defence--but the arrangements were so nicely carried out on our part, that they were useless '

"These are all the essential, authentic facts in relation to this disastrous affair, that I have been able to gather, and I submit them to you without comment, as they speak in too plain and painful terms to require any additional remarks from me "

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¹Again appears one of the perennial tragedies of history, the pursuit of commercial profit in new settings before adequate social and cultural preparation has been made

Appendix 8

"MINUTES OF JOINT COURT HELD BY R C MURPHY CONSUL U S A
AND HIS EXCELLENCY LAN TAOUTAI 1857 " (RUSSELL AND COM-
PANY VS YUH LUNG TUCK)

(4 Shanghai CL, No 1, Feb 1, 1857, to Assistant Secretary of
State Thomas Cf Chapters 10, Sect a, and 11, Sect a, above)

Writes Consul Murphy of the case in question "The case was one of more than usual interest, not on account of the sum involved although large, as much as the principles of trade which it would settle In as much as it comes under a special provision of the Treaty it also seemed proper I should communicate it to you Our position here as regards our intercourse with the officials is so satisfactory, that we not only move about where we like without hindrance, but I am even allowed a seat on their bench and jointly to administer the Law It is remarkable they do allow it, as the limited attendants to my Court is most meagre when one beholds the long row of Clerks Offices, &c which surround them "

Inclosure No 1 follows

"Minutes of Joint Court held by R C Murphy Consul U S A and His Excellency Lan Taoutai at the Official Residence of the latter on the 13th of January 1857, on the claim of Messrs Russell & Co against a Chinese Yuh Lungtuck for breach of Contract and damages \$50,000

"Preliminaries

"Was received at His Ex Yamun according to the usual form, salute &c Presented E E Rice Esq Consul at Hadodadi and Mr Knapp Deputy U S Consul at Shanghai, also Mr Orne, were invited to partake of refreshments, while at the table, the Dist Magistrate and Hifongting came in and were introduced. After the lapse of about half hour, Mr Murphy proposed that H E Lan and himself should proceed to the examination of the Case set for today, that those who had accompanied him would merely sit as spectators, H E Lan enquired in what manner we should proceed?

"Mr Murphy replied that he was willing to follow Chinese forms so long as they were not inconsistent with the right of the foreigner The company then adjourned to the opposite side of the Yamun and entered the Court room, On entering H E Lan enquired who appeared for Russell & Co

"Mr Murphy replied he did

"His Ex Lan desired to know in what capacity Mr Orne appeared?

"Mr Murphy replied that he was a mere spectator and invited by himself

"His Ex then assigned to Mr Murphy the left hand elevated seat and took the right himself Mr Rice sat on the right of H E Lan, and Mr Orne next, the Dist Magistrate next, Mr Krapp sat next on the left of Mr Murphy and the Hifongting next, Mr Jenkins the Interpreter and Leangchuan the Linguist stood up by the side of Mr Murphy

"Minute of Court

"Mr Murphy I transmitted to Your Ex in Chinese the following papers Affidavit of Mr Cunningham, letters from Russell & Co to their Agent in Boston, Forbes, in relation to the order of Cotton goods for Yuh Lungtuck including one enumerating drafts sent to fill order, also a private letter from same to same explaining in a Confidential manner the transaction, besides letters from Mess King & Co stating what the Custom has been at this port in making contracts with Chinese whether in writing or verbally

"His Ex Lan I have received the papers you mention, and wish now to compare them with your Interpreter Mr Jenkins and see if they correspond The papers were now examined It was discovered that in Mr Cunninghams affidavit [sic] the words 'personally made a Contract' were translated as though the Contract was made in writing, the correction was made The remaining part of the affidavit was found to be correctly rendered into Chinese, next was copy of the letter of Messrs Russell & Co to Forbes of Boston dated July 10th 1852, the copy of private letter on the same subject, also letter giving in detail the amounts and Nos of Bills of Exchange to fill said order, all of which were found to be correctly rendered

"Mr Murphy These letters are copies from the books of Russell & Co and I have seen the books, they are of such a nature, that in the absence of proof of fraud, would be considered in foreign law strong substantiating evidence As such they are laid before the Court The letters from the Merchants were then compared and found correct

"Mr Murphy These letters show what the custom has been at this port viz Contracts are made verbally and not in writing and one house states that bargain money is usually paid According to foreign law when no special

enactment exists, custom is followed as the Law In this case custom must be the Law and Russell & Co have followed the law and therefore I introduce these papers for Your Ex Consideration.

"His Ex Lan, now called Yuh Lungtuck who appeared going down on his knees then bowed according to Chinese Custom three times H Ex Lan then communicated to him the contents of the foregoing papers, Yuh Lungtuck denied the whole contract and asked if he ever made such a contract who was the interpreter? His Ex Lan Now Called Ahoue the Comprador of Russell & Co who bowing once Lan enquired, did Yuh Lungtuck ever make a contract with Russell & Co through you for cotton goods?"

"Ahoue replied he did

"Yuh Lungtuck now interfered and began to talk

"Mr Murphy The ends of justice require that one should be examined at a time, and not be subject to interruption, Lan replied, that course would be proper, and ordered Yuh Lungtuck to step aside during the examination of Ahoue Ahoue stated there was a contract made through me by Russell & Co with Yuh Lungtuck for cotton goods and bargain money was paid, not in money, but in goods to the value of \$60,000 Yuh Lungtuck here produced some papers of Russell & Co urging again that he never made such a contract, but that he had given Russell & Co Silk and tea to sell for him, and that after repeated applications to them he could not get the proceeds of their sale, and he produced the papers of Russell & Co as evidence

"Mr Murphy I find on examination that these papers are genuine and that one of them is the a/c sale of silk which is placed to the credit of Cotton goods a/c this alone is Clear evidence that he knew long ago of this transaction, for if he did not, why did he not deny or make claim for the proceeds of sales, when this was handed him by Russell & Co&& It appears he did not and the paper being both in English & Chinese, he cannot say he did not understand it I call Your Ex attention to this as it is important in my opinion

"His Ex Lan I am satisfied the bargain money was paid According to Chinese Law no Contract is binding unless in writing, but when Americans and Chinese are in the question then American Law is the rule I hope you Mr Murphy will look at the case and see if it can be adjusted According to Chinese Law a contract is not good unless in writing

"Mr Murphy The Treaty of Wanghia provides that all disputes between the Citizens of the U S and subjects of China shall be settled by the joint action of the Authorities of each nation and in accordance with the principles of justice. We are the proper Officers, we must do justice to all parties, we must examine the case clearly and look at all the

probabilities

"His Ex Lan In this case Russell & Co assert that the contract for cotton goods was made with Yuh Lungtuck, while Yuh Lungtuck denies it, one party is wrong which is it? that is the question?

"Mr Murphy Yuh Lungtuck denies the contract, but produces no proof Russell & Co urge that the contract was made and I have introduced papers to prove their assertion These papers are good in foreign law and therefore are good in this Court as it is a joint Court

"His Ex Lan I wish to settle this case what is your opinion?

"Mr Murphy Russell & Co have never denied that they received from Yuh Lungtuck goods to the value of \$60,000 but they claim it was as bargain money on the Cotton goods contract They did not deny that they paid him some money but they let him have money as an accommodation and not because they were indebted to him I am of the opinion that the contract was made by Yuh Lungtuck with Russell & Co for Cotton goods and that Yuh Lungtuck having refused to take the goods when they arrived Russell & Co were obliged to sell them thus causing a loss to them Yuh Lungtuck then broke his contract and Russell & Co were in consequence sufferers and for the damage they have sustained Yuh Lungtuck is responsible This opinion I have found on the papers already produced in Court and to which I have but to apply the Law

"His Ex Lan According to Chinese Law there is no contract, because there is none in writing, but if [in] foreign Law there is proof of such a contract How can we settle this?

"Mr Murphy We can settle it ourselves, we are the judges provided for by Treaty and this is one of the class of cases on which we are to adjudicate and I am here today to fully examine this case and finally determine it according to Justice

"His Ex Lan now held a consultation with the Hifongting After a few moments so spent H E Lan said Mr Murphy will have to give his decision in this case

"Mr Murphy The defendant in this case is a Chinese subject and not under my jurisdiction it would therefore be useless for me to give a decision unless you coincide with me and give effect to my decision I am of the opinion there was breach of Contract

"H E Lan I am also But suppose another case of this kind what then?

"Mr Murphy It must rest as this has on the evidence, will you send me a letter stating your opinion is Yuh Lungtuck broke his contract for cotton goods with Russell & Co

"His Ex Lan that is Yuh Lungtuck's affair

"Mr Murphy No, you are the Judge and must decide it You have already in conjunction with me decided it, will you give it me in

writing?

"H E Lan I will

"The Court having lasted for four hours was adjourned and in a few minutes we left the Yamun under the usual salutes and ceremonies "

Inclosure No 2 is a letter from Murphy to Lan, Jan. 14, 1857

"Referring to the proceedings of the Joint Court held at Your Ex Official Residence on yesterday it was there and then agreed that I should put in writing the opinion to which I had arrived and that your Ex having agreed therein would write me to the same effect

"Therefore I have to state that in my opinion Yuh Lungtuck did give to Russell & Co silk and tea as bargain money on a Contract for Cotton goods That Yuh Lungtuck did not take all the Cotton goods when they arrived and therefore Russell & Co were obliged to sell them at a loss to the amount of \$50,000 and odd, and therefore Yuh Lungtuck having broken his contract is liable to Russell & Co the full sum of the loss on the cotton goods which were ordered for him & which is in amount \$50,000 and odd dollars "

Inclosure No 3:

"Lan Intendant of Circuit &c makes a Communication

"Yesterday I received your Communication relating to Yuh Lungtuck and Mess Russell & Co in which Yuh Lungtuck claims for balance of proceeds of sales of Certain tea & Silk

"Your Ex looking over Russell & Cos books feels satisfied that there was a contract made by Yuh Lungtuck with Russell & Co to import certain foreign goods, and that Yuh Lungtuck should refund Russell & Co \$50,000 for loss sustained on said Contract I the Taoutai am in a very difficult position By Russell & Cos books there certainly was a contract but there is no written Contract between the two parties, altho, according to Mr Cunningham['s] statement there was, why therefore do not Russell & Co produce the said written Contract Mess Heard & Co state that when a China man is supposed to be dishonest, a written contract is required of him, but we always have one as an evience of the existence of a contract The tea and silk that Yuh Lungtuck sent (to England) for sale amounted to about \$60,000 out of which Russell & Co paid him at one time over \$11,000 and at another time the Compradore \$5,000 thus leaving a balance of \$44,000. If this tea and silk had been given as a deposit on the contract why did Russell & Co return him over \$17,000 of it? it must certainly have been due him or they never would have paid it According to the Customs in Shanghai (resulting from an examination of both Your Ex and myself) it is evident that there generally is a written document sometimes however the Chinese signs his name in the books of the firm, and some-

times it is verbal, which shows that there is no established rule

"Yuh Lungtuck will not acknowledge the contract, and I am not able to make him & according to Chinese law there is evidence that Russell & Co did receive tea and silk from Yuh Lungtuck to be sent (to England) for sale, while at the same time there is no evidence of the existence of a Contract for Cotton goods between them, and they ought to return the balance for the proceeds of the tea and silk but as Your Ex ideas are not the same as mine on this subject, and there is so much difference between foreign and Chinese law I request that Your Ex will endeavour to settle the affair justly with Russell & Co. but as you take the Books of Russell & Co as proof on one side, why not take Yuh Lungtucks as proof for the other?

"Your Ex in managing the affairs of foreigners and Chinese in conjunction with myself should always endeavour to settle them equitably so that neither party should have any thing to complain of and as Your Ex has now resided in China a long while both foreigners and Chinese have had nothing to complain of, because you have always acted equitably not being influenced by either party and I the Taoutai therefore request that Your Ex will manage this extremely difficult business in the same manner to the satisfaction of both parties

"A communication on business, I await your reply

"To R C Murphy Esq U S Consul
Shanghai,

"A true translation
(Signed) F Jenkins"

It is impossible to say how far the above letter represents official face-saving with Lan's superiors

Inclosure No 4 is Murphy's response,
January 21, 1857

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Ex letter in reply to mine relating to the case of Russell & Co versus Yuh Lungtuck[]

"After the examination of this case we jointly held at Your Office, I am astonished at this letter you send in reply and I think surely that your secretary must have written it without your knowledge You ask why Russell & Co does not produce a written Contract? at the Joint Court it was clearly stated that there was no Contract in writing, but that it was made by Russell & Co with Yuh Lungtuck verbally and all the American Merchants wrote to me in reply that it is their custom to make contracts with the Chinese verbally and not in writing You state that according to Chinese law the Contract must be in writing but such is not foreign law and this case being between an American and Chinese Your Ex stated at the Court the foreign law must be followed

"Again, you enquire if Yuh Lungtuck

owed for a Contract of Cotton goods why did Russell & Co pay him money? I reply that Yuh Lungtuck gave Russell & Co \$60,000 worth of goods as bargain money on the Cotton goods Contract and that at the first when the Cotton arrived he took some as the accounts in his own possession show, so that there being some of the goods accepted by him less security or bargain money was necessary, and therefore Russell & Co let him have some of it except the last \$5,000 which Yuh Lungtuck got from Loureiro while Mr Cunningham was absent and which Mr Cunningham would not have let him have had he been here

"You state also that if we take Mr Cunningham's evidence, we should also take Yuh Lungtucks, I agree to that, now Mr Cunningham says Yuh Lungtuck made the Contract with him for Cotton goods Yuh Lungtuck says he did not Now we must go by the evidence--The books of Russell & Co and the letters of the house written more than 3 years ago show that what Mr Cunningham states is true, but what is the proof to show that what Yuh Lungtuck says is true? or that what Mr Cunningham states is false? nothing but the statement of Yuh Lungtuck, his own word, and nothing more, that is not evidence I will not take his word I must have proof I do not take Mr Cunningham's word, but I have shown you proof Just before Yuh Lungtuck made the Contract with Russell & Co he bought two Ships Cargoes of Cotton goods and paid for them, he was therefore thought by foreigners to be a good and honest man, was the Contract in writing for those Cotton goods? I learn from the Merchants it was not

"Then even Yuh Lungtuck has made Contracts before with foreigners and not in writing But all this we argued and settled at the joint Court and Your Ex. agreed with me then in

the decision of the Case and promised if I would write my opinion out, You would answer me agreeing to it This the record shows, but you have not done so Now such a Course destroys my Confidence, if the Chinese will not oblige their subjects to be faithful and honest in their dealings, how can I be expected to exact it of Americans when they are trading with Chinese?

"I have not undertaken this case to get money, as I know Yuh Lungtuck has none, but I wish to settle the fact that Yuh Lungtuck did give tea and silk to Russell & Co as bargain money on a Contract of Cotton goods and that he refused to take the goods when they arrived, and that Russell & Co having to sell the goods lost, and therefore Yuh Lungtuck is responsible for the loss to Russell & Co I think perhaps at some future time Yuh Lungtuck may be able to pay it, but I think also it will be many years "This decision then I require of Your Ex as it is in accordance with the Treaty and Justice I hope you will not fail to observe the Treaty as I assure you most positively that I will not respect the Treaty, if you after an examination in joint Court refuse to render decision according to justice I shall not discuss this case any more, or write again on it I shall await Your Ex reply and if not satisfactory to me I shall take the Course my judgment may point out "

No reply to this letter has been encountered This matter is one of a number of interesting problems on which further information from the consular files at Far Eastern ports, the papers of commercial firms such as Russell and Company, or some other source is necessary for a final statement

Appendix 9
(Cf Chapter 1, note 93, above)

Notes on
The Commercial History of American Ports,
and
The Mechanism of Commerce

The Commercial History of American Ports
Of supplementary value to the materials already noted in the text are the following

the extensive consular records of entries and clearances at Oriental ports, consular letters to the government, Congressional documents, and documents of the states, publications of commercial organizations, papers of mercantile firms, statistical works and trade manuals, histories of commodities, local histories and directories, logs of vessels, periodicals, family histories, biographies, memoirs, etc

Much expanded, these types of sources would provide materials for a study of merchants, shipmasters, and commercial firms with reference to East Asiatic trade before the Civil War. Here and there one finds partial studies or individual biographies but these are insufficiently related one to another.

The following topics merit treatment
description of the range and organization of the activities of different individuals and mercantile houses, their traditions, and the place of their calling in the economic development of the period, the attitude of individuals toward their work and its future,

the attitude of those who had been in the Orient toward Asiatics, toward various other Western members of their restricted little communities in the Far East, and toward the essentially frontier situations which arose, consideration, by means of biographical examples, of the qualities of character evoked

The Mechanism of Commerce

A vast deal of information bearing upon this matter exists in the sources already suggested, and in

trade publications, Parliamentary Papers, reports of state insurance commissioners (and possibly in such papers of insurance companies as may have been preserved), records of consular courts and of courts in the United States (Records of banking firms seem difficult to reach, in certain cases)

Study can be made of

commodities figuring in the Eastern commerce-- origin, uses, distribution, the seasons and their relation to trade, banking, currency, and exchange, costs and sale prices, and price fluctuations, schedules of vessels, varying itineraries, insurance of ships and of cargoes, rates and sale of cargo space, charter parties, loading, consular formalities, passenger and mail service, protection at sea

Appendix 10

THE BACKGROUND AND MEANING OF COOPERATION AND MUTUAL INSTRUCTION

An Excursus on the Historical Bearing of This Relationship
--"Being and Becoming",--Two Patterns a Present-Past and a Pres-
ent-Future,--Trade Affected by Other Considerations Than Profit,--
In Practice Breadth of View Was a Tax on the Individual Officer,--
Choice and Interpretation Are Dependent on Individual Character and
Ideas,--Bearing of These Factors on Historical Judgments

At the beginning of Chapter 6 (pp 89-91), and in Section a of Chapter 10, emphasis is placed on the mutuality of some of the obligations of consuls and local officials, and on the fact that consuls carried on an informal work of international education in the ensuing contacts. It would be unfair to assume that the task of learning was all on the side of Asiatic officials. Some comments of consuls reveal an awareness of a comprehensive and perhaps defensible native point of view

An Excursus on the Historical Bearing of This Relationship
Physically and socially isolated from other lands, most of the people of China and of Japan were well enough satisfied with the civilizations of their own countries. They were relatively self-contained and were affected by political and social ideas which often favored acceptance of conditions that had obtained for many generations. From a comparative and economic point of view, their situation was somewhat static, with an almost complete absence of the expansive ideas and so-called economic progress possessed by those Western nations affected by the Industrial Revolution--the United States in particular.

In spite of their physical detachment from Europe, Americans were going everywhere restlessly and were bettering their condition by shrewd bargaining. They had before them many goals to which they pressed on so eagerly and unrelentingly that flux and the act of pushing on became characteristic of their state of mind and of the picture which they presented to native officials and people in the Orient, among whom such a philosophy of effective and immediate escape from existing limitations or hardships played no great part. It has often been observed that the man who is going nowhere has difficulty in understanding--to say nothing of sympathizing with--the man who is always on the move in search of "something better." Each man takes for granted something outside the other's ken and alien to his background.

There were exceptional and atypical individuals on both sides. Nevertheless, the process of specialized, selective development of personal and social potentialities among different races had fostered and emphasized characteristics which, in the confusion of early contacts, and in the consular application and adjustment of policies, stood out clearly enough, for practical purposes, as "national characteristics."

According to the Yankees' idea of material progress and expanding commerce, the Japanese and the Chinese were obstructionists, but the latter reacted to the perky intrusiveness of the Westerners as to disturbers of the peace or enemies of the existing domestic order. This domestic order and the accompanying national outlook had little if any place for the economy of foreigners who wished to carry their activities at ports beyond the negligible stage of minor trade, under local authorities, to the point where it would fundamentally disturb the even tenor of the nation's way and would challenge both its highest authorities and its accepted philosophy--a philosophy which embraced the theory and practice of conformity to a complex order and a preference for limited adjustment rather than thoroughgoing reconstruction.

To say that China and Japan were old nations and that the United States was a young nation is not to say that the former were forgetful of their origins and founders.

Two Patterns:
a Present-Past and a Present-Future; In these older countries the founders appeared not in that role of innovators but in that of models to reinforce present conformity, whereas in the United States both human beings and social and material conditions were then too close to the genetic impulse and first scene of the play to permit use of reverence for the founding fathers as a major conservative influence. While the Chinese and the Japanese of the period were living in their "present" (millions of them intensely), they were living in that present with the past an ever-present reminder, the Americans were living intensely in the same

present, but with the future as an insistent challenge. In the latter case a fresh, constructive impulse was continually at work, in the former the preservative habit operated with fair regularity.

Essential incompatibility could not but result from the anachronism of the attempted teaming of a nation just past its infancy and a nation so matured, according to its dominant character, and so remote from its own beginnings, that most members of the living generation could have little genuine consciousness of the fact that it had ever had an origin and a period of growth. If it be argued that these considerations really mattered little in view of the fact that American and Chinese or Japanese merchants usually succeeded in finding common ground, it can be admitted at once that a touch of profit makes merchants akin, regardless of race, but not that the search for gain was allowed free play in Eastern Asia. As long as the foreigners were confined to tiny trading areas, and the rules of the game, so to speak, were precisely fixed and enforced, the commercial contest seemed to proceed somewhat smoothly. It was far from being completely competitive, as it would have been in a truly unrestricted field. The signing and attempted enforcement of treaties, however, broke up this arrangement, widened the field, and introduced as a controlling factor non-commercial native classes whose official dealings

Trade Affected by Other Considerations Than Profit,
with Americans and other foreigners brought to bear the force of ancient civilizations in which the profit motive, although strong, was subject to the social control of other ideas and factors.¹

Since this period witnessed some of the early steps in a long transition which is still proceeding, the significance of the consuls' and the local authorities' work of mutual education deserves emphatic reiteration. This work was complicated by the fact that, on both sides, the national conditions and economic impulses which have been referred to seem ordinarily to have been taken for granted, like axioms, each side found its present

values in the kind of life which existing circumstances and ideas compelled it to live. To use a current phrase, the United States and Americans in foreign trade were internationally and commercially "on the make." Far from questioning the corollaries of this fact, most Americans regarded them as articles of a corrective and saving gospel of universal application, to be actively promoted. Had they known more of East Asiatic history they might have suspected that China and Japan, according to their respective patterns, had long since "arrived." From people in these countries, on the contrary, it seems to have been hidden that something more than a peculiar whim was back of the American drive toward wealth, opportunity, and novelty, and that Western expansion generally was a phenomenon rather than mere obstreperousness.

American and other foreign consuls were responsible to their governments, Asiatic officers were guided even more strictly by the attitudes of their own superiors. Since, broadly speaking, two ideologies and two political systems as well as two economic orders were in opposition, it is small wonder that demands for concessions to foreigners were often regarded locally as petty irritations to be disposed of in the most convenient and summary manner, even in the face of foreign insistence upon them as points of major importance.

The work of education was therefore difficult, on both sides. In a number of cases individual consuls and local authorities were able

to dissociate themselves from

In practice their "systems" sufficiently to breadth of recognize the personal virtues View Was a of each other--exhibited by frequent instances of American individual officer, forthrightness, reliability, and kindness, let us say, and by numerous cases of native urbanity, grace, and hospitality, with which at times even official procrastination was politely achieved. In varying degrees, improvement of personal relations between consuls and local officials, and mutual recognition of ideas and of obligations to superiors, achieved the temporary end of a modus operandi. Yet this gain made it harder for the individuals in question to carry out, as

¹Even in profit-seeking America, with its plastic social life, and more particularly in California, Chinese profit-seekers were at the same time experiencing difficulty and opposition when their presence brought them in touch with social forces of anything more than an extremely limited commercial kind.

Interest may be found in a comparison of the remarks made in the present essay with observations (1859-1860) contained in Pierre Leffitte's Considérations Générales sur la Civilisation Chinoise et sur les Relations de l'Occident avec la Chine (Second ed., Paris, 1900). His remarks touch on Chinese cultural stability and the development of its "essential constitution", Occidental social flux, diversity, preponderantly industrial development, and "ignoble mercantilism", "Occident" as a superior descriptive term to "Christendom", the relation of orderly development and of glorification of "anarchical industrialism" of the bourgeoisie to "progress", and the bearing of these observations (following the school of Comte) on extensive commercial relations with China (pp. 6, 11, 61, 123, and *passim*). Twentieth-century hindsight should not overlook or underrate the essential insight and foresight of this thinker's stimulating remarks, regardless of whether or not his recommendations were "practical."

officials, the policies of governmental superiors who had not been touched by the softening influence of personal acquaintance or friendship. For, it may be asked, what is harder for associates to achieve, or to accept, than a friendly difference of opinion and policy on many vital matters of immediate practical concern? Comparison often weakens a placid or dogmatic orthodoxy, and it is easy to believe that some officers who had been affected by this moderating factor experienced a conflict of loyalties and carried out their instructions with no great relish. Indeed, an occasional departure from traditional or routine procedure and the exercise of independent discretion could not be avoided.

Readiness to absorb the shocks of embarrassing situations and distressing occurrences, intelligent bearing of responsibility and assumption of risk, and courageous trial of unaccustomed practices and points of view—these gave to the unsung cooperative labors of certain consuls and local authorities a quality of creative friendship, the production of something not before present in the particular situation. In international relations of a routine character, if there are such, a superficial courtesy may be adequate, and perhaps to some minds this is the sufficient mode and spirit of diplomacy, but, our study suggests, in dynamic international relations which are to pass beyond temporizing to the achievement of new gains, the consul, minister, or other agent who would give his own government the most enduring aid serves also the receiving government and people. He is aware of two nations—the one of which he is a citizen and the one in which he is a guest—and two periods—the present in which the difficulties and problems lie and the future in which he hopes the results of his adjustments will be established and will win recognition. It would seem that such an officer, if he is to achieve any semblance of harmony in his own mind and to earn a high place in history, almost inevitably finds himself somewhat out of step with his own people, with the people of the receiving country, and with the age in which he lives. To that extent he is alone. The extent may be so considerable and the guiding idea may become so compelling an ideal in the case of an extremely clear-headed and valiant man that he moves more or less unconsciously into the position of a martyr.

Each officer naturally determines by his unstudied attitudes or definite choice which kind of representative he is to be: an obstructionist, regarding the past alone, a temporizer, watching each new eddy in the uncertain current of the present, or a creator, with an eye to an emerging future. Each kind is mentioned in the history of diplomatic and consular

Choice and Interpretation Are Dependent on Individual Character and Ideas, cal views, whether or not he regards the rôle of creative diplomat or consul as a fatuous one. In Japan and in China the period of indecisive conflict could hardly persist indefinitely, and reversion to former circumstances (if that was possible) or advance to a different relationship, with its myriad new complications, had to replace it. An official might not envisage coming changes if he insisted on perpetuation of the old order he was at least consistent, but if he temporized he revealed a vacillating personal disposition and character. On the other hand, an official might in some degree sense the drift of the times if he failed to accept and to act upon the implications of this insight he resembled the temporizing type just mentioned, but if he correlated his understanding and his official policy consistently and experimentally he was in a position to make a creative contribution to the future, and perhaps even to men of his own times. Not all the able and courageous men in our narrative belonged to this last (creative) group, but the prevailing circumstances presented to its members a marked opportunity for the exercise of independence.

Final judgments of individual men are ordinarily delayed, partly for the reason that time is often jealous of the surrender of essential materials, but also because

Bearing Factors on Historical Judgments it is necessary to gain perspective. Possibly the remarks which have been made describe an element in the customary hesitation to render an early verdict, and facilitate a definition of the term "perspective." The qualities of the individual are not judged in a vacuum, or in the present alone (although if a man is well known some of his contemporaries may be compelled to form a tentative working judgment of him). The later results of a career seem to form a part of it. As the future elucidates the past, so it tells whether an official's understanding was clear and discerning and his courage strong, and whether he employed these attributes in conjunction with forces which in retrospect deserve to be called creative. Besides, through the accidents of history, it sometimes happens that a man likely to deserve biographical notice possesses no contemporary ready or competent to attempt a preliminary estimate of his worth,² or that he labors so obscurely and so far from the light of publicity that the probable significance or the actual heroism of his efforts cannot be recognized at once.³ In other words,

² Such as that produced by Consul W. L. G. Smith (Shanghai) for his friend Lewis Cass.

³ Utterances of various men studied have revealed a difference among them in the reflective and dramatic senses:

there is a considerable element of chance in whether a deserving man will be given his historical position at a proper time, or at all—a fact which suggests the interesting nature of the principles of selection used in the choice of subjects for biographies.

Whatever these principles may be, the present investigation is confronted with a situation involving a number of officials of different races who were jointly concerned, about three-quarters of a century ago, with functions seriously affecting the interests and welfare of their peoples, but who, for the most part, have been passed over by history with little personal attention. Ignoring their individual attitudes toward one another, as well as

many lapses from a cooperative spirit in their joint tasks, the present discussion of their mutual relationship attempts to establish their identity as a group and to give them at least a small niche in history. In the cases of a few individual officers, native and American, the investigation as a whole tries, here and there, to stake out their proper claim to historical notice, somewhat in a spirit of honest memorial and recompense for their long obscurity. To the minds of some judges the work of the American consuls included in this small company may entitle them to a more significant position in history than that held by three or four of their better known but less creative countrymen who appeared on the Far Eastern scene as diplomats.

some performed a task and promptly forgot it in their preoccupation with the next one, others added a measure of reflection on its probable future significance or dwelt on it as a personal expression—legitimately hoping that it would be noticed prominently enough, in the one respect, to guarantee proper appreciation of the work done and, in the other, to bring the man in question the due amount of earned recognition, at the time or in the future, for his personal contribution, still others thought of the job largely as a road to egotistical gratification, either through mere prominence and the notoriety created by incidents or by constant insistence on their own importance.

A man of the first sort may easily be overlooked for years, a man of the third kind may secure early and undeserved attention and a specious reputation requiring subsequent reduction, a man of the intermediate type may wait as long for notice as his colleague in the first group, but he runs less risk of slipping into a "theatrical" attitude than his dominantly self-centered fellows. Moreover, he is in some ways a boon to the historical investigator, particularly if he resists the temptation to develop a personal grievance in case of neglect. For these over-sharp distinctions the reader will find some use in reading sections of this narrative.

Appendix 11

CHRONOLOGY OF THE DUTY QUESTION AT SHANGHAI, 1853-1856
 (A Case History)
 (See Chapter 12, note 60)

Sept 7, 1853--Capture of Shanghai (native city) by a branch of the Triad Society, local rebels thought for a time to be part of the Taiping movement, for which there was considerable foreign sympathy, entire stoppage of trade Sept 7-27 Foreign consuls preserved the customhouse from cessation and administered it Sept 7, 1853-Feb 8, 1854, at the instance of the Chinese authorities

Sept 9, 1853--Issue by consuls of temporary "Provisional rules for the clearing of ships, in the absence of a custom-house establishment",^a requiring consignees of each ship to give its consulate a written declaration of all consignees of imports and of all outward shippers, with quantity, description, weight, and value of dutiable goods, subject to check for accuracy by such other papers as the consul might require

^a55-1, H E Doc 123, 271-272, cf ibid, 257-263, and 754 (for principles and details not summarized here) Currency has erroneously been given to the date September 13

After this Chronology was prepared, the writer consulted important recent information in J K Fairbank's articles published in China (Chinese Social and Political Science Review, abbreviated here as CSPSR, and Nankai Social & Economic Quarterly—both fully cited in section G II of the Bibliography). Fairbank holds existing accounts relating to duty payments at Shanghai in 1853 to be in error at some points (CSPSR, XVIII, 491n.)

The present appendix emphasizes an American administrative problem. Fairbank's articles treat the duty question as whole, in all its aspects. Some items from these studies are included in the text of the appendix, others, given below, sketch the general picture. Early pages in CSPSR, XVIII, supply a good account of the broad background and the large issues of the customs problem at Shanghai.

Between the capture of Shanghai in September, 1853, and the month of June, 1854, there were four periods, roughly, in the administration of the customs:

(1) Under the "Provisional System", Sept 7, 1853-Feb 8, 1854, promissory notes were collected from 45 British vessels (Tls 476,300 due) and 25 American vessels (Tls 362,508). Fourteen other vessels under seven foreign flags (3 American) gave no bonds (9) or submitted bonds of doubtful validity (Tls 46,193). The bond of the American Beverley was meaningless. Non-treaty vessels leaving without declarations or promises to pay numbered seven, four or five made commitments with an impossible proviso. The Provisional System did keep the port open and limit inland exactions (CSPSR, XIX, 115-117, and XX, 54.)

(2) Under the revived customhouse of Wu Chien-chang, tactai, fourteen vessels sailed (Feb 9-Mar 17, 1854), seven (4 British, 2 American) paying duties at the customhouse, and seven others (3 British, 3 American) loading illegally outside the port, at Woosung. The latter gave either no account of cargo or a worthless bond, and owed Tls 34,513.

(3) [A period of confusion.] Mar 18-May 8, 1854, was inaugurated by the sailing of a Bremen vessel, the Aristides. (The consignee of the outward cargo was a member of a British firm, but, as a German, he was under no consular authority at Shanghai. Ibid, XIX, 477-478.) Twenty-one vessels (12 British, 6 American) left worthless promises automatically invalidating each other (Tls 200,620). Five others cleared without reporting (Tls 12,079).

(4) May 9-31, 1854—vessels cleared under a joint consular notification of May 9, giving bonds collectible if the home governments so desired. Seven vessels (5 British, 2 American) departed (Tls 26,257) (June 1-Jly 12, about a dozen more cleared, half British and half American.)

Thus, by June 1, over 150 vessels (above 58,000 tons) left Shanghai owing Tls 1,173,071 (American share, Tls 354,149, British share, nearly all the rest). The liability of foreign merchants remained unsettled. Two questions existed: collection of back duties, and future customs administration. Wu had not been able to collect duties in uniform manner from all foreign traders and different vessels had demanded preferential arrangements granted some. Increasing prospect of no revenue faced the Chinese authorities—hence their arrangement for collection of duties outside the port, a plan at variance with the treaty system. It was feared that trade would go elsewhere. Such was the crisis in which the British and American authorities, aided by circumstance and merchants' promises to pay up most of the bonded duties, induced the Chinese provincial authorities to sanction an experiment with a system of foreign customs inspectors (cf. CSPSR, XIX, 470-471.)

The consignees of the ship were required to present also a schedule of cargo and duties payable on goods and ship, corresponding with

the several declarations of importers and shippers. The amounts due were to be paid into the consulate in silver or by a bill of

While this experiment proceeded, the question of back duties was given further attention (Actually, as a result of a separate decision of Clarendon in London, none of the British back duties were paid, finally, only about a third of the American obligations to the customs were met Cf below, text of this appendix) Commissioner McLane decided in July that the matter required legal adjudication, but he faced the political difficulty of enforcing a legal decision against shippers in American vessels who claimed a different nationality It was decided that he should mediate between the American merchants and the Chinese authorities (Of text) American merchants and the taotai agreed to accept McLane's award (For Wu's agreement see CSPSR, XX, 71) Bowring, the chief British authority, accepted the idea of mediation, and the hostility of British merchants began to weaken In July, 1854, the consular courts were opened to claims due the Chinese government Then, in August, came Clarendon's decision that British bonds should be cancelled and British firms took advantage of this opportunity to go free (See too, *ibid*, XX, 85, on elements in Clarendon's decision--his second modification of local arrangements of which he had insufficient knowledge)

Full receipts from the American award (acknowledged by the taotai at the end of 1856) were Tls 81,592+ in sycee, Tls 27,455+ in duty receipts due since September 7, 1853, and papers from Canton showing duties paid there, and, finally, Tls 218+ in sycee--totalling Tls 109,266+ (*ibid*, XX, 89) Besides this, there were duty receipts of Heard and Company (Tls 8,859+) mentioned later in this appendix

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Specific reference is made, further, to supplementary information or special points noted by Fairbank in CSPSR

The Provisional System devised by Alcock was designed to keep collection of duties within the treaty port (XX, 95) On Alcock's responsibility and his importance in the formation of the system, and also for an unfavorable view of Marshall, see XIX, 85ff , and XVIII, 484-485 The British consul consistently adhered to a policy of aiding British trade in the midst of local difficulties (XIX, 123) Fairbank holds Bowring and Alcock in high esteem and supplies much information concerning them, he reveals the internal conflict within the British service, at home and in China (e.g., the case of Bonham and Bowring) The American consul Murphy was referred to contemporaneously as "the Palmerston of Shanghai" (XX, 93)

See XIX, 110-112 and 118 for Marshall's Anglophobia as an additional cause of his attack on the Provisional System in January, 1854, coincident receipt by Alcock of Clarendon's partly mistaken instructions of November, 1853, ensuing complications, Alcock's argument that a credit system violated the treaty, and his dislike of Cunningham's recognition of Wu's incompetent customhouse and Wu's announcement of his "floating customhouse" in October, 1855

Pages 79ff and 90ff in Volume XIX discuss this floating customhouse (on the river opposite the part of the settlement farthest from the besieged city)--a device which perhaps resulted from fear of possible American suspension of the provisional regulations (details on pp 81-82), the position of the American consulate as its only champion, and the gradual wearing down of this position and the return to the provisional system Fairbank is uncertain (63-64) whether the floating customhouse was actually established, and presents the taotai's dilemma in the face of foreign defence measures against the risks of native conflict In the same connection, he shows British use of intimidation and the strength of British desire to preserve the neutrality of the anchorage--a hope injured by violations of neutrality by foreign adventurers and by merchants who sold goods and ammunition to the rebels A lengthy narrative is given

As long as the taotai did not control the customs and the settlement boundaries sufficiently to prevent the flow of goods to the Triads, he could not re-establish the political authority without which Alcock would not let him control the customs--a vicious circle for which, however, the taotai was not entirely blameless Alcock's instructions from London gave him an opportunity to agree to Wu's resumption of collections on February 9, 1854 (XIX, 102)

See XIX, 82, for American firms' idea of shipping goods on non-American vessels, and XI, 96-97, for indication of smuggling of legally dutiable goods into opium receiving ships at Woosung, in February, 1854, and Wu's inability to fight them successfully or to coerce the shipmasters legally Furthermore, the presence of foot-loose Cantonese and some Fukienese who had come up to Shanghai had a troublesome effect Volume XX, 77-78, refers to a useful view of culture-contact found in a Chinese interpretation of foreign political and commercial relations

Fairbank's articles describe the Chinese government's desire to keep foreigners from going to the North and to avoid entanglement in treaty revision (rather than to recover back duties--a matter in which it felt, with some justice, that barbarian promises were unreliable) More generally, and positively, it was concerned rather with the Taipings than with the affairs of Westerners

the several parties payable on demand after forty days' sight in Shanghai to the Chinese superintendent of customs^b

Autumn, 1853--Ships of non-treaty powers went free Insufficient Anglo-American cooperation, increasing opposition of Chinese authorities to existing system

Jan 4, 1854--Letter of Commissioner Marshall to American consul authorizing clearance of American vessels without payment or promissory notes, following Marshall's unsuccessful attempt to enlist the cooperation of Chinese officials in the South--thus abrogating the unsatisfactory provisional rules (Notice to American merchants, Jan 20, without British concurrence) These rules had been interpreted by some merchants as meaning free trade Marshall sailed for home on January 27, 1854, and Bowring left early in the same year Marshall had decided Shanghai should be a free port, and told Cunningham at the consulate to retain all obligations for duties on American shipping since October 4, when the Austrian vessel Robert entered untaxed (This vessel sailed Oct 20, without tax or bond)

Feb 6, 1854--The taotai and collector of customs, Wu Chien-chang, announced his temporary customhouse, on the north side of Soochow Creek, outside the foreign settlement

Feb 7, 1854--Foreigners heard of an official Chinese proclamation of Jan 12, 1854, directing native tea and silk dealers away from Shanghai and calling for the levying of customs duties inland and the storing of goods until the rebels were expelled from Shanghai Growing foreign realization that Triads were local insurgents, rather than Taiping rebels, and that foreign neutrality as between the Emperor and the Taipings no longer required exclusion of Imperial authorities from the settlement

Feb 8-Mar 6, 1854--Resumption of customs administration and collections by the lax Chinese staff, with continued evasions of payments by merchants (Subsequently, responsibility was resumed by the consuls)

Feb 9, 1854--Recognition by the three consuls of a new Imperial customhouse Merchants hostile Actual end of the provisional rules Wu desired the consuls to reinstate him effectively as collector of customs, he evidently tried to break the "Provisional System", doubtless noticing the growing opposition of foreign merchants to payment of the promissory notes taken by Alcock and Cunningham (CSPER, XIX, 106ff) On January 14 the floating customhouse (already mentioned in note a) had returned to life, it had cleared no vessels before that date, when it received a troublesome and invalid

For the text of receipts and related items see XX, 71, 88n, and 89n, of XIX, 105n, and XVIII, 488-490, and 489n (form of promise to pay--in silver or by bill payable on demand at forty days' sight, in Shanghai, to the Chinese superintendent of customs--given by both American and British merchants, with one variation, importance of American omission of the British proviso making promises to pay dependent on subsequent sanction by the home government) There is critical comment on Marshall in XVIII, 481 and 495

Various items supply a new picture of the taotai and collector of customs, Wu Chien-chang This political climber, a Kwangtung man, was not a member of the literati He was regarded by his superiors as a useful agent in managing foreigners because he had some knowledge of their ways It is charged that he and Cunningham (of the American consulate and Russell and Company)--each a trader in public office--were both interested in making money by support of rebels Wu and the Shanghai leader of the Triads were acquaintances of long standing The failure of the former to control the rebels created complications, British officers were distrustful of him (Cf CSPER, XIX, 102 and 125) His degradation (Jly 11, 1854) was probably not the result of reasons hitherto assigned (compliance with foreign desires in the establishment of a foreign customs inspectorate), but rather the consequence of a variety of crimes, relating chiefly to malfeasance in the siege of Shanghai Wu seems to have been near that city as late as the end of 1855; in December he was sentenced to be banished to Tartary, but, supported by the Imperial commander before Nanking, he was conditionally retained with the army This official's motives were questionable, but his ability was undoubtedly He was apparently aided by his wealth, although his manner of avoiding exile must await use of more information than appears in official reports to the Emperor At the end of April, 1856, he communicated with the American consul and in September he was in Shanghai In 1858 he was still there, dealing with foreigners His successor was the taotai Len

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The present writer wishes to acknowledge his great debt to Dr Fairbank's articles, which supplement and correct parts of his own studies The new information, only partially sketched here, deserves wide notice in its original form, to which it is hoped foregoing borrowings will draw increased attention

^bOn Siamese and European vessels and on junks clearing without payment see The North-China Herald, Mar 11, 1854 (letter of W R Adamson of the Shanghai British Chamber of Commerce, desiring exemption)

conditional promise to pay duties given by the American ship *Beverley* (*Ibid*, 108 See also p 110 for the coincident arrival of Clarendon's instructions of November, 1853, the cases of the *Oneida* and the *Science*, of Russell and Company, and the gist of the Alcock-Cunningham correspondence of January, 1854)

Mar 6, 1854--Renewed confusion at the customhouse and independent assumption by foreign consuls of its administration, clearing of ships without payment of duties in money, followed by the taotai's retaliatory notification (Mar 25) of transfer of collection of export duties to the interior--"in defiance of Treaty"--and Chinese request that the foreign authorities collect import duties and tonnage dues, statistical complications, foreign objections, recriminations between Chinese and foreign officials and among the latter, some shipments without formalities or payment (Murphy, non-merchant consul, had assumed charge of the American consulate on Mar 4, or, possibly, on Mar 6)

Apr., 1854--Early in the month difficulty with Chinese soldiery resulted in the driving back of the Imperialists by foreigners

May 9, 1854--Abandonment of the customhouse by Chinese authorities, Shanghai entirely a free port

June 29, 1854--Agreement between the Shanghai taotai and superintendent of customs, Wu Chien-chang, and the three consuls, providing for foreign inspectors, according to the plan possibly suggested by McLane (On Alcock's agency see Dennett, *op cit*, 228n, and conflicting comment by Fairbank in *CSPSR*, XX, 47-48, 62, and 93n , to the effect that Alcock probably conceived the plan and left presentation of it to McLane, as his superior in rank) Subsequently McLane proposed, in place of a judicial handling of the arguments concerning duties, an arrangement by which he should act as mediator, later in the summer the promissory notes of English merchants were ordered cancelled because of the Chinese government's asserted non-fulfillment of its obligation to protect commerce and its inability to collect duties (of 4 Canton CL, Spooner to Marcy, Oct 6, 1853, encl from Foreign Office, June 18, 1851) Possibly the attempt to assimilate the policies of the two foreign nations accounts for the late deposit

of the award at the consulate, on November 23, 1854 McLane allowed the Chinese customs one-third of their claim, regarding the remainder see above, 141n

Jly 9, 1854--Reopening of the customhouse

Jly 12, 1854--End of periods of cooperation of United States consulate in the administration of the customhouse at the port Beginning of the new system with foreign inspectors

Nov 7, 1854--(Given usually in the discussion in the manuscripts as Nov 8, possibly the date of the copy sent the Legation)--Secretary Marcy's direction to Murphy to cancel (as the British did) all bonds and obligations received by the consulate under the provisional rules of September 9, 1853, and to rescind these regulations, statement that for the future the Department withheld any instructions until affairs became clearer (This order was sent before the government knew of reference of the dispute to Commissioner McLane) Parker, of the Legation, was later told to advise the Chinese authorities that McLane's arbitration decision--apparently not forwarded from China to the government until late November, 1854--was binding and to set for the consul the time within which the Chinese must demand payment, a vexing administrative move,^c--complicated by Parker's (possibly indiscreet) supplying, to interested American merchants, copies of the Department's direction before Murphy received his own slow-moving instructions on Feb 22, 1855

Dec 31, 1854--Receipt by consulate of duty money

Feb. 18, 1855--Evacuation of Shanghai (native city) by the rebels, the city in ruins

Feb 20, 1855--Murphy uninformed by McLane of the latter's resignation, or by Parker of this officer's appointment to act as diplomatic representative, Murphy unable to find any authority for Parker's reversal of what he regarded as a final judgment of his court d

Feb 28, 1855--Murphy's letter (No 11) to Marcy enclosing a copy of McLane's award and reviewing in detail the story of the import, export, and tonnage payments due (over 354,000 taels) His tardy receipt on

^cShanghai CI (19, 5, p 409), Marcy to Murphy, Nov 7, 1854 (see also p 414 for Marcy's letter to Goodhue and Company of New York--and Vol 22, 6, p 22, letter to Reiss Brothers and Company of New York, Jan 23, 1855, and p 46, Feb 17, 1855--for indications of Departmental responsiveness to representations of merchants in the United States desiring cancellation of the bonds for duties at Shanghai), 1 China DI, Marcy to Parker, Oct 5, 1855 (Dual numbering of volumes of consular instructions is described below, in the Bibliography, B I a, under the heading "Despatches to Consuls") (For two British comments on duties see Morse, *Int Reis*, I, 679)

^dShanghai CI, Murphy to Marcy, Feb 20, 1855 McLane departed in December, 1854

Feb 22 of the Department's instruction (Nov 7 or 8)^e Sometime before it arrived, however, the consulate had returned to American merchants all their notes and obligations but had retained those of Englishmen shipping under the American flag (of the case of English shippers at Foochow). On receipt of the Department's instruction, the consulate returned all obligations received under the provisional rules (Sept 9, 1853-Feb 9, 1854). Those deposited between February 9 and July 12, 1854 were retained, pending instructions. Murphy emphasized the fact that McLane as arbitrator served in his individual rather than his official capacity and observed that, although shippers had received a partial refund, the consumers in the United States had already absorbed the amount involved (a circumstance resembling the question of return of impounded processing taxes in the United States in 1853). Murphy was troubled by the Department's original reversal of arrangements made under its own advice to encourage settlements by "mutual agreement". It should be kept in mind that during negotiations different tacticians held office; Murphy felt that the incumbent at the moment was justified in asking for delay in his acceptance, in order to communicate with his superiors, to whom he was strictly accountable for a conclusion of the matter in harmony with Chinese ideas--an essential phase of the question.

Another of Murphy's troubles was the threat of prosecution for return of the moneys held by the court, he sought from the Department a legal opinion as to his own danger. Enclosures with his letter supply copies of much correspondence from American firms and yield information on recognition of the Chinese customhouse, responsibility of the British authorities for the provisional rules, the question of local Chinese sovereignty during insurrection and foreign authorities' obligations under the treaties. They also bear on the theory of adjustment of amounts of money due, and the Chinese government's relation to financial and military disturbances which damaged foreign

trade. Reference is made to a claim of the Chinese superintendent of customs for duties prior to September 5, 1853 on ships not cleared. (The usage of the port was to settle all duties at the time of clearance.) Further information appears concerning the cooperation of consuls in administration of the customs, with a chronology of various steps in the adjustments, recriminations between Chinese and foreign officials and among the latter, shipments without formalities or payment of duties,^f comparison between British and American accounts, amounts to be collected by the consulate from Americans and American firms under the award (over 118,000 taels, Russell and Company leading with over 58,000 taels), and other items. (Comments and amounts are available in print in 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 400-407.)

Mar 5, 1855--An unsigned direction to Murphy, presumably from Parker, to return to American merchants the moneys paid in under the McLane award, Murphy's refusal to concur in Parker's interpretation of the Department's letter of November 8, Parker's threat to suspend Murphy for "disobedience", argument over the legal question of whether or not McLane's award was an award of Murphy's consular court (Murphy insisting that its having developed from formal proceedings in that court, under McLane's eye, regularized it, Parker, in spite of its having been filed with the consulate, asserting that after leaving the court it had never been returned), attempt to secure Parker's signature to his letter, continuing delays, and asserted indirections and excuses by Parker.^g

June 11, 1855--Murphy's report of the absence in China of a diplomatic representative, there being no commissioner or secretary of legation actually functioning.^h

June 13, 1855--Letter of Commodore Abbot to Consul Jones at Foochow affirming the correctness and judiciousness of Murphy's course in the duty matter.

Dec 31, 1855--Murphy's letter (No 34) to Marcy, with enclosures, indicating lack of a reply to his request of February

^eFor another instance of delay see Shanghai CT (22, 6, p 558), Marcy to Murphy, Apr 6, 1855, supplying the consul with a copy of the Department's new directions of Oct 5, 1855, regarding duties (see above, in the paragraph under Nov 7, 1854).

^fThe North-China Herald of March 11, 1854, refers to the departure of two American vessels, under a notification by the United States consul of secession from the provisional compact, without payment or security (note also Michie, The Englishman in China, I, 149-150), 4,000 tons of tea and silk were then lying at Woosung to be shipped without duties, among the ships being the American Wild Duck; see also comment on the Helena.

^gShanghai CT, Murphy to Marcy, Apr 2 and June 11, 1855

^hThis, June 11

ⁱ3 Shanghai CT; note also Jones' letter to Abbot, June 12, 1855, from Foochow, with vigorous remarks about traders.

regarding duty money in his charge, and reporting delay in acceptance of it by the Chinese on account of changes of officers in the local administration. The money was then still in the hands of the shroff of Russell and Company, since the consul had no place for it. Russell and Company warned him that they would not be responsible unless it could be used in their business (an idea he could not entertain with propriety), the Oriental Bank would not accept it, on account of the unsettled state of affairs at Shanghai, and Captain Pope of the U.S. Sloop Vandalia verbally declined to take it on board. Consequently, Murphy appointed a receiver to the United States consular court, Lewis Carr (the original American appointee to the foreign inspectorate, referred to in one source as having been connected with the Legation)--the only responsible American citizen at the port not interested. Carr gave as security bills of exchange on London, question was raised about them in some quarters and Murphy declined to let one inquiring mercantile house inspect them, Commodore Abbot, given access to them, advised sending the first of exchange. At this juncture the Chinese authorities decided to demand payment.^j An enclosed copy of a letter of December 29, 1855, from the Chinese authorities indicated their mystification over the delay in payment. As Murphy's health seemed likely to require him to visit the United States, the wish was expressed that he have his government end the matter and so permit a report to their superior officers and to the Emperor, it was hoped that earlier Chinese delay in accepting the money would not be used as a subterfuge by merchants for non-payment. The document in question gave Murphy high praise for his talent and virtue, noted that he was not a merchant like his predecessors and not, like them, "unavoidably influenced by improper motives", and asked that he return to the port for the reason that, in the opinion of Chinese officials and merchants, no other person could handle the matter as well as he.

Jan 1-Aug 6, 1856--Murphy absent from Shanghai on a trip home. Conference between Murphy and Parker in the early part of

January, before Murphy's departure from Hongkong, and decision--on the basis of instructions there received from the Department and an opinion of the Attorney-General (that McLane's award could not be set aside)--that Murphy should send word to Vice Consul Fish at Shanghai to pay the sums covered by bills of exchange, leaving the portion represented by duty receipts and a disputed amount due (in sycee, said the Chinese) from Heard and Company to be adjusted by Murphy on his return, if agreeable to the Chinese authorities. In accordance with this decision, therefore, a partial payment was made and a receipt for \$1,592 tael obtained, the Chinese officials making due allowance for expenses of safekeeping, in accordance with an understanding.^k

Parker's attempt during Murphy's absence to "review" McLane's award, leading (according to Murphy) to indignation against Parker on the part of the taotal, because of this commissioner's apparent eagerness to deprive the Chinese of the money allowed by his predecessor, McLane. Parker gave the impression that he hoped to involve the native authorities in an apparent or partial refusal, in which case the sums in question would revert to the American merchants, whom Parker seemed anxious to oblige. The commissioner's living at the firm of Russell and Company offended the Chinese, in view of the fact that at the time a Chinese subject had a claim against that house amounting to fifty thousand dollars, regarded by Murphy as properly coming before himself and the taotal but prejudiced by Parker's having, assertedly, assumed supervisory jurisdiction over consulates--tantamount to "an absolute control" and involving the nation's honor.^l The commissioner's presence appears to have been a genuine hindrance to successful dealings.

Apr 15, 1856--Chinese receipt of bills of exchange in part payment

Aug , 1856--Murphy's need of new instructions after his return from the United States, difference of opinion between Parker and Murphy over the former's instructions to the consul, based on a letter brought to Parker by Murphy from the Department of State and delivered the day of his arrival, August 4

^j It seems to have been the practice for customs officers at Shanghai not to receive individual notes of merchants for over five hundred dollars but to accept bills of exchange of some established bank. Fairbank (GSPSR, XX, 86) states that at the beginning of 1855 Murphy invested the money, at 6s, 2d and 6s, 5d per dollar, in sterling bills of exchange of the Oriental Bank Corporation and the Merchants Bank of India. Fairbank further states that a year later these bills had lost about \$10,000 in value.

^k Shanghai CL, Murphy to Marcy, No 1, Sept 1, 1856, with enclos., and No 3, Sept 6, 1856

^l Ibid., Sept 1, 1856, with enccls.

Murphy at this time criticized Parker's Chinese interpreter, whom he called a "scamp", and pointed to the commissioner's public attentions to the man as an offence to Chinese officials. In his controversies with Parker, the consul may have suffered from undue personal irritation, but in nearly every instance the reader's

Shortly afterward, in a letter to Murphy, Parker referred to receipt of such a communication by the latest mail--an assertion which led Murphy vigorously to recall that he had delivered it. The consul asked for a certified copy of the instructions to Parker, inasmuch as the paraphrase was unsatisfactory.^m (It is possible, of course, that Parker had received a second copy from the Department by mail.) Comparison with the import of the copy in the Department of State indicates that Murphy's complaint actually arose as much from the fault of the Department's composition as from Parker's paraphrase.ⁿ An ordinarily trivial matter in this instance assumed sharp importance.

Situation quiet at Shanghai with regard to the rebellion.

Autumn, 1856--Renewed fear that difficulties with the rebels might complicate settlement of the duty question, difficulty produced by the special problem of Heard and Company's receipts.

December 26, 1856--Murphy's report^o of final settlement of the Chinese claim for duties, Sept 7, 1853-Jly 12, 1854 (recognized by a receipt from the taotai specifying that the settlement was complete, in accord with McLane's award). Depreciation of the bills of exchange was accepted by the Chinese authorities as an offset to the cost of safe-keeping. "The settlement of this question and the good understanding which prevails at this port is a most instructive commentary on the position we have, and do now occupy at the others, especially at Canton."

The Special Case of Heard and Company

A special difficulty arose in connection with duties from this firm. The consulate had much interesting correspondence with Heard and Company (and Wetmore and Company), who maintained a strong difference of opinion with Murphy. In January, 1855, the firm disputed the absoluteness of its part in the

original agreement to submit the duty question to McLane's arbitration and to abide by the outcome. (The American merchants in agreeing had curiously, and perhaps presumptuously, expressed confidence in what they termed McLane's "repeated assurances" that he would conclude no "compromise less favorable" to them "than could be obtained by a legal award", accordingly, they had agreed to be bound by "any arrangement" he might effect.) Murphy replied in trenchant manner to what was substantially a request for a "jury after judgment".^p

This difficulty, presenting arguments of reason on both sides, related to eighteen receipts for over 8,000 *taels* bearing date prior to September 7, which the firm wished to have accepted instead of *sycee*. At the beginning of the matter, 1.e., before September 7, 1852, there were eleven ships discharging and loading which obtained receipts from the government banker; these were never brought to the customhouse for clearances, as the eleven ships departed when the city fell. Heard and Company held the receipts--taken, it seems, in the course of business for teas purchased before the downfall of the city (Sept 7). Since the shipments in question were not made until after September 7, it was felt that the usage of the port (1.e., payment of duties at the time of clearance) should not set aside the fact that the money was paid out in full before becoming due, and it was urged that the identity of the ships and goods rather than the time of payment should prevail, and that the receipts should be accepted as cash under the award. On the reopening of the customhouse on July 9, 1854, merchants were told that receipts issued before September 7 were "useless paper".^q

Shortly after his return to Shanghai, Murphy reported the failure of the Department to answer his inquiry of February, 1855, regarding the question of Heard and Company. Even in view of the special circumstances and the possible equity of the firm's case, he

suspicion of Murphy's bias is modified or removed by the weight of evidence

^m Shanghai CL, Sept 6, 1856

ⁿ China DI, Marcy to Parker, No 5, May 16, 1856

^o Shanghai CL, No 9, to Marcy, with enccls

^{P2} Shanghai CL, Murphy to Marcy, No 11, Feb 23, 1855

^q Shanghai CL, Murphy to Marcy, No 9, Dec 28, 1856, enc1, Lan to Murphy, Nov 30, 1856. Fairbank states (CSPCR, IX) that, through Consul Murphy, McLane showed that only those duty receipts for items paid (by merchants concerned in the award) at interior customhouses or at Shanghai Sept 7, 1853-Jly 12, 1854, could be paid as cash to the superintendent of customs in part payment of the award.

felt that it was not right to alter the arbitrator's decision. As previously stated, he brought back to China from the Department a despatch for Parker, on the basis of which the commissioner gave him directions which he regarded as irregular and as requiring further instructions from Washington. He asserted that Parker's "review" of McLane's award was made without hearing the Chinese side of the matter, and quoted Parker as defending this review on the ground that McLane's literal directions, given just before his departure from China, were written without opportunity to examine the facts or to consult the archives.^r The conflict in Murphy's mind between duty to American merchants and loyalty to national honor is evident in his handling of the Heard case.

Finally, anxious to conclude the entire duty matter, attentive to Parker's arguments, and aware that no other nation had paid a penny, Murphy lessened his emphasis on strict construction and decided to urge the Chinese officials to accept the receipts in question if he could do so without destroying confidence. He had many interviews with the Chinese authorities, one of four hours. He pointed out that these receipts had been obtained for mercantile and not for speculative purposes.^s Although the receipt from the taotai for the general settlement stated that Heard and Company's payment was still owing, Murphy was willing to accept it, regarding the exception as "only a peculiarity of the Chinese in such matters", in view of the fact that the taotai was obliged to mention the point in order to protect himself against his superiors. In referring to the case the taotai told the Chinese governor, by way of excuse for Heard and Company, that it "really appeared that the house could not manage the payment".^t

Note on Levies on Tea in Chekiang Province
(Cf Chapter 12, note 52)

"In joint proclamation to all whom it concerneth.

"Whereas, by the code of tariff regulations of the Board of Revenues, teas which are the product of the province of Chekiang must be provided with permits, in order to legalize the exportation of them to

another province for sale, offences against this law coming under the head of smuggling illegal teas, the owners are punishable with the same penalties as for smuggling illicit salt, a rule which has never been departed from:

"And whereas, of late, the number of permits issued by the board has been insufficient to meet the increasing consumption of teas, giving rise to legal proceedings, last year, against Tang-tai-ke, in the Woakan district of Hoochowfoo, in whose case upwards of 3,100 chests of tea belonging to him were seized by the commissioner of silk whilst being smuggled out of the province, he was fined in the sum of 6,000 taels of silver, besides paying a contribution to the patriotic fund of 14,000 taels of silver before the case could be settled.

"This said merchant and others, anxious to avoid further implications on this account from the want of permits, have justly solicited that a committee be established in the capital of the province, with authority to issue government certificates which will enable them to export the teas, and they have expressed a desire to defray the expenses attending the augmentation of the permits.

"We, the joint commissioners and Taoutae, having giving [given] the subject our redoubled attention, and with a view to fostering the revenue and benefiting the trade, and admitting the practicability of their suggestion, have received the sanction of the governor of the province on the report we laid before him of this plan in conjunction with the committee of public safety.

"A committee for the levying of the tea tax has this month been established in the capital of the province, Hankow; stamped certificates of the governor of the province are issued to this committee, one of which is equal to ten *yin* or permits, each *yin* or permit being valued for 100 catties, which certifies the exporters will hold as their authority. Government stations have likewise been established at the most important passes, in order to maintain a proper control of the teas as they pass along.

"for every *yin* or permit of 100 catties they [the merchants] will pay 1 tael of treasury weight into the office of the committee of public safety, charged with the military expenditure for the national defences, which is to include barrier dues, permit fees, and all other charges, whereupon they are licensed to pass the teas out of the province.

"Teas from another province passing in transit through the province of Chekiang will simply require a stamped certificate of the governor of the province.

^r And as stating that, in conference with McLane in the United States, he (Parker) had obtained the former commissioner's true view (S Shanghai CL, Murphy to Marcy, No 1, Sept 1, 1856, with encls.)

On the Heard and Company matter and concurrent difficulties see Fairbank's detailed narrative (op cit, II, 86-88), including the firm's claim for damage to the *Mermaid* by a Chinese government vessel.

^s From the discussions of this case it appears that (Nov 31, 1854) there was in circulation \$250,000 in duty receipts which had been selling at 50% discount.

^t S Shanghai CL, Murphy to Marcy, No 9, Dec 26, 1856, with encls.

they came from, the quantity being found to correspond with that inserted in the governor's certificate, the teas will have free permission to pass through without let or hindrance on the part of the custom-house "

(Confiscation and other punishments are mentioned)

"These regulations will not affect those who by the old arrangement have applied to the Taoutae's and Chekeen's offices for legal permits "

"Let them take a warning from what happened to Tang-tai-ke By the present liberal arrangement, not more than 900 yin or permits, costing only 900 taels of silver, is all that was requisite to clear the whole of his cargo of tea, whereas, observe, he has had to pay, one way or another, no less than 20,000 taels of silver

"Were the old regulations to continue unamended, and no government certificates delivered, then it is impossible to foresee where the example set by Tang-tai-ke would stop We leave it to the merchants to decide which will be the safest course to pursue, or, in other words, who will be the gainer, and who the loser

"It has come to our understanding that all the teas of Ningpo, Shanlung, Wanchow, and Taichow are exported direct by sea, in direct opposition to the legal prohibitions Parties who wish to export tea by sea are bound by the same rule to make previous appli-

cation at the provincial capital for government certificates, and before they can legally export them they must, by the tariff established for foreign trade, pay the export duties of 2t 5m for every yin of 100 cat-ties

"All attempts at defrauding the revenue by giving in light weights, or taking nearer and shorter roads in preference to the longer distance, (when the custom-houses are established), shall, on detection, be dealt with increased rigor

"In every case when we find the merchant can be benefited by our support, we will never refuse it to him, in the hope of removing as many difficulties as possible out of his way But on the other hand it will be expected from the merchants generally, who live by the soil, and are daily deriving immense profit from their trade, that, in gratitude to the imperial country in thus framing the new regulations so to moderate a scale, even at a time when the country is pressed down by enormous military expenses, they will cheerfully and readily come forward to meet the demands upon them, and that they will refrain from exposing themselves to the detention and annoyance [to] which any irregularities or evasions on their part would not fail to subject them, at the hands of the rapacious set of clerks and employés

"Hienfung, 5th year, 3d moon, 2d day, (18th April)"

Appendix 12

QUOTATIONS FROM THE PREFACE, LIST OF CHAPTERS,
ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS, AND SPECIMEN PAGES
(IN PARTS I-III), FROM THE ORIGINAL FORM
OF THE STUDY

Quotations from the Preface

"Begun a dozen years ago, this inquiry has been completed by intermittent work at different places. Its original scope has been so broadened that the problem of most readers will be one of selection. Therefore, in addition to the customary table of contents, a detailed analytical table of contents is provided. This is more than a list of the many topics considered, for it suggests the drift of most of the chapters. The specialist with definite categories in mind will find the index an aid to selective reading. Examination of the index will show that, under certain headings, it also supplies guidance to scattered data on a few additional subjects (e.g., 'Mechanics of Trade' and 'Merchants') to which it has not been possible to assign individual chapters. Occasional attention, furthermore, has been given in the text or the footnotes to matters on the frontier of the subject, in order to facilitate new researches and to permit easy correlation with studies of other portions of Asia. The outstanding points, however, are summarized in the Conclusion.

"The reference to possible new researches requires amplification. There are books of general interest--consumer's goods, as the economists might say--and books of value only in the preparation of other books--producer's goods. Additional investigations would belong chiefly to the second class. Some of these would make specific contributions which scholars and popularizers might appropriate, others would merely round out an area of knowledge. Without attempting to decide exactly what the relative usefulness of additional studies would be, I have indicated in a number of places lines of inquiry which it has not been possible to exhaust in this work. In a few instances the topics in question have been described in some detail. In the index, a complete key to pages mentioning such leads appears under 'Research Topics', one of the headings which supplement the table of contents. Most of these subjects will be found much less complex than the present investigation. In the Bibliography, remarks are made on the importance of intelligent, selective editorial work, equally as valuable as monographic research. It would be gratifying if more members of the consular staff today, following the best examples of

proper methodology, would add a scholarly luster to their national duties by editing the records (especially parts of the local correspondence) in their archives. Some of these repositories have yielded remarkably good information for the present work.

"The material included in following chapters has offered many problems of selection and presentation. Although most of the work has gone through several stages in condensation, much supporting evidence in the text and in footnotes has been retained. It is naturally impossible to predict uniformly which statements and topics readers with diverse interests may wish to question or follow up. The employment of citations in a work composed largely of cumulative effects requires a somewhat different principle from the use of them in writings more dependent on a limited number of single decisive statements or documents, as in certain types of diplomatic history. Those who have no concern with footnotes will find the text reasonably complete in itself.

"Besides support of the text, however, footnotes have other values, not the least of which is their convenience as a means of getting into circulation scores of helpful, but obscure and unorganized, facts that otherwise would almost certainly be ignored or overlooked for many years. A prolonged research on such a subject as is treated here requires no apology when it now and then incidentally performs the service of a reference work. It should also lead in this way to a greater attack by scholars on the storehouses of information in Washington, D. C. and elsewhere, either by visits or by correspondence.

"By using diversity of narration the text takes into account the need of different classes of readers for unlike details. Specialists in one subject tend to assume that other specialists naturally possess the same background and point of view. Nevertheless, it is surprising how often what is obvious to one is unknown to the others, to say nothing of more general readers. What, after all, is history without the reader? His interest is not necessarily limited to the more usual concerns of professional historians. An 'outsider' may rightly feel that the telling of any past truth is 'history' for him if, within the general limits of the theme treated and in accordance with the historical attitude and technique, it offers

something he wants to know or use

"This work includes not only regional and international history, but 'period-history' as well. It attempts so to ground the reader in the life of bygone years that he may come to feel himself a part of the era. He may, perhaps, fancy himself moving about acceptably on the mid-nineteenth century stage in Eastern Asia as an effective consul or a competent merchant, endowed with information, from many varied sources, greater than the average individual at the time could command. Use of examples and cases enables him vicariously to experience history as well as to read it. Oversimplified narratives do not serve the purposes of period-history, which embraces both constant and shifting features. Believers in extremely sublimated history should find the analytical table of contents sufficient. They will also avoid apparently diffuse passages and those repetitions which result from a need of emphasis in presentation or of describing new bearings of old facts.

"What has been said about supporting evidence applies to use of quotations. By its very nature an account of 'relations' is apt to involve a study of opinion. While innumerable effective quotations have been summarized or ignored, others have been employed as indispensable reminders of the spirit of the age. The historian of a period remembers, as he writes, that intervening occurrences or facts and recent investigative methods and concepts were not the property of the years in question. It follows that his narrative should saturate the reader with the facts and ideas of the period and should for a time circumscribe him with its limitations. This psychological subtraction is a difficult and complex operation. Even temporarily it is not easy to live by paradox and to share both the reactions of an 1850 man and the ideas of 1888. The time-focus requires frequent adjustment.

"In this adjustment quotations assist. Paraphrase, like excessive condensation, often creates a cloud between reader and subject, too great a price to pay for a breezy brevity or a spurious finality. The determination and choice of facts and the writing of them as history, moreover, are to some extent an act of faith, too seldom permitting unqualified affirmations and denials. It is well to keep the reader in frequent contact with the sources—representing the natural substance of history rather than remarks about it. It has even seemed expedient at times to allow the method and the editorial procedure of the source-book to modify the less direct approach of formally written history, particularly in view of the fact that no separate source-book is likely to be prepared for this interesting field and period. This procedure will be observed not only in appendices, but also in still more convenient chapter-end notes and in portions of the text.

"The amount of attention given to pictorial and other visual material and the descriptions in the narrative are designed to serve the same purpose, namely, to enable the reader to keep the story in its setting. He will find an extension of this remark at the beginning of the last section (K) of the Bibliography."

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American Shipping Begins, Navigation Difficulties--Shipping at the Amur 1855-1857,--1858,--1859,--American Vessels, 1859,--Shipping in 1860	A Review of Consular Ports--Advantages and Leadership of Shanghai, Co-operation of Some Native Officials--Choice of Ports Not Uniformly Satisfactory, Special Features of Other Chinese Ports--Ports of Japan, Old Traditions and New Practices--Bonds Between Two Commercial Agencies in the North
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List and Abstract of Points in the General Statement--Appraisal of the Consular Service, Judgment of Individual Consular Officers--Lack of Adjustment of Congressional Attitudes Toward Consular Needs in the Asiatic Scene, Diversity of Opinion Among Americans, Question of a Criterion of Consular Legislation--Usefulness of the Consular Approach to International Relations--"National Honor"--The Questions of "Equality", and of Identity of American and Other Foreign Interests--British Leadership, American "Dependency"--The Treaty System, Individualism vs Supervision--Changes in the Character of Trade and Merchants, Commercial Ethics--Various Specific or Limited Findings and Corrections of Current Errors	

Appendix 12 (continued)

Specimen Pages (in Parts I-III)

(Note These selections from unedited draft pages are set up here, in reduced size, simply to indicate the more extensive nature of the basic material References, in brackets, to corresponding parts of the present volume permit comparisons.)

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Coast with the Pacific and with Eastern Asia grew constantly more intimate and complex. The first vessel sent from Portland to China, the Emma Preston, set out for Hongkong near the end of January, 1851, and arrived April 1.²³ During the eleven months from September, 1852, to July, 1854, one vessel cleared from the Columbia for Australia and one for the Sandwich Islands, out of one hundred and twenty vessels (including five for San Francisco).²⁴

Commercially, however, the Western route to the Orient was not quite complete with the growth of the Pacific communities and the use of Panama. The question of transcontinental transportation remained. Surely the need was so great

transcontinentally and the issue so clear that it would be settled forthwith. This was not to be the case. Not only Railways did intermediate obstacles appear, but "the poli-

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of the Pacific, XIII, No 8 (June 15, 1924), 126. One of these firms, Parrott and Company (1865), was founded by John Parrott, formerly United States consul at Mazatlan, Mexico, who when he made a fortune, which he invested in business in San Francisco. In addition to his mercantile interests, he had commercial connections with the London and San Francisco Bank, Ltd.; the writer is informed that this is the lineage predecessor of the present Bank of California.

²³See Marine Journal, Jan. 25, 1851. Oregon Weekly News, June 26, 1851. The two names indicate the same paper. The second reference suggests February 1 as having been the date of departure. The arrival of this vessel was reported by the brig Aztec, from Whampoa to Portland direct, in sixty days, with a cargo of opium. Norris & Company. For this date the writer is indebted to Mr. W. H. Phillips, Jr., of the firm.

According to E. W. Marston's History of the Pacific Northwest (Portland, 1895), pp. 57 and 59, the brig Aztec was the first vessel to reach Portland from the Orient, arriving in 1851 from Whampoa, and the Empress of China (see note 26) and the Dragon (see note 27) in 1852 (see below, p. 69). For the Crookston Clinton, see Minneapolis Tribune, Washington, D. C., 1855-1854. This writer affirms that Captain Nathaniel Groby, Jr., took the first cargo of opium to China from Milton, Oregon, early in 1852 and another cargo from Olympia, Washington, in the fall of the same year, and died at that place.

In 1854 the ship John N. (?) Gosselin, American master, left Puget Sound for Hongkong by way of San Francisco and was abandoned, with eleven feet of water in her, at Guan, the crew proceeded to Hongkong in the clipper ship Pengland (Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 23, 1853, pp. 111-122). This vessel was operated in the Sandwich Islands and China trades for several years in the fifties, under Captain M. C. Erskine (but see also Appendix 4); the Live Yankee, sailed from Puget Sound for China with lumber in 1855 ("Wright, on Oct. 18, 1855, of also ibid. 284). In the summer of 1855 (?) the Yankee and Gosselin made a round trip for a round voyage to Pagan (now Rangoon) (see New York Times, No. 11, Aug. 1, 1855). No consistent record of such voyages has been prepared.

²⁴Monthly Rev., XII, No 12 (Dec 15, 1823), 274. In the Fraser River boom of 1858 many passengers were carried on vessels figuring in the infinite trade, such as the Live Yankee, the Golden State, the Adelaide (bk.), and the Emma (Wright, pp. 50-51, 69).

ground pepper (lb.), \$2 50-55; Manila cigars, No 2 (1,000), \$20-355 (Monthly Rev., XII, No 8, Aug. 15, 1828, p. 174). A comparative table (ibid., 176) of highest prices reached by various articles, 1850-1854, shows the following: tea (lb.), \$2 50-55; opium (lb.), \$2 50-55; gold (dram), \$100-120; silver (dram), \$20 cents (1852), and then said between 10 and 12 cents, priced below California rice in 1850; it led that article in 1855. Manila sugar stood at 12 cents in 1850, at 21 cents in 1852, and at 30 cents in 1855. Sydney coal amounted from \$1 a ton in 1850 to \$1 50-55 in 1852, \$1 50-55 in 1853. Green tea brought a record price in 1854 and at 50 cents in 1855, while black tea brought 80 cents and 42 cents.

²⁵Various hemp products had long been taken. The log book of the ship Delhi (Manila, 1850-1854) shows that after discharging paint oil, matches, barrels of wood, rice, stores, etc., and loading the vessel loaded rope, mate, coffee, tobacco, sugar, sassafras, tea, and flour. Imports into the United States from the Philippines Islands in 1850 were \$63,508 (\$60,156 dutiable) and \$4,596,106 (\$2,785,725 dutiable), respectively; imports from China in 1850 were \$1,000,000 (\$1,000,000 dutiable) and \$264,603 (\$21,691 domestic), respectively. Gold and silver were included in these figures. For the Hawaiian trade the figures were imports, \$1,668 (\$268 dutiable) and \$34,748 (\$253 014 dutiable); exports, none given (\$253,325 (\$34,948 domestic)). Imports amounted during three years to \$1,000,000, and exports amounted to \$1,000,000. The China Mail, Dec. 15, Pt. 8, 1871, 1872, Part 11, pp. 8142, 8149, supplies wholesale prices of commodities, including those from Asia, in London and Manchester, 1845-1850, and wholesale prices of commodities in the United States, 1840-1850, with 1850 prices in parentheses.

In Leiby's The Americans in the Philippines, I, 55ff., are many facts regarding early nineteenth century activity of foreigners in the Philippines Islands. Some of these would provide comparison with early foreign trade in the Pacific. One of the most important factors in the development of the Manila trade was American; these were credited with the development of shade (Manila hemp) into an important export article, which finally was put on a paying basis when new privileges were given in 1865.

²⁶Johnson, Com. U. S., II, 80. It has been asserted that the first

cultures and questions to arise. Why should a consular

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officer be appointed? He might be allowed his legally. His appointment was not a satisfactory one. In spite of the fact that the act of June 22, 1860 provided that in relation to the exercise of extraterritoriality, the word "consul" meant "consul-general, vice-consul-general, consul, or vice-consul," there was some question as late as 1875 as to whether a consular agent was a diplomatic officer, an agent, or a consul. See International Law Review, Dec. 1, 1875, p. 15. The subsequent developments in extraterritorial theory are in Moore's work.²⁷ A consular agent operated within the district of his principal, but at places different from the location of the latter, where American merchants or traders resided. In these cases other American agents resided. In fact, in cases where a principal could not be found, a consular agent had no right to appoint a sub-agent of his own. (On these points see Com. Regs., 1858, 21-22, and ch. VI.)

A deputy consul, subordinate to a consul, exercised such consular powers as his principal might delegate at the place of residence of the latter, the appointment being justified only in case of the principal's illness or on account of his inability to give attention to the specified tasks. In an emergency a deputy consul might be appointed to act prior to confirmation by the principal. The principal's nomination was supposed to be confirmed by the government. (For an example of appointment see Int. Law Review, 21, p. 297, to Townsend Harris, Aug. 12, 1855.) It was provided that, after the confirmation arrived, the local authorities should be informed and that their recognition should be sought. A consul was responsible for his deputy's acts.

Under the original conditions, vice-consuls and vice-commercial agents were substituted temporarily to fill the places respectively of consuls and commercial agents during the absence of either of these. (But for another, and informal, use of the term "vice-consul" see below, p. 472n.) In addition, the Consular Service Act of 1860, of Feb. 28, 1860, p. 1, 16 Stat. 262, Sec. 1, read as follows: "Vice-consuls were not at first supposed to exercise judicial authority" (Com. Inst. Ningpo, -18, 5, p. 52), to Townsend Harris, Aug. 12, 1855. For controversy concerning a change on this point see pp. 471-472, below. For a favorable view of these rights of vice-consuls see Int. Law Review, 21, p. 297, to Townsend Harris, Aug. 12, 1855. Section 16 of the act approved August 15, 1858, provided that vice-consuls and vice-commercial agents should be paid the whole of the principal officer's compensation, or such part as the President might determine, any remainder being given to the regular commissioners, see Moore, Digest, Vol. V, 145-149.

The appointment of members of the other classes mentioned in the text is discussed subsequently in connection with specific instances.

The act of 1865 authorized the President to fix the principal or subordinate salaries of consuls and vice-consuls, and to regulate their business activity, and to require a bond of him. The President, who was empowered to fix consular areas or districts, was given some latitude as to what type of officer should be assigned to a given place (Sec. 5).

²³Com. Regs., 1860, 45.

²⁴Bulletin of the Business Hist. Soc., Jan., 1932, p. 6. At San Francisco, in 1849 (chiefly Jan. to Apr.), average wholesale prices (auction sales) of some few articles were: ginger root (lb.), \$15-25; ginger (lb.), \$25-35; preserved ginger (case), \$40-65; bottled mustard (dosen), \$5-85; one-quarter pound packages of mustard (dosen), \$2 50-64; nutmegs (lb.), \$2 50-65; pepper (lb.), \$2 00-12;

to place in Parker's hand a letter recording the counsel—"to be delivered or forwarded to him in case that you should ascertain to your satisfaction that he bore the American flag or that he had any agency in displaying our flag on that occasion" or that he had taken part in the military operations about Canton. (1856)

The Overland Friend of China (No. 8, Sat., May 9, 1867) printed on its editorial page a vigorous unsigned denial of the story about Keenan which praised his courage in bringing back to safety the sailor whose naval superior had all but ordered him to remain at his post, and asserted that "when they were in private dress. As it happened, the American flag was officially planted on the walls of Barror Forts near Canton during hostilities on November 20 and on November 21, 1856." (Page 4 of A. H. Roots, *Roots to Armstrong*, Nov 28, 1856.)

On March 18, 1856 Parker had written to the Secretary of the Navy in support of Keenan for the placement of naval storeshouses at Hongkong, the port of which was then under British control. Parker asserted that the Chinese, who referred to the inadequacy of Keenan's support, had been influenced by the post with the consul general position, citing the precedent of Dr Silver at Macao, and expressed "great confidence in Keenan on the basis of personal acquaintance." (See *Roots to Armstrong*, Nov 28, 1856, pp. 18-19; and *Roots to Armstrong*, 1855-1856, supplies conveniently much of Parker's and Keenan's conflicting argument on the flag incident. It presents an interesting, if inconclusive, study of evidence based upon the presence of evidence.) Keenan, however, agreed that Keenan seemed to have been correct in his opinion, and agreement was impossible on some very small but material details, the same concurrences giving contrary impressions to different witnesses, interpreted perhaps according to varying personal insights. In this case, the evidence regarded as contradictory to the theory may have been complementary.)

Spennett, however, states (192) that Parker retired by his own choice

[1858] *seamen and admissions of masters in similar cases, Thorndike is represented as admitting the charges. At the same time he stated that his owners had directed him to discharge no man abroad, a fact which convinced the consular officer that he had deliberately looked forward to procuring an unwarranted certificate of despatch.*

In the case of the *Messenger* (Captain Manton), Roberts gave the seamen in question their discharge, but he had no power to secure for them the exemption from the law. This was left to the magistrate, who made a magistrate issue a summons to

Case of the *Messenger* the master, but this was denied on the ground that

Messenger the wages were earned outside the port. Subsequently, three of the seamen surrounded Manton in the street, demanding their wages, in the ensuing disturbance other American shipmasters sided Manton. The case came before a local police court and, while Manton was exonerated, his "two allies" were fined, the sum being divided among the seamen as compensation for their services.

The consular officer asserted that this incident only increased Captain Manton's determination to have possession of the men on his ship, and threatened to report him to the Harbor Master, as marine magistrate, so that recalcitrant shipmasters might be controlled in future by the local laws relating to midshipmen. Manton sent two more men ashore unlawfully and Roberts acted on his threat. The Harbor Master summoned the shipmaster, captain and crew to his cabin and fined each man £5 for each of the two men, under colonial ordinance No. 6 of 1852 (illegal discharge of seamen in port). This precedent led one of Captain Thorndike's men to complain and this master was also fined. Roberts finally secured from Manton the wages due the men. "These proceedings have resulted in a great deal of exasperation against me which had vented itself in protests and petitions, but the protest of men who were clearly proved to be wrong could not be heard before the crowds will not hear much."²⁸ Roberts believed that he had restored order on American ships, where men not legally discharged were kept on board, and had diffused among captains a wholesome anxiety to observe the laws of the United States and the local regulations of

master who stood securly for him or unless the three months' wages were paid. The act of 1856 made wages due deserters forfeit to the United States government. The act of 1840 had provided for the same thing, but it was not until the consular officer had threatened to sue that it was satisfied that the desertion had been caused by cruelty he should give the mariner his discharge and should award three months' pay in addition to wages due to the time of discharge.

Local regulations imposed penalties for carelessly or negligently leaving or shore without a certificate from the Harbor Master or some other authority.

"One captain later "gratified" Roberts for having fined him for cruelty—a fine which Keenan upheld. See also page 6, above

very innocent; furthermore we have already let the Dutch captains have Japanese gold coins. Taking everything into consideration we feel that his request is reasonable and we wish to ask your permission to grant him this little pleasure."²⁹

©Oceans, The Complete Journal, 226n. In this same volume (Siam) and elsewhere are indications that in the Tso Choo Islands, as well as in Japan, an attitude favorable to American character had been partially created by the reading of history of the United States and its achievements, by the influence of American missionaries, who prepared for their work in missionary work in China, this had been reprinted in Japan and given wide circulation.

For an amerized case of general relief by the American army against during a period of famine in Siam, see *Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute*, XXII (1905), 246ff.

²⁸ *Wakamatsu Gakko Enshu* (Bunsho), IV, 104-105 (Sept 28, 1856). There is no hint of any such complaint in the original Japanese document. It is evident that the cause of the crisis at that time, however, Harris was convinced that the Japanese officials were not supplying him with food, services, and the like satisfactorily or honestly.

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It became necessary to give up the mission house, by the new consular law the consulate at Amoy was placed on a more permanent footing," and Hyatt felt compelled "for the convenience of his wife and family as well as for his country's credit, the consular residence should be made "more respectable and permanent." On Kulangsu, he leased several respectable lots from willing owners. He then made a contract for enclosing the premises and several hundred dollars in advance. The work had proceeded for about two weeks when, on Oct. 10, 1856, during Hyatt's temporary absence, local authorities, without any intimation of dissatisfaction, sent soldiers who drove off the contractor and men and carried away some of the materials. The American flag was flying at the time.

the next day I employed forty other workmen,³⁰ and stood guard over them in person. The Ee Hong and several other Mandarin municipal officials or Asay, with a retinue of some two hundred soldiers and attendants came over to my premises, evidently intending to overawe and intimidate me, but I told them that I had no fear of them, and that they were there only because threats of future vengeance were uttered against the man in my employ; and the officials sought to seize and carry off one of my house servants, who acts as common interpreter between me and the Chinese. It had been the custom of the government which they did not wish me to occupy

Ignorant of the cause of such attempts to thwart him, Hyatt wrote a strong protest to the taipan, asking whether he supported such actions, and sent word to Captain Pepe of the *Vandalia*, then at Foochow. After a week the taipan

"was the first to make a formal and pre-emptive reply—a tissue of misapprehensions indicating that the cause of the attack was the rumor that a Catholic Temple was about being erected there—and pretending that the people in the neighborhood were opposed to the premises being occupied, and that the owners were then unwilling that I should have their ground, for an American citizen could not be allowed to erect a temple in Siam, and that the Mandarins, could not consent that foreigners should occupy Kolangso—saying that it was not in the Harbor of Asay—and objecting also that I had not called on the mandarins to do so."

Hyatt replied that "I had been engaged in erecting a Catholic temple—which was a most propertous supposition—they had no right to intercede and violate the sanctity of our National flag, by driving off persons employed by us, and that the mandarin who had sent the men to do so had been arrested by the persons in the neighborhood being opposed to many of these very persons bribed or forced by the Mandarins to enter complaint, had been at work on my ground, and all were apparently gratified with the result, and that so far as I was concerned, I had never discovered any unwillingness until the authorities had threatened them with punishment."

With careful and interesting reasoning Hyatt further sought to show that the island was definitely a part of the port of Amoy. He reviewed for the Chinese officials the history of his dealings with them and asserted that now he would stand on his right to build at Kulangsu until his government surrendered that right. He demanded relief for several Chinese whose connection with the building operation and his own work had resulted in the placing of pretexts for these Chinese including his wife and children of a number of whom had so far as he was concerned been arrested, Chinese teachers driven from their homes and "in daily and hourly fear of their lives"—who had merely translated his

²⁸ Ability to pay this number of men should not modify the impression of consular financial straits created by earlier chapters, a given sum of money secured a much greater amount of services and goods in the Orient than in Europe. The cost of living in Siam was high, but even so the cost of living in the Orient—a social and psychological change which deserves consistent study as a factor in social and racial, and even in diplomatic, contacts of Westerners with the people of Eastern Asia.

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sible, or even conceivable, but as long as general international factors and European issues qualified the actions of consuls and diplomats in Eastern Asia, little more than a partial and negative form of cooperation was conceivable which included all the Western powers. Would not thoroughgoing American cooperation

In Japan also, signs of improvement may be set against the instances of unpleasantry. Few of the native officials can be imagined as sharing the enthusiasm of one of their number who recommended that he could not give Mt. Fuji to Harris as a present in return for the Consul-General's Good Feeling help to Japan.³¹ But Harris began very early to receive some tokens of personal regard and of Japanese willingness to grant reasonable requests.

A few weeks after his arrival the magistrate of Shimoda wrote to his own superiors concerning Harris' request for small

Japanese coins.

Shimoda
We that he can give them to beggars and travelling priests or make offerings at the local shrines. As we have a rule against putting Japanese gold and silver coins in the hands of foreigner we told Harris that we could not comply with his request, but when asking the matter over, we find that Harris is not a transient but a resident; he only wishes to have coins of small denominations, he states his purpose which is

with the British really have been tantamount to acquiescence in British domination? The answer depends on information of wider scope than that presented here, but the question inheres in the evidence used.

A narrative suggests that, as Asia was unready for the quick change to a Western type of "international relations", so that congeries of states known as the Occident was hardly advanced enough in its international policy to manage a number of the frontier contacts and problems in the Far East.⁵⁵ This comment is prompted by no theoretical retrospection from the viewpoint of the present day but by the plain, unassisted teaching of the facts drawn from the era in question.

⁵⁵The connotation of the term "frontier", as it has ordinarily been em-

ployed, includes, along with chivalrous and romantic ideas, elements such as credulosity, lack of preparation for the specific situation, and the recognition (eager or grudging) of the apparent "necessity" of harsh treatment of natural or human resistance, regardless of fine points of absolute justice. Some of these elements were not learned even in the United States during the American War of Independence of the eighteenth century. Some administrators secured personal training in frontier life, through their comparative experience at different points, but most of the populations on frontiers have had no chance to learn the lesson. In this past, any group of people who appear numerically all-important to most of the self-directed individuals existing on it, only recently has the term begun generally to imply a degree of social planning and use of the individual pioneer as a unit in an officially directed campaign (as in reclamation). In such a case the frontier is social rather than geographical; the state or nation that includes it is the frontier.

It is quite natural, therefore, (1) to object that at best Far Eastern "frontier" questions simply did not admit of any very satisfactory or enduring solution, (2) to insist that judgments of the different powers (and leaders)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

and

List of Abbreviations of Titles

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliographical description is to some extent a guide to relevant types of sources for the period 1845-1860. Since this field of inquiry presents several new opportunities for monographic research and editorial work, there is an advantage in giving a list which, in conjunction with references appearing in a few standard works, provides a conspectus of most of the literature of the subject.

The following explanations and qualifications require statement.

As in the text, emphasis is placed upon China and Japan, and, to a lesser extent, upon Siberia and Siam, with only supplementary consideration of Australasia and the Pacific. On the latter, much additional material exists in the form of manuscripts, official publications, newspapers, magazines, and books.

Much consular work was commercial in character, and, in spite of frequent variations and dissimilarities, consular history and commercial history coincide so largely that they cannot easily be treated separately. While a number of sources bear on both matters, this identity is by no means complete. It is not to be supposed, then, that all references are equally useful for both aspects of the subject.

In a few instances, use of materials has been limited to "sampling" and, in a few others, nothing more than a description has been possible, since some sources in libraries are packed away so inaccessibly or are in such confusion that they must await the prolonged attention of their custodians or of editorial scholars. Certain customhouse records in the Library of Congress may be cited as an example. It is regretted that two or three original sources, dating from the period and too tardily available, could not be drawn on extensively, each, however, is practically the equivalent of a library in itself, and properly conclusive exploitation of each would require an entire volume. It is encouraging that the amount of known older literature of the topic, at the outset fairly static, is lately being increased by the discovery of sources which had seemed

irretrievably lost, and that a recent growth of scholarly interest has resulted in unexpected new articles and books.

Materials are scattered in many buildings in several cities, and there is no orderly, logical sequence in the time when they become known or available. Consequently, the attack on them is not always convenient or satisfactory. In the cases of a few series of manuscripts used in the present inquiry before the printed excerpts therefrom were seen, the latter have sometimes been slighted in citation more than is consistent with the reference needs of certain readers. An attempt has nevertheless been made at least to mention at some point the published form of manuscripts employed. A surprising number of much needed old books catalogued in well-known libraries have been reported as lost.

Some books that might ordinarily be expected to appear have not been listed, since they have failed to aid the inquiry directly or indirectly. Absence of any particular title does not necessarily mean that it has been overlooked. It is unnecessary to list in detail some of the well-known secondary works or manuals used for occasional reference. Certain titles known but not used are mentioned in footnotes to the text.¹

Even with continuous application the research could not have been carried through quickly enough to guarantee that to the sources originally examined nothing would be added in new books and articles produced by contemporary scholars, and that sources formerly sought unsuccessfully would not emerge from hiding. Fortunately, most of the decisive sources which have been drawn on date from the period of the study and are constant in nature, but it is natural for the reader to expect the latest word to have been examined by the writer. The research was begun a dozen years ago, and this expectation is not perfectly realized. Use of the great variety of reference keys which were employed at the outset opened doors to a great quantity of books, articles, newspapers, and other materials. To repeat the work of systematic exploration as a means of catching all items

¹ Among items not specifically consulted are certain articles in scholarly journals; many publications on the history and the trade of particular American states (especially Middle and Southern) and lesser localities, including trade papers, publications of commercial bodies, and some articles in state or local historical society

appearing subsequently is an impossibility, and probably this is not desirable. At the same time, however, a weather eye has been kept out for new publications sufficiently to justify the belief that most of the significant recent contributions have been noted.

Used as aids in securing correctness of impression, and occasionally of fact, museum material, pictures, and literary works have a proper place in a record of sources. It has been possible here only partially to represent these types, which in themselves provide a special field of study in the history of economic and artistic contacts.

An acquaintance with the bibliography of the period dealt with requires attention to a surprisingly large number of items. Their character is varied and complex, in numerous instances a single passage relates to half a dozen phases of the subject.² The range, variety, and complexity of the sources explored in the course of the present study endow them with a refreshing instructiveness for the investigator which encourages an attempt to present a diversified and exhaustive treatment of them, so that students concerned with but one or two of the many points of view now current may be spared the necessity of making a complete re-examination for their specialized purposes. Such an effort, however, must be long sustained, there is another, and perhaps better, manner in which its motive may be served. A source or a group of related sources likely to prove useful to several fields of scholarship, and not admitting of full exploitation in a rigorously restricted monograph, may sometimes be taken care of sufficiently by careful and informed editing, with annotations providing correlation and background, and with good indexing. Material presented in this way becomes directly available to everybody. Many official and private manuscripts and much obscure information in printed form deserve such treatment, which would readily exhibit the skill

and the scholarship of editors.

Editorial attention to manuscripts would also produce a more general concern for the saving and cataloguing of many papers now in danger of being lost or destroyed. A great advance has been made during the past decade, notably by The Business Historical Society, but a more widespread interest is needed, for unduplicated manuscripts, once destroyed, are beyond recall. Although cases of loss or injury are less frequent now than formerly, surprising lack of regard for valuable papers persists. An indication of this difficulty is given in the gripping article entitled "A Tragedy and a Rescue", in the *Bulletin of The Business Historical Society* for January, 1923.³ The present investigation has repeatedly encountered the stubborn fact that papers with a high presumptive value are irreparably lost, through ill-considered sale of records for waste paper, at greatly congested government offices, or as a result of fire, earthquake, tidal wave, and shipwreck. Insects and unfavorable climate have taken a heavy toll, and some of the documents in archives of Far Eastern consulates are almost undecipherable. The record of losses mentioned in different pages of this work exhibits wide geographical range, including the accidental or intentional destruction of customhouse documents in Providence and Boston, business papers like those of Wilcox, Crittenden and Company of Middletown and the Asiatic Bank of Salem, consular archives at Nagasaki (1859) and Yokohama (1923), and the archives of the Inspectorate General of Customs in China (1900).

Classification

The requirements of criticism in this bibliography dictate a basic arrangement of materials in such a manner as to exhibit, without too much explanation, their type and probable value. For convenience, subordinate use is made of some of the customary ways of

organs (a few of which possess cumulative indexes of value antedating or supplementing the important series of lists edited by Grace Gardner Griffin); books (1845-1860) on the theory and practice of international trade; works on special articles or commodities (e.g., the tea trade, the wool trade, silk, brass, cordage, and the telegraph); and specialized atlases.

²This fact justifies at least one special technical comment:—an investigator's load of indispensable note-taking and refiling during the course of composition is lightened not by multiplying carbon copies of individual notes, but by marking each original note with all the relevant topical headings and advancing it from chapter to chapter or from point to point as used, recording on it the number of each page of the draft on which it has been employed. A set of carbon copies of notes, whether taken in longhand or on the typewriter, is of course useful as a protection in case of damage to the originals.

³A vast quantity of valuable Philadelphia customhouse records saved by vigorous effort from official destruction in recent years are now safely housed at the University of Pennsylvania.

classifying materials--by author, country, topic, date, form (manuscript or printed), and manner of publication. Where considerable variations in reliability of individual entries appear within the limits of a section the necessity for explicit comment arises. There is no section devoted to manuscripts as such.⁴ To include one here would be to beg the question, from a critical point of view. Mere printing does not necessarily alter the essential character of the type of manuscript sources employed. Those which have been well reproduced in print, without omissions or excessive editorial commentary, are almost equally useful in either form. The context of an entry usually indicates whether it is a manuscript, in other cases a specific notation is used.

The classification employed is easy to use, it obviates the need of a special and complete bibliographical index which the abundance of titles would otherwise require.⁵ In spite of occasional strange or misleading titles only pertinent works appear, many have been rejected.

Special abbreviation of a title, when necessary, is supplied with the first citation in the text, a list of abbreviations follows the Bibliography. If specific critical comment is introduced, it usually appears either with the first reference to the work or with the entry in this Bibliography. Appraisal does not always concern more than the aspect or the portion of the source which is relevant. In cases where materials bear deceptive titles they are of course assigned to the class suggested by their contents. Since some individual sources are so varied in character as to relate secondarily to other sections than the one to which they are assigned, cross reference is occasionally necessary.

The order of classes bears no fixed relation to their comparative value. In relation to the inevitable overlapping of sections the following comments may be of use: publication of much consular and diplomatic correspondence accounts for duplication in sections B I-II and B-IV, E links with other sections, such as B-III and F, sections I and J occasionally include material from B-IV and VII and from E and G, a few items equally suitable for F occur in class H, and a thread of continuity now and then appears in por-

tions of C and E. Such qualifications, however, do not seriously affect the convenience of the following divisions:

- A Bibliographies and Guides
- B Official Sources
 - I Consular Correspondence and Customs Records
 - (a) American (under Department of State and Treasury Department).
 - Consular Instructions and Despatches, Miscellaneous Letters, Material from Consular Archives in Asia, Customhouse Records, Treasury and other statistics
 - (b) Non-American
 - II Diplomatic Correspondence
 - (a) American
 - (b) Non-American
 - III Naval Correspondence (American)
 - IV Congressional and Other Legislative Documents
 - (a) American
 - (b) Non-American
 - V Journals and Debates of Congress and State Legislatures
 - VI Judicial Publications
 - VII Collections of Laws, Treaties, Rules, and Land Regulations
 - C Log Books and Sea Journals
 - I Naval
 - II Commercial
 - D Company Papers and Account Books
 - E Personal Records Papers, Diaries, Letters, Memoirs, and Travels
 - F Biographies, Biographical Dictionaries, and Family Histories
 - G General Writings: Books, Pamphlets, and Articles on Historical and Special Subjects (other than the above)
 - I Regional, National, and Local Histories
 - (a) United States
 - (b) Eastern Asia (general)
 - (c) China, with Macao and Hongkong
 - (d) Japan
 - (e) Miscellaneous
 - II Topical Treatises, Monographs, Readings, and Secondary Accounts
 - H Reference Works Encyclopedias, Yearbooks, Statistical Volumes, and Directories
 - I Publications of Societies and Boards
 - I Learned Societies
 - II Commercial Bodies

⁴ No special collection of edited manuscripts of many types, such as might suggest the convenience of a special section, has been used.

⁵ Authors and editors noted in this Bibliography are included in the general Index, numbers of pages in the Bibliography are underlined. The Index gives the names of a few authors whose works are mentioned in the text or the notes but not in this list of sources used.

- J Magazines and Newspapers
 I American
 II East Asiatic
- K Illustrative Material
 I Visual Exhibits, Models, and Pictures
 II Literary

A. Bibliographies and Guides

In spite of the usefulness of existing lists and discussions of sources one often passes beyond the bibliographical frontier to a point where the elusive quarry is located only by individual search, tedious or zestful according to particular circumstances. In a few such instances, effort which is ordinarily but a means to an end rewards the hunter with results which are intrinsically gratifying. This is a fact of primary importance and reference is therefore made first to direct browsing in libraries and historical societies, to conversations with many persons, and to long-sustained correspondence. Even so, many an old mercantile loft and family attic remains unexplored. A preliminary name list has grown steadily and has greatly facilitated correspondence—with descendants of persons figuring in the narrative, Chinese, Japanese, and American scholars, editors, historical societies and institutes, banks and business firms, official departments of governments, and legations and consulates.

Suggestions have naturally been derived from books and articles, too numerous to list, which are not primarily bibliographical in character, particularly the writings of Tyler Dennett, K S Latourette, S E Morrison, H B Morse, P J Treat, and a few others. The references in volumes of the large cooperative historical series are sometimes useful.

As a supplement to published bibliographies and the card catalogues of the larger libraries, the book catalogues on Asiatic and nautical subjects issued in Europe, the United States, and Eastern Asia by publishers and dealers in second-hand books take a high place.

Some of the unprinted guides covering the voluminous manuscript correspondence in the Department of State are listed under B-I and B-II, a few of them contain calendar abstracts of facts and events. A number of the following entries, though supposedly well-known, are overlooked often enough to warrant inclusion here.

Adam, Margaret I, John Ewing, and James Munro, Guide to the Principal Parliamentary Papers relating to the Dominions 1812-1911 Edinburgh and London, 1915 Hardly a substitute for the volumes of indexes in the Parliamentary series, noted below.

Archives of Government Offices Outside of the City of Washington (62 Cong., 3 Sess., House Doc. No. 1445) Washington, 1913. This should be seen by every student of the history of individual consulates, in spite of its shortcomings.

Barnabé du Bocege, M V -A, Bibliographie Annuelle, Livres, Recueils Périodiques, Manuscrits, Plans Paris, 1867

Bemis, Samuel Flagg, and Grace Gardner Griffin, Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States Washington, 1935. This notable work is hospitable toward sources in Asiatic languages.

Bowker, R. R. (ed.), A Provisional List of the Official Publications of the Several States of the United States from their Organization New York, 1908. See the more satisfactory volumes by Hasse, below, on the same subject.

Catalogue of the Asiatic Library of Dr. G. E. Morrison Two vols. Tokyo, 1924. Classified only by language, but nevertheless very important as a checklist. Catalogue of the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia, A Philadelphia, 1850. Useful for voyages, commercial books of the time, and general publications. The Mercantile Library Company was instituted in 1821. Also, Catalogue of Books Added to the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia since April, 1850 Philadelphia, 1856.

Catalogue of Parliamentary Papers 1801-1900. London, n. d. (P. S. King and Son). Somewhat sketchy.

Channing, Edward, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Frederick Jackson Turner, Guide to the Study and Reading of American History Boston, etc., 1912.

Chapman, Charles E., "The Literature of California History," in The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXII, No. 4 (April, 1919), 318-352.

Checklist of United States Public Documents 1789-1909

Congressional to Close of Sixtieth Congress Departmental to End of Calendar Year 1909 Third ed., rev., Vol. I, Lists of Congressional and Departmental Publications Washington, 1911.

Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (Shanghai and Peiping, the National Library), Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography. Of high importance. Dates from March, 1934. A somewhat comparable organization in Tokyo is the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (Society for International Cultural Relations). #

Chinese Repository, The, XVIII (1849), 402-444. "Art III List of Works upon China, principally in the English and French languages" Canton, 1849. Valuable for notations of translations from the Chinese, for critical comments, and also for the facts

#Attention is called to an excellent bibliographical venture which has lately been undertaken by the Committee on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D C—Bulletin of Far Eastern Bibliography. The present editor is Earl H. Pritchard.

mentioned

Ch'iu, A K'aiming, "Chinese Historical Documents of the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1911", in The Pacific Historical Review, I, No. 3 (Sept., 1932), 324-336
Convenient and instructive See under Peake and Tsiang, below

Catalogue of the Mercantile Library of San Francisco [Jan., 1861], A In the middle and later fifties San Francisco had a well-stocked mercantile library, including works on Asiatic subjects

Cordier, Henri, Bibliographie des Ouvrages Relatifs à l'Ile Formose Chartres, 1893

Bibliotheca Indosinica Four vols Paris, 1912-1915

Bibliotheca Japonica Dictionnaire

Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Japonais rangés par ordre chronologique jusqu'à 1870 suivi d'un appendice renfermant la liste alphabétique des principaux ouvrages parus de 1870 à 1912 Paris, 1912 Useful Unsystematically and unsatisfactorily classified and hard to use, reaches a later date than the more manageable work by Wenckstern (below), although the appearance of Nachod's volumes on the subject reduces even this advantage

Bibliotheca Sinica Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Chinois Four vols Paris, 1904-1908 Also Deuxième Édition, Supplément et Index Fascicules I-IV Paris, 1922-1924 Indispensable, but unfortunately not available at many libraries

A Catalogue of the Library of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Shanghai, 1872 (The China Branch, R A S, at Hongkong was a different unit Couling-Bac Sin, 96—gives 1859 as the date of the last of its six volumes of Transactions)

(In connection with Cordier's enormous bibliographical output, mention should be made of the three large volumes by Maurice Courant entitled Bibliographie Coréene, Paris, 1894-1896 while not of particular value for the present study this work deserves wider use, other items which may not be ignored are C Friederici's Bibliotheca Orientalis, in six volumes, London, Leipzig, etc., 1876-1883, and A Muller's Orientalische Bibliographie, in six volumes, Berlin, etc., 1888-1893, also later under the name of Lucian Scherman Note too the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung)

Corning, Howard, "The Essex Institute of Salem", in Bulletin of the Business Historical Society, Oct., 1933 (VII, No. 5), pp. 1-5

Cusick, Margaret Ronzone, List of Business Manuscripts in Baker Library Boston, 1932 Important for investigators, especially pp. 7-10, 50ff (company papers, logbooks, etc.), 62ff., 72, 75-76, 98, 107, and 109

Everhart, Elfrida, A Handbook of United States Public Documents Minneapolis, 1910 Good. Op. Lees-Smith, below

Golder, Frank A, Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives Washington, 1917 (Golder gives as the only satisfactory bibliographical work on Siberia, Alaska, and the Amur, V I Mejow's Bibliographica Siberica, four vols in two, St Petersburg, 1891-1892, there is, however, a more recent Alaska bibliography, by Judge Wickersham of Juneau)

Great Britain, House of Commons, General Index to the Papers 1801-1852, in three volumes, one for Accounts and Papers, one for Reports of Select Committees, and one for Bills Carried on in a single volume entitled General Alphabetical Index to the Bills, Reports, Estimates, Accounts, and Papers 1853 to 1869 At Harvard are General Index volumes for 1845-1850, 1852-53-1857, and 1852-53-1861 (Two volumes prepared by Ryre, London, as indexes to sessional papers of the House of Lords after 1801 have not been used here)

Gregory, Winifred (ed.), Union List of Serials in the Libraries of the United States and Canada New York, 1925

Griffin, Appleton Prentiss Clark, Bibliography of American Historical Societies Second ed., rev Washington, 1907 Vol II of Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1905

List of Books (with References to Periodicals) on Samoa and Guam Washington, 1901 Still of supplementary usefulness

List of References on the United States Consular Service Washington, 1905

Griffin, Grace Gardner, Writings on American History Published for many years as part of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association Used throughout (See also above, under Bemis)

Griswold, Ada Tyng, Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Second ed. Madison, 1911 A Supplementary Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Wisconsin Historical Library Acquired During the Years 1911-1917, prepared by Lillian J Beecroft and Marguerite Jenison, was issued at Madison in 1918

Haskell, Daniel C (comp.), Check list of Newspapers and Official Gazettes in the New York Public Library New York, 1915

Hasse, Adelaide R, Index to Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States California 1849-1904 Washington, 1908 Massachusetts 1789-1904 Washington, 1908 New York, 1789-1904 Washington, 1907 Pennsylvania, 1790-1904 Three parts Washington, 1919, 1921, 1922 Bowker's valuable Provisional List attempts to cover all state documents, but the volumes by Hasse are more complete within their narrower field, which includes printed reports of administrative officers, legislative committees, and special commissions, with governors' messages; except as they relate to the foregoing, constitutions, laws, legislative proceedings and court decisions are omitted

Index to United States Documents

Relating to Foreign Affairs 1828-1861 Three vols Washington, 1914, 1919, 1921 Of basic importance and high excellence, shortens bibliographical work and contributes many useful facts Reasonably complete, although occasionally to be supplemented by the indexes contained in the volumes of Congressional documents Used with the Checklist these volumes largely displace the work by Poore, for the present purpose

Index to the Executive Documents and Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives December 1831 [to] March 1839 (25 Cong., 5 Sess., unnumbered—Serial 350) See below, under McPherson Interior, (U.S.) Department of, Bureau of Education, Educational Directory Annual Helpful in reaching librarians Isseidō Bookstore, The Best Hundred Japanese Books Tokyo, 1930 This store also has an extensive second-hand book catalogue and occasionally issues smaller catalogues, see below, under Koda

Johnson, W. Dawson, and Isadore Gilbert Mudge, Special Collections in Libraries in the United States Bulletin No. 23 (1912), Bureau of Education; whole number 495 Washington, 1912

Knox, (Capt.) Dudley W., "Our Vanishing History and Traditions", reprinted from Proceedings of the U.S. Naval Inst., Vol. 52, No. 1 (Jan., 1926) Koda, Shigetomo, A Short List of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the European Intercourse with Japan Tokyo, 1930 (Hubya Library) Describes the private collection of Professor Koda, bound with Isseidō Ko-shoseki Mokuroku (Isseidō's Old Book Catalogue—Part Covering Foreign Books Relating to China and Japan Tokyo, 1930 Isseidō Bookstore), which gains much from interesting use of photographs of sets of books, title pages, and specimen pages

Lamberton, John P., A List of Serials in the Principal Libraries of Philadelphia and its Vicinity Bulletin No. 8, Free Library of Philadelphia Philadelphia, 1908

Lees-Smith, H. B., A Guide to Parliamentary and Official Papers London, etc., 1924 An indispensable introduction

Library of Congress, Division of Documents, Monthly Checklist of State Publications

Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress Washington, 1918 Continued by the Division of Manuscripts' Accessions of Manuscripts, Broadsides and British Transcripts (1928 and subsequent years), for the years 1917 to 1920 (inclusive) similar material must be sought in the appendixes to the annual reports of the Librarian of Congress

Manuscripts in Public and Private Collections in the United States Washington, 1924 Retires the earlier Checklist of Collections of Personal Papers. These lists of manuscripts are ex-

cellent and revealing shortcuts
List of Newspapers in the Yale University Library, A New Haven, 1916 Provides an acquaintance with an outstanding collection

Mattheson, David K., List of Manuscripts concerning American History Preserved in European Libraries and Noted in their Published Catalogues and Similar Printed Lists Washington, 1925

McKee, T. H., Index to the Reports of Committees Two vols Washington, 1887

McPherson, Edward, Consolidated Index of the Reports of the Committee of the House of Representatives from the Twenty-sixth to the Fortieth Congress, Inclusive Washington, 1869 (40 Cong., 3 Sess., unnumbered—Serial 1386) Also by McPherson is a Consolidated Index of the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives, from the Twenty-sixth to the Fortieth Congress, Inclusive (40 Cong., 3 Sess. unnumbered—Serial 1587)

Möllendorff, P. G. and O. F. von, Manual of Chinese Bibliography Shanghai, 1876

Morison, Samuel Eliot, "The Customhouse Records in Massachusetts, as a Source of History", in Proc. of Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. LIV (1920-1921), 524-531

Mudge, Isadore Gilbert, New Guide to Reference Books Chicago, 1923 (A.L.A.) A basic handbook of great value See also above, under Johnson

Nachod See below, under Wenckebach
[New York Public Library,] List of Works in the New York Public Library Relating to Japan New York, [1918?]

Parsons, Henry S. (comp.), A Checklist of Foreign Newspapers in the Library of Congress Washington, 1929

Paxton, Charles O., and Frederic L. Paxson, Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1763 Washington, 1914 Covers almost all portions of the British archives to 1860, useful for consular and commercial matters which assumed diplomatic importance between the two countries, and for the general study of diplomacy in Eastern Asia

Peake, Cyrus H., "Documents Available for Research on the Modern History of China", under Notes and Suggestions, Amer. Hist. Rev., XXXI, No. 1 (Oct., 1922), 61-70 One of the best and most comprehensive of the overdue pioneer studies of this type

Poole, William Frederick, An Index to Periodical Literature Third ed Boston, 1882 (Later publications of this order, in the United States and in Europe, provide little assistance)

Public Record Office [Great Britain], List of Foreign Office Records to 1878 Preserved in the Public Record Office London, 1929 Useful in the location of materials but not specifically descriptive as to contents, in most instances

Smith, Charles W., Pacific Northwest Americana Second

ed New York, 1921 (The same compiler has A Union List of Manuscripts in Libraries of the Pacific Northwest Seattle, 1931)

Smith, Theodore Clark, General Index to the American Statesmen Series with a Selected Bibliography Vol XXXII in the Series Boston and New York, 1900

Soule, Charles C, The Lawyer's Reference Manual of Law Books and Citations Boston, 1863

Swanton, Walter I, Guide to United States Government Publications Bulletin No 2 (1918), Bureau of Education Washington, 1918 Chiefly publications of executive departments

Tables of and Annotated Index to the Congressional Series of United States Public Documents Known as the Revised Checklist Washington, 1902 Very convenient in checking serial numbers

Taylor, Louise Marion, Catalogue of Books on China in the Institute, Salem, 1926 The Essex Institute Tsiang, T F , "New Light on Chinese Diplomacy, 1856-49", in the Jour of Mod Hist, III, No 4 (Dec, 1931), 578-591 For other articles by this important writer see citations by Peake (p 67 of art listed above, in A)

Union List of Serials See above, under Gregory United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education See above, under Interior

United States Naval Institute (Annapolis), "Minutes, Naval Historical Foundation", reprinted from Proc of the Institute, Vol 58, No 2, whole number 548

Van Hoesen, Henry Bartlett, with Frank Kehler Walter, Bibliography, Practical, Enumerative, Historical, an Introductory Manual New York and London, 1928

Van Tyne, Claude Halstead, and Waldo Gifford Leland, Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington Second ed, rev Washington, 1907 Of central importance, exact, and clearly written

Wenckstern, Fr von, A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire, being a Classified List of all Books, Essays and Maps in European Languages relating to Dai Nihon [Great Japan] published in Europe, America and in the East from 1859-93 A D to which is added a facsimile-reprint of Leon Pagès, Bibliographie Japonaise depuis le XV^e siècle [sic] jusqu'au 1859 Two vols I, Leiden, 1895, II, Tokyo, etc., 1907, varying slightly from the above in title and covering literature from 1894 to the middle of 1906, with addition of a supplement to Pagès in the form of a list of Swedish literature on Japan, by Valfrid Palmgren A very useful guide to contents of periodicals and to bibliographical works on Japan Continuity is maintained by Oskar Nachod's remarkable Bibliography of the Japanese Empire 1906-1928 (two vols, London and Leipzig, 1928) and his Bibliographie von Japan 1927-1929 (Leipzig, 1931 Karl W Hiersemann)

(In any search, *in absentia*, for a copy of a book by a specific author or a publication of a specific society, correspondence with the Library of Congress is helpful, and various old catalogues are still of some use, such as the Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the New-York Historical Society, New York, 1859, and the Catalogue of the Library of the Long Island Historical Society 1863-1893, Brooklyn, 1893. In spite of the fact that it is not up-to-date, the Catalogue of the Library of Congress, Washington, 1869, is helpful Persons wanting to go far afield may note the volumes showing additions to the manuscript collections in the British Museum, e g , British Museum-Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1916-1920, London, 1933)

B Official Sources (Official in content, whether officially or privately prepared)

I Consular Correspondence and Customs Records

(a) American

Under the Department of State

(Consular Instructions and Letters)

To supplement the Guide by Van Tyne and Leland, especially in regard to indexes of consular correspondence, as well as for general use, reference should be made to Confidential Inventory of Archives in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives (Washington, 1897 Government Printing Office) Many of the bound volumes of manuscripts are given titles only on the cover, titles are ordinarily reproduced here exactly as found

1 Circulars August 26, 1802 December 29, 1874 Dept of State Congressional resolutions calling for reports, routine information and instructions; and miscellaneous matters Much of this material is incorporated in the different volumes of Consular Instructions printed at different times for the guidance of officers, and others

Consular Regulations, various editions:

- (1) Message from the President in Relation to the Consular Establishment (22 Cong , 2 Sess , S Doc 83, Mar 2, 1833, Ser 230), includes regulations and a list of officers at the time In 6 China Dip Des (No 20, Sept 24, 1851, Encl H) Parker refers to a volume of General Instructions of 1858
- (2) A Manual for United States Consuls Embracing Their Rights, Duties, Liabilities, and Emoluments , by J Sidney Henshaw New York,

- 1849 Cited as Henshaw, Manual. A private work generally recognized and unofficially approved by the Secretary of State. Helpful in its references to court cases, earlier consular rules, and set of forms. See the "Preface" for comment on earlier American and British consular instructions.
- (3) General Instructions to the Consuls and Commercial Agents of the United States (prepared under the direction of the Department of State) Washington, 1855 Cited as Con. Regs., 1855. The appendix of this book gives useful laws and opinions.
- (4) Regulations Prescribed by the President for Consular Officers of the United States Washington, 1856 (A O P Nicholson, Public Printer) Cited as Con. Regs., 1856.
- (5) The United States Consular System; a Manual for Consuls, and also for Merchants, Shipowners and Masters in their Consular Transactions, comprising the Instructions of the Department of State in regard to Consular Emoluments, Duties, Privileges, and Liabilities Washington, 1856 (Taylor and Maury) Comprises a brief "Introduction" and a useful twenty-page "Historical Sketch of the United States Consular System". Cited as Manual, Hist. Sketch.
- (6) Various facts having suggested the existence of a second published form of (4), from another firm, a copy thereof (published by Taylor and Maury in 1856) proved to be a combination of the contents of the book mentioned in (4) and the short publication noted in the preceding paragraph (5), bearing exactly the same title as the latter. The two items thus joined are separately paged, the Manual, Hist. Sketch appears first and the next part is preceded by a second title page worded in a slightly different way from (4) above. Most of the references given in the text are to (4) and (5), first available, although page comparisons of these with (6) indicate that they coincide. (6) also is cited as Con. Regs., 1856, at the time, it seems to have been informally called the Consular Manual.
- (7) The United States Consul's Manual, a Practical Guide for Consular Officers, and also for Merchants, Shipowners, and Masters of American Vessels in all their Transactions Washington, 1863, preface and copyright, 1862 (Henry Taylor) The next edition of the Consular Regulations, referred to in the text as Con. Regs., 1863

The third edition followed in 1868, preface and copyright, 1867 Jones refers (Con. Serv., 45n) to an edition of 1857, this has not been located or identified; it may be a reprint of Con. Regs., 1856.

(A recent work by A. H. Feller and Manley O. Hudson, A Collection of the Diplomatic

and Consular Laws and Regulations of Various Countries—two volumes, Washington, 1853—offers material on American rules, in Vol II, pp 1222-1350. A useful historical outline and a bibliography are provided, but most of the material postdates 1860.)

Key to Consular Instructions (one vol.) There is another volume called Key to Consular Despatches (designated in the present study as Consular Letters) Used in the Department.

Index, Despatches to Consuls Vols 41 (Jan 1, 1835 Dec 31, 1855), 42 (Jan 1, 1855 Dec 31, 1855), 45 (December 20, 1853 December 31, 1862), and 46 (January 1, 1854 December 31, 1862) (Dates as given here follow the form used in the manuscript books) For example, in the case of Amoy, references to pages in different volumes of the Consular Instructions begin on page 8 of Index volume 41 and page 16 of volume 46, in the case of "Amoor River" (or Amur River), on page 7 of volume 45, in the case of Hongkong, on page 149 of volume 42 and page 183 of volume 45. The investigator is obliged to keep in mind the diplomatic mission under which any given consulate came and to watch for such use as is made of alphabetical arrangement These are reasonably good indexes.

Despatches to Consuls Index volumes 42 and 45 include references to Hongkong and the Amoor River, under control of European states, in volumes 12, 15, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 28 of the Despatches, referred to in the text as Consular Instructions. Index volumes 41 and 45 include references to ports in Japan and in China and to Macao, in volumes bearing two numbers each (parentheses showing the number placed at the top), as follows: (10) 2, (14) 3, (17) 4, (19) 5, (22) 6, (24) 7, (26) 8, and (29) 9 Two numbers seem to have been used when several volumes covered approximately the same period for different countries, the first numbers are part of a continuous series, in some instances footnotes in the text give both of the numbers, for convenience, as well as the name of the consulate Variations shown by comparison of different copies of the same instruction indicate that minor changes were made or that copyists took liberties occasionally.

The work of Townsend Harris, originally at Shimoda, having partaken of a diplomatic character, the communications received and sent by him cannot be given an exclusively consular classification His instructions are in I Japan Instructions Sept 12, 1855 Jun 30, 1872 (cited as I Japan Inst.), a few early ones are covered by the consular Index volume 46 His letters to the Department are referred to as Japan Despatches, except as filed occasionally in volumes of Consular Letters from points outside Japan

Consular Letters (despatches from consular officers) These papers are the main reliance of the present

study Besides consular, commercial, and routine material, they contain some diplomatic information and occasional items of the type found in Domestic Letters and Miscellaneous Letters, mentioned below Many excerpts were published, particularly in the second half of the period, these included much information of general commercial importance, which appeared usually in different volumes of the Commercial Relations, described in IV (a), below Especially in the case of China, omissions of passages of semi-commercial and semi-political importance may be observed Now and then the volumes of Commercial Relations supplement the Letters, for example, in cases of misplacement of manuscripts As a type of source the Consular Letters deserve much attention They often contain very good writing

Some of the letters are inconveniently bound out of place and can be located only by extensive searching, use of indexes of consular correspondence from other ports than the one in question, and a considerable play of the imaginative and critical faculties The element of chance and sheer luck sometimes figures (Cf p 5n, above)

Only partial reliance has been placed on indexes of the Letters The bound volumes of correspondence have been gone through systematically for the consular offices in China, Japan, the Amoor River, Macao, and, for certain years, Hongkong In the case of the last-named office the extensive index has been used throughout When a paper is missing, the purport may sometimes be secured by reference to the appropriate index volume Some of the earlier indexes show Letters from several countries in one volume, the papers being arranged under personal names, regardless of country or port In other instances, each index volume contains papers from several countries divided alphabetically by country and in chronological order In spite of variations in form and arrangement and consequent inconvenience, the index volumes (like the card files used in later periods) have a high value, different officers in the Department of State have devoted much attention and effort to improvement of them and to the extension of their usefulness Encouragement is due any attempt to publish the index material, either as it stands or in an altered form

Vol 56 Index (General) to Dispatches from Consuls Envys & Supplies an index to the Harris correspondence (not as good as the indexes to the Diplomatic Despatches from China), also contains an index of the papers of Joseph Balestier, "Special Envoy to divers countries of the East", 1849-1852, and of J H Aulick and W J McCluney

3 Index Despatches from Consuls State Department Great Britain Aug 28, 1828 Dec 22, 1853 Hongkong

9 Index Despatches from Consuls Department of State Mexico Central America Pacific Islands Hayti Mar 15 1855 Jun 30 1857 Includes Honolulu, Lahaina, Hilo, Apia, Tahiti, Lantala Very clear and useful

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 1 Amoor River Feb 29, 1856 | Dec 21, 1860 |
| 2 Consular Letters Amoor River January 1, 1861 | |
| June 30, 1874 In the volume with Archangel and Petropavlovski | |
| 1 Consular Letters Amoy Oct 29, 1844, to Dec 26 | |
| 1857 | |
| 2 Amoy January 8, 1858 December 31, 1863 | |
| 3 Canton May 13, 1839 December 22, 1849 | |
| 4 Canton Feb 13, 1850 Aug 23, 1857 | |
| 5 Canton January 1, 1858 December 31, 1867 | |
| 1 Consular Letters Fuchow Feb 14 1849 to Dec | |
| 1 1857 | |
| 2 Consular Letters Foo Chow From Jan 1 1868 to | |
| Dec 31 1863 | |
| 1 Consular Letters Hakodadi July 15 1856 Decem- | |
| ber 31 1869 | |
| 1 [Hongkong] 1844-'51 | |
| 2 " 1851-'54 | |
| 3 " May 21 1854 September 27, 1857 | |
| 4 " December 31, 1857 September 20, 1861 | |
| 1 Macao September 3, 1823 December 31, 1863 | |
| 1 Consular Letters Nagasaki January 2 1860 Oc- | |
| tober 8 1869 | |
| 1 Ningpo Oct 1, 1853 July 15, 1863 | |
| 1 Consular Letters Shanghai 1849-'53 | |
| 2 Consular Letters—Shanghai Dec 31st 1853 to | |
| June 30th 1855 | |
| 3 Consular Letters Shanghai July 28, 1855 to Dec | |
| 31 1856 | |
| 4 Consular Letters Shanghai Dec 27[?], 1856 to | |
| Dec 31, 1859 | |
| 5 Consular Letters Shanghai Jan 2, 1860 to Nov 8, | |
| 1861 | |
| (Shimoda, etc) | |
| 1 Japan T Harris Mar 17, 1855 to Jun 29, 1858 | |
| 2 Japan T Harris July 1, 1858 December 31, 1859 | |
| 3 Japan Townsend Harris Robert H Pruy January 2, | |
| 1860 January 25, 1862 | |
| 1 Consular Letters Swatow From Mar 12, 1860 to | |
| Dec 1 1863 | |
| In some cases the first date given above is | |
| not as early as that of the first letter bound in | |
| At times, material of a non-consular or non-diplo- | |
| matic type is encountered The usual form of cita- | |
| tion in the text is, for example, 3 Shanghai CL, | |
| followed by writer, addressee, number of the partic- | |
| ular letter, and date (or by the date alone) In | |
| footnotes, uniform spelling of names of ports is | |
| followed, Hakodadi becomes Hakodate Some opinion | |

definitely favors use of the word "despatches", instead of "letters", for communications from consuls, but convenience is served by reserving the former word, ordinarily, for communications sent in by diplomatic officers. Variety of titles of the different series of papers cited tends to obscure the simple, but important, fact that files in the Department, the legations, and the consular offices usually are paired, with an incoming and an outgoing series for each outside office regularly dealt with, or for each class of persons.

Volumes used only in an incidental way, such as 5 Bay of Islands (New Zealand) may be passed by hers (an indication of the amount of material awaiting full examination, for certain consular offices of Southeastern Asia alone, is supplied by the following list of volumes bearing on the period Bangkok, Vol 1, Batavia, Vols 2-4, Manila, Vols 2-4, Padang, Vol 1, and Singapore, Vols 1-6)

Miscellaneous Letters, in 149 volumes, 1845-1860, most of these are in chronological order, alphabetical indexes being given in separate volumes, one for each year. The letters in this valuable series vary in type—consular, diplomatic, mercantile, and inter-departmental. These incoming letters are the counterpart of the outgoing Domestic Letters (indexed in each volume), which have required little attention Cf 142n , above

Material from Consular Archives, in Asia (Special Transcripts) Described, sometimes very unsatisfactorily, in Archives of Government Offices Outside of the City of Washington. Attention to these neglected and badly preserved records, particularly with reference to local correspondence and certain office records, supplies important information, which can be discriminately sought after use has been made of the correspondence in Washington. There is need of a more careful published account of these archives, publication of the indexes of some of the files would aid investigators materially. It should be noted that, in recent years (but some time after the Washington archives were used for the present study) certain consular (and diplomatic) archives were shipped in to the Department of State. Any investigator interested in local consular archives should, therefore, first ascertain whether they have been received in Washington. A few logbooks and journals are held by consulates

Useful comment appears in a letter, November 80, 1932, to the writer from the Legation at Bangkok. The letter gives the date of establishment of the consulate there as May 29, 1859, and proceeds

"It is regretted that the archives contain no incoming correspondence for the period in reference, the earliest notes from the Siamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs date from April 20, 1862, and the earliest miscellaneous incoming letters from January 16, 1876. The copy book of 'Miscellaneous Letters

Sent,' however, dates from August 4, 1856, without interruption, and includes correspondence with officials of the Siamese Government

"There are no alphabetical indexes covering the early records of the Consulate, and the only summary list of correspondence prior to 1860 is a list of outgoing correspondence from January 6, 1859 to October 5, 1859

"The 'Register of American Citizens' was kept from the beginning" (The unsatisfactoriness of the dating is here described carefully)

"While the archives of the Legation contain copies, except for enclosures, of all despatches to the Department of State, with the exception of those from March 20, 1860, to February 26, 1862, no copies of instructions from the Department of State are in the records. The despatches of the Consulate are far more significant and interesting than the other correspondence in the records up to 1860 "

(Note should also be made of U S Official Gazette—1857, for example, a U S Official Register, 1845 and 1851, has not been seen George F Seward's The United States Consulates in China , privately printed in 1867, is in the Harvard College Library; it is composed chiefly of reprints of diplomatic despatches from China relating to consular affairs Those falling within our period are available in the Congressional documents)

Under Treasury Department

Customhouse records have experienced much unceremonious handling. Some are lost or destroyed, some are in the original office, and others have been sent to Washington, where a large quantity held by the Library of Congress are in such condition as practically to block use of them. Still others have passed out of Government hands, as in the case of the large pile in the attic of the Historical Society of Old Newbury, at Newburyport (labelled No 15) See above, introductory remarks in the Bibliography on the condition of manuscripts

New York Customhouse

Crew Lists (various years)

Alphabetical Tonnage Book, Arrival 1845

Arrivals 1843 to 1846

Register of Arrivals from Foreign Ports 1859 1861

Arrivals from Foreign Ports 1860 to 1863

Clearance 1844 to 1847

Foreign Clearance, 1859 to 1862

Salem Customhouse (cf 22n , above):

Impost 10 Jan 1834 to Dec 1848

Impost 11 Jan'y 1848 to Dec [31] 185[0]

Impost 12 Jan'y 185[1] to [Dec , 1869]

American Vessels Cleared for [and Entered from] Foreign Countries from October 1st 1854 to June 30, 1861 (Vol No 3)
 (These records were subsequently transferred to the Essex Institute in Salem) #

Treasury Department Statistics (published) See also IV

Statistics of the Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States Communicated by the Secretary of the Treasury, in answer to a Resolution of the Senate March 12, 1863 Washington, 1864 Cited as For Dom Com, 1863

Statements of Imports of Tea and Coffee into the United States each Year from 1789 to 1882 Washington, 1883 Part of Quarterly Report, No 3, Series 1882-'83, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics

Historical Tables of the Commerce, Finance, Tonnage and Immigration of the U S Sub-title United States, Passengers and Immigrants Arrived from Foreign Countries Passengers and Immigrants from 1820 to 1867 Immigrants only from 1868 to 1892 From the Bureau of Statistics and other bureaus Commerce of Asia and Oceania Washington, 1898

From the Bureau of Statistics

Imports and Exports of the United States, 1835-1898, and Receipts and Expenditures of the United States Government, 1856-1898 From the Summary of Commerce and Finance for August, 1898 Bureau of Statistics One other publication of this office may be entered here—

Exports of Manufactures from the United States and their Distribution by Articles and Countries—1800 to 1906 Washington, 1907
 (See also, below, in IV a, under Serial volume 472)

(b) Non-American

Hongkong Consular Ordinances 1844 By Authority Hongkong, 1846 The China Mail
Hongkong Consular Ordinances 1845-6 By Authority Hongkong, 1847 The China Mail
Public Documents relating to the Admission into Circulation of Republican Dollars at Par with Spanish as Decreed by the High Chinese Authorities of Canton Published by Authority Canton, 1853

Cordier, Henri, Les Origines de deux Etablissements Francais dans l'Extreme-Orient, Chang-hai-Ning-po Documents Inédits Paris, 1896 Cited as Deux Etablissements

The Department of State received from the consulate at Shanghai a few annual reports of trade in that dis-

trict, made up by the Inspectors of the Customhouse—e.g., 4 Shanghai Cl, No 5, Smith to Cass, Oct 15, 1858, enclosure While most of the publications of the Inspectorate-General postdated the period of this study, a few were issued before it terminated, e.g., Returns of the Import and Export Trade at the Port of Shanghai, for the Year 1858 (printed for the Customhouse) At the Office of Maritime Customs, Shanghai, there was issued on July 1, 1856, a report on the import and export trade of the port for the year ending June 30, 1856

Documents of the local Japanese government offices with which American consulates dealt at Nagasaki and at Hakodate are difficult of access The Historiographical Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo reports, however, that they "will be eventually investigated and compiled from time to time as one of the series of the Dai-Nihon Komonsho by this department" Sidelights are furnished by books and articles in Japanese, noted on later pages

II. Diplomatic Correspondence

(a) American Ms.

Credences Volumes 3 and 4

I China Instructions April 24, 1845 August 31, 1867 Indexed on sheets pasted in the front of the volume For Japan Instructions see above, in I (a), "Despatches to Consuls"

An effort to locate the work suggested by a casual reference to an 1853 edition of Personal Instructions to the Diplomatic Agents of the United States has failed to unearth any such volume or any dependable citation The Library of Congress reports that bound in volume 1046 of its collection entitled Miscellaneous Pamphlets is a copy of a thin pamphlet called Personal Instructions to the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in Foreign Countries (n p, n d), followed immediately in the same volume by Supplement to the Personal Instructions to the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in Foreign Countries (Washington; Blair and Rives, 1832)—consisting of a letter dated at the Department of State, Feb 24, 1832 The Checklist of United States Public Documents 1789-1899 lists an 1889 edition of the same Personal Instructions but neither the Library of Congress nor the Library of the Department of State possesses a copy, nor does the former library's Union Catalogue include a reference to one Each of the two libraries named possesses the 1874 edition, another followed in 1885)

#For details regarding vessels in California about the beginning of our period see Bancroft, California, IV, 561ff; for vessels 1846 to 1848 see the next volume in the series, 569ff These items give a good picture of California shipping under various flags but in many cases omit port of departure and next destination

Index to Indexes of Despatches from United States Ministers and Others—and Notes from Foreign Ministers residing in the United States

53 General Index Despatches from U S Ministers (For China)

57 Index to Despatches from U S Ministers Gt Britain, France, Russia, Netherlands China May 16, 1857—Ney [May] 19, 1870

58 Index to Despatches from U S Ministers (For China)

(For Japan, see Volume 56, entered on page 465, above)

24 Index Despatches from the Legation of the U S to Hawaii This index, as well as that to the consular correspondence from Honolulu, reveals much commercial information, during several years, but without suggesting marked trade connection with Eastern Asia during most of the time. The diplomatic series and the consular series naturally duplicate somewhat

Diplomatic Despatches For the three volumes relating to Japan see page 465, above. For China the following 17 volumes have been used: Nos 2-8 and 10-19 Cited thus 5 China DD, _____ to _____, No 5, by date. This very extensive correspondence is essential to any but the most circumscribed and tentative study of several consular topics. Much of it is also available in the Congressional Documents (IV, below), for an exact key to the published correspondence see Dennett's Americans in Eastern Asia, 685, 696

With but few exceptions, American consular and commercial matters of sufficient interest to European governments with Asiatic possessions to create a direct correspondence between those governments and the Department of State have not been followed beyond the sources already listed, these usually suffice. Such scattered instances of special diplomatic correspondence are a separate type of study #

The Legation of the United States in China writes (June 23, 1932) that the archives of that mission 1845 to 1889, inclusive, were sent to the Department of State in 1930. The dates given at the Department are 1845-1899. In a communication to the Secretary of State, May 23, 1853 (8 China DD), Peter Parker reported that when he was shipwrecked on the steamer Larriston between Shanghai and Hongkong earlier in the month several bound volumes of Chinese correspondence in the archives, as well as other items then in his possession, were lost. He also refers to loss of despatches of Commissioner Marshall which he intended to mail at Hongkong; however, the despatches in the Department are numbered in unbroken series, presumably with some use of duplicates

McLaughlin, quoted by Van Tyne and Leland (Gunde, 6), is in error in his inference that the sending of duplicates had ceased. For an interesting inventory of the Legation in China, May 1, 1857, see 35-2, S Ex Doc 22, II, 1340-1343, note also Marshall's earlier comments in 33-1, H Ex Doc 123, 80 Parker stated in 1855 (35-2, S Ex Doc 22, I, 549) that everything received by the Legation went on to the Department of State, presumably in the form of enclosed transcripts

Archives of the Legation in Japan begin with 1855, Ambassador Morris made some use of them—"the dusty and yellow records"—for his pamphlet on Townsend Harris. For Siam see above, in B I (a)

(b) Non-American

Special transcripts have been made of manuscripts in the Public Record Office in London, these are Foreign Office papers, as cited by date in footnotes, relating to Hongkong, Australia, Formosa, Japan, and China, between 1845 and 1859. Some of these papers (F 0 5 / different numbers) originated in Washington and others in England, chiefly in London British and Foreign State Papers XXXV, XXXVIII, XLV, XLVII, and XLIX (554-569 for Orders in Council on authority of British consuls over British subjects in Japan). Vol XLIII is a general index covering Vols I-XLI

Affaires Étrangères Documents Diplomatiques 1860 "Expédition de Chine" Paris, 1861

Preliminary attention has been paid through correspondence to information drawn from the important series in Chinese, Ch'ing Tai Ch'ou Pan Yi Wu Shih Mo (The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs under the Ch'ing Dynasty) Reign of Tao-kuang, 40 vols., reign of Hsien-feng, 40 vols., etc Peiping, 1850 (Palace Museum). However, most of the consular material contained in these documents relates to British consuls, cf p 226n, above. Note also the review of new diplomatic material in the Chinese Social and Political Science Review for July, 1932

Interesting information is supplied by a valuable series of publications in Japanese entitled Bakumatsu Gaijō Kankai Bunko (Documents on Foreign Relations in the Final Period of the [Tokugawa] Shogunate), in the series Dai-Nihon Komonsho Twenty vols (1853-1858) and four supplementary vols thus far Tokyo, 1910-19— (The Historiographical Institute, Imperial University of Tokyo). In their consular and commercial content these volumes are "informal records

Such study requires use of the Department's correspondence with its diplomatic representatives in Europe, supplemented by papers in foreign offices (as in the case of Great Britain, in II b), and of the Washington correspondence with foreign diplomatic representatives (Notes to Department and Notes from Department), supplemented by correspondence of these agents with their own governments Cf 46n, above

which the petty officials of the Bakufu took down word for word as they talked to the foreigners through interpreters." They are therefore not to be regarded as formal official documents in the usual sense, but their official bearing is significant because of their informal nature. They are reported to be in process of translation by Mr. Eugene H. Doomen, of the Foreign Service of the United States, but immediate publication may not be expected. Selections from Vols. 15 (1922) and 18 (1928) have been used. # Papers of the Tokugawa family, it is reported, were transferred to the Foreign Office, and then to the Imperial University, the University's library, but not its Historiographical Institute, was entirely destroyed by fire in 1923 (See also above, 166 n.)

III Naval Correspondence (American)

East India Squadron Com F A Parker Feb 27, 1843 to Sept 25, 1845

East India Squadron Commodore Biddle Cruise from August 1st 1845 to May 3d 1847 Supplemental Navy Department

East India Squadron Com Geisinger--February 12th 1848 to June 19th 1850

One report (Nov 4, 1856) of Commander Andrew H. Foote. These and other records in the Office of Naval Records and Library in the Navy Department are of value in the balanced study of consular affairs and commerce. They are extensive enough to justify detailed separate treatment; publication of many of the papers or of indexes to the contents of the different series would assist students greatly. The Office of Naval Records and Library has supplied information gleaned from Navy Registers and selected log books of war vessels in Asiatic waters during the period, including excerpts used from the log of the Mississippi, most of these, however, are characterized as possessing an almost entirely routine character.

IV Congressional and Other Legislative Documents

(a) American

The Congressional documents contain much information not otherwise available, some of them usefully present controversial material with a freedom which has more recently been out of favor in government publications. Congressional plain speaking and the relatively undeveloped state of the nation's foreign service left the Department of State

and its representatives abroad in a condition of considerable dependence upon the attitudes of the people's legislative representatives, rather than in the position of semi-independent professional executives. Documents listed below are identified in abbreviated fashion, by Congresses and sessions, the letters S and H indicate respectively the Senate and the House of Representatives, and serial numbers are preceded by the abbreviation Ser

Table of Congresses

28-2, for example, indicates the second session of the twenty-eighth Congress

(27-3, Dec 5, 1842-Mar 3, 1843)
 28-2, Dec 2, 1844-Mar 3, 1845
 29-special sess., Mar 4-20, 1845
 29-1, Dec 1, 1845-Aug 10, 1846
 29-2, Dec 7, 1846-Mar 3, 1847
 30-1, Dec 6, 1847-Aug 14, 1846
 30-2, Dec 4, 1848-Mar 3, 1849
 31-special sess., Mar 5-23, 1849
 31-1, Dec 3, 1849-Sept 30, 1850
 31-2, Dec 2, 1850-Mar 3, 1851
 32-special sess., Mar 4-13, 1851
 32-1, Dec 1, 1851-Aug 31, 1852
 32-2, Dec 6, 1852-Mar 3, 1853
 33-special sess., Mar 4-Apr 11, 1853
 33-1, Dec 5, 1853-Aug 7, 1854
 33-2, Dec 4, 1854-Mar 3, 1855
 34-1, Dec 3, 1855-Aug 18, 1856
 34-2, Aug 21-30, 1856
 34-3, Dec 1, 1856-Mar 3, 1857
 35-special sess., Mar 4-14, 1857
 35-1, Dec 7, 1857-June 14, 1858
 35-special sess., June 15-16, 1858
 35-2, Dec 6, 1858-Mar 3, 1859
 36-special sess., Mar 4-10, 1859
 36-1, Dec 5, 1859-June 25, 1860
 36-special sess., June 26-28, 1860
 36-2, Dec 3, 1860-Mar 2, 1861

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27-3, H Doc 148—Rules and Regulations, U. S. Navy
 Ser 421

28-2, S Doc 58—Message from the President
 Abstract of treaty with China Ser 450 H
 Doc 69 is the same *
 S Doc 155—Letter from the Secretary of State
 Showing the Changes and Modifications in the
 Commercial Systems of Foreign Nations, 1844-
 1845 Ser 456

#On pages 620-636 of Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States Dec 1, 1879 (Washington, 1879) appears a translation of a detailed Japanese account of arrangements for Harris' visit to Yedo in 1857, with the interviews of late December, 1857, and early 1858 (including much information on Western practices, supplied by Harris).

*James D. Richardson's A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897, in ten volumes,

- H Doc 75--Commerce and Trade Ser 465 This is a letter from the Secretary of State with returns of consuls and commercial agents of the United States abroad, Jan 28, 1845, including many statistics and much data on insurance rates, exchange, wages, duties, prices, etc. Chiefly before our period, but a useful preliminary. Important for persons interested in the mechanism of trade.
- H Doc 138--Extension of American Commerce--Proposed Mission to Japan and Corea Ser 465
- 29-1, S Doc 4--Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, on Commerce and Navigation for the Year ending 30th June, 1845, also, a Statement of Tonnage for the Same Period Ser 472 This annual publication, ordinarily referred to as Commerce and Navigation, has been used for selected years. In nearly every year the publication appears in both the Senate and the House series. These volumes are useful for a study, by customs districts, of countries to and from which tonnage sailed, and for a view of direct and indirect commerce, total volume of commerce with each country, sources and destinations of individual commodities, and American-Asiatic trade in comparison with American trade elsewhere.
- H Rep 714--Consular System of the United States Ser 491
- 29-2, H Doc 11--Commerce and Navigation Report of Dec 10, 1846 Ser 498
- H Doc 12--Consular System Ser 499
- H Doc 96--Productions, Trade, and Commerce of the Oriental Nations Ser 500
- 30-1, S Mis Doc 80--Memoir, Geographical, Political, and Commercial on Siberia, Manchuria, and the Asiatic Islands of the North Pacific Ocean With large map By Aaron H Palmer (See comment, 338n) Ser 511
- H Rep 596--Steam Communication with China, and the Sandwich Islands With large chart of the Pacific, by Maury Ser 526
- 30-2, H Ex Doc 60--Consuls, Vice Consuls, &c Ser 543
- 31-1, S Ex Doc 1--Message from the President Report of the Secretary of the Navy (1849) Ser 549 A number of these reports which have been examined, so far as they bear on the Orient, are largely statements of the disposition of vessels, with scattering miscellaneous information
- S Ex Doc 72--Message from the President Communicating the Report of the Commissioner to China Ser 562
- H Ex Doc 84--Imprisoned American Seamen Ser 579
- H Mis [Doc] 46--Receipts and Expenditures of Consulates in China Ser 581
- 31-2, H Ex Doc 55--Opinions of Attorneys General In two parts Part 2 (to July 19, 1850) Ser 603
- 32-1, S Ex Doc 38--Message from the President in Relation to the Mission of Mr. Balestier, Late United States Consul at Singapore, to Eastern Asia Ser 618
- S Ex Doc 43--Message from the President Submitting a Copy of Rules and Regulations at the Free Ports of China Ser 619 H Ex Doc 80 is the same
- S Ex Doc 59--Message from the President Relative to the Empire of Japan Ser 620
- S Rep 21 Seward regarding Aaron H Palmer Ser 630
- H Mis [Doc] 67--Consulates of China Ser 652
- H unnumbered Digested Summary and Alphabetical List of Private Claims Presented to the House of Representatives from the First to the Thirty-First Congress Three vols Washington, 1853 Serials 652-655
- 32-2, S Ex Doc 1--Message from the President Report of the Secretary of the Navy (1852) Two vols Ser 658-659 H Ex Doc 1 is the same
- S Ex Doc 49--Report of the Secretary of the Navy Respecting Mail and War Steamers [to] China Ser 665
- S Ex Doc 52--Report of the Secretary of State, Communicating Abstracts of the Diplomatic and Consular Correspondence, in That Department, Respecting the Commercial Regulations of Foreign Nations Ser 665
- 33-1, H Ex Doc 128--China Correspondence with Commissioners Ser 734
- H Rep 548--Diplomatic and Consular System Ser 744
- 33-2, S Ex Doc 34--Message of the President Transmitting a Report of the Secretary of the Navy Relative to the Naval Expedition to Japan Ser 751

is 53-2, H Mis Doc 210, of which Vols IV-V (Sers 3265-4 and 3265-5) cover the period of this study An earlier paper is 22-2, S Doc 83, Message from the President in Relation to the Consular Establishment (Mar 2, 1833, Report of 1833) (Ser 230) Note also 23-1, H Rep 166, Foreign Missions (Ser 445)

- For S Ex Doc 79 see below, under Hawks, in
Sect E
- S Mis Doc 10--Memorial of Aaron Haight Palmer
Ser 772
- S Mis Doc 16--Statistical Tables Foreign
service appropriations from 1790 Ser 772
- H Ex Doc 78--Reports of Explorations and Sur-
veys for a Railroad to the Pacific Ocean
Many vols., 1855-1861 Sers 791-801
- H Rep 145--Navigation, Revenue, and Collection
Laws Ser 806
- 34-1, S Ex Doc 1--Message from the President
Report of the Secretary of the Navy (1855)
Ser 812
- S Ex Doc 92--Message from the President
Communicating a Letter from the Commissioner
in China Consular court regulations
in China Ser 823 H Ex Doc 125 is the
same
- S Ex Doc 99--Report of the Secretary of State
Relating to the Coolie Trade Ser 824
- S Ex Doc 107--Report on the Commercial Rela-
tions of the United States with All Foreign
Nations Four vols. Sers 828-831 This
valuable document is cited as Com Rels
Subsequent Commercial Relations, appearing in
one volume each year, are identified in cita-
tions by inclusion of the year. H Ex Doc
47 (Sers 854-857) is the same See above,
p 74 and note
(S Rep 209 Chiefly diplomatic Ser 837)
- H Ex Doc. 2--Letter from the Secretary of
State, Transmitting a Report of Changes and
Modifications in the Commercial Systems of
Other Nations During the Year Ending Septem-
ber 30, 1855 Ser 844
- H Ex Doc 3--American Seamen Ser 844
- H Ex Doc 5--Contingent Expenses of the State
Department Ser 844
- H Ex Doc 32--China--Regulations for the Con-
sular Courts Ser 851
- H Ex Doc 49--Interpreter to the Mission to
China Ser 855
- H Ex Doc 105--Slave and Coolie Trade Ser
859
- H Ex Doc 115--Sloop of War "John Adams" at
Feejee Islands. Ser 859
- H Ex Doc (in Vol 16), unnumbered, but anti-
titled Commerce and Navigation Year ending
June 30, 1855 Ser 855
- H Mis. Doc. 20--China--Fees for Judicial Serv-
ices at the Several Consulates Ser 856
- 34-2, H Mis. Doc 1--China--Consular Returns for Fees,
&c Ser. 867
- 34-3, S Ex Doc 1--Message from the President Re-
port of the Secretary of the Navy Vol II of
- the Message Ser 876
- S Ex Doc 6--Message of the President Commu-
nicating a Letter from the United States
Commissioner in China and Regulations
Ser 878
- S Ex Doc 35--Report of the Secretary of State,
Transmitting a Statement from the Superintend-
ent of Statistics of the Commercial Relations
of the United States with Foreign Nations,
for the Year ending September 30, 1856 Ser
887 Cited as Com Rels, 1856
- S Rep 370--Committee on Naval Affairs on memo-
rials of Boston Board of Underwriters and the
Chamber of Commerce of New York with reference
to protection of trade with China Ser 891
- H Ex Doc 2--Report of the Secretary of the
Treasury, on Finances for the Year Ending
June 30, 1856 Ser 836
- H Mis. Doc 8--Mode of Paying the Salaries of
Foreign Ministers, Consuls, and Commercial
Agents Ser 911
- 35-1, S Ex Doc 1--Report of the Secretary of the
Treasury on Finances for the Year Ending
June 30, 1857 Ser 918
- S Ex Doc 2--Report of the Secretary of State
Showing Disbursements during the Fiscal
Year Ending June 30, 1857 Ser 918
- S Ex Doc 3--Abstract of Returns of American
Seamen Ser 918
- S Ex Doc 53--Commercial Relations, 1857 Ser
935 These reports were usually sent to both
houses
- S Rep 176--Memorial of Townsend Harris
Ser 939 Committee on Foreign Relations
- S Rep 191--Memorial of Aaron Haight Palmer
Ser 939 Committee on Claims
- S Rep 192--Memorial of T Hart Hyatt
Ser 939 Committee on Foreign Relations
- S Rep 240--Petition of Auton [Anton] L C
Portman Ser 939 Committee on Foreign
Relations
- H Ex Doc 4--Contingent Expenses of the State
Department Ser 941
- H Ex Doc 5--American Seamen Ser 941
- H Ex Doc 9--China--Regulations for the Consu-
lar Courts Ser 941 S Ex. Doc 5 is the
same
- H Ex Doc 98--Explorations of Amoor River Ser
958.
- H Mis. Doc 2--China--Fees for Judicial Services
at the Several Consulates Ser 961
- H Rep 106--R C Murphy, Late Consul at Shang-
hai Ser 964
- 35-2, S. Ex. Doc 1--Message of the President Ser
977 Pp 24-424 are "A Code of Regulations
for the Government of the Navy", with an index
- S Ex. Doc 11--Message of the President

- Communicating a Letter from China, with the Decrees and Regulations Ser 981 H Ex Doc 21 is the same
- S Ex Doc 18—Report of the Secretary of State Claims Ser 981
- S Ex Doc 20—Consular Fees Ser 981
- S Ex Doc 25—Guano Trade Ser 981
- S Ex Doc 22—Message of the President Communicating the Correspondence of Messrs McLane and Parker, Late Commissioners to China Two vols Sers 982-983 Important for several limited studies especially in the history of individual consulates, which cannot be included here
- S Ex Doc 37—Commercial Relations, 1858 Ser 991
- H Ex Doc 1—Estimates of Appropriations Ser 996 S Ex Doc 1 is the same
- H Ex Doc 55—P McD Collins Compensation Ser 1006
- H Ex Doc 67—Fees of Consuls General, Consuls, Commercial Agents, and Consular Agents Ser 1006
- H Ex Doc 68—Compensation to Consular Officers and Appointment of Consular Clerks Ser 1006
- H Ex Doc 75—"James Keenan, United States Consul at Hong Kong" Ser 1006
- H Ex Doc 90—Consular Officers Engaged in Business in Violation of Law Ser 1006
- H Ex Doc 92—Passengers Arriving in the United States Ser 1006
- H Ex Doc 113—Claim of James Keenan, United States Consul at Hong Kong Ser 1014
- H Rep 212—Aaron Van Camp and Virginianus P Chapin Ser 1018
- 36-1, S Ex Doc 3—Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the Year Ending June 30, 1860 Ser 1027 (Also in Ser 1045)
- S Ex Doc 7—Message of the President Communicating Regulations for Consular Courts Ser 1027
- S Ex Doc 9—Fees Received by the Consular Officers for the Year 1858 Tariff of fees and list of all officers, Dec 31, 1859 Ser 1027
- S Ex Doc 25—Correspondence Concerning the Proposed Diplomatic Mission from Japan Ser 1031
- S Ex Doc 30—Instructions to, and Dispatches from, Ministers in China Parker, Reed, and Ward Ser 1032
- S Ex Doc 39—Instructions to Mr McLane Ser 1033
- S Ex Doc 45—Modification of the Act Approved August 14, 1848 Ser 1035
- H Ex Doc 4—Commercial Relations, 1859 Ser. 1044
- H Ex Doc 86—Chinese Coolie Trade Ser 1057
- H Mis Doc 22—Estimates—China Mission, and Salaries of Consuls in China Ser 1064
- H Rep 428—Pacific Railroad Ser 1069 Three reports, one to accompany Bill H R No 646 and two minority reports
- H Rep 443—Coolie Trade Ser 1069
- H Rep 564—Consular and Diplomatic Systems Ser 1070
- 36-2, S Ex Doc 1—Message from the President Vol 1, Ser 1078, and Vol III (Report of the Secretary of the Navy), Ser 1080
- S Ex Doc 6—Commercial Relations, 1860 Ser 1088
- H Ex Doc 2—Report of the Secretary of the Treasury Ser 1093
- H Ex Doc 7—African Slave Trade Ser 1095
- H Ex Doc 49—Consular Fees, &c Ser 1100
- H Ex Doc. (in Vol 11)—Report of the Commerce and Navigation of the United States for the Year Ending June 30, 1860 Ser 1102, Ser 1087 is the same
- H Rep 82—Survey of the Northern Waters, Coasts and Islands of the Pacific Ocean, etc Ser 1105
- 37-2, S Rep 15—Memorial of Perry McD Collins Ser 1125.
- H Ex Doc 16—Asiatic Coolie Trade Ser 1127
- H Ex Doc 36—Receipts and Expenditures Ser 1129
- H Ex Doc 45—Commercial Relations, 1861 Ser 1130
- (For H Ex Doc 116 see below, G II, under Kennedy)
- 38-1, H Rep 49—James Keenan Ser 1206
- 40-5, S Ex Doc 20—Judicial Powers [of Consuls] in Cases Between Americans and Citizens of Any Foreign Nation Other Than Japan Ser 1360
- H Ex Doc 29—Settlement of Claims Missionary Claims, Land Holdings, etc Ser 1373
(For Serials 1366-1367 see above, in A, under McPherson)
- 41-3, S Ex Doc 7—Message of the President Communicating Reports of the Consular Agents Reports of DeB R Keim, 1870 Ser 1440.
- S Ex Doc 25—Message Communicating Regulations for the Consular Courts in Japan Ser 1440

- H Ex Doc 7—Relief and Protection of American Seamen Ser 1452
- 42-2, H Ex Doc 11—Consular Agents Reports of DeB R Keim, 1871 Ser 1509
- H Ex Doc 317—Examination of Accounts of Consular Officers of the United States General view of Keim's investigations Ser 1520
See above, 152n
- 42-3, H Mis Doc 109—Digested Summary and Alphabetical List of Private Claims Presented to the House of Representatives from the Thirty-second to the Forty-first Congress, Inclusive, Exhibiting the Action of Congress on Each Claim, with Reference to the Journals, Reports, Bills, etc Prepared under the direction of Edward McPherson Washington, 1873 Ser 1574
- 44-2, S Rep 689—Chinese Immigration Ser 1754
- 45-2, H Mis Doc 31—Testimony on Expenditures in the State Department (Shanghai consulate) Ser 1816
- 45-3, H Rep 134—Investigation of George F Seward Ser 1866
- 46-3, S Mis Doc 14—List of Private Claims Brought Before the Senate from the Fourteenth Congress to the Forty-sixth Congress Two vols Sers 1945-1946 Convenient, should be used with the Journals, the Cong Globe, and the Stat at Large
- 48-2, S Ex Doc 47—Treaties and Conventions Concluded between the United States of America and Other Powers since July 4, 1776 John H Haswell Ser 2262
- 51-1, H Rep 1210—American Merchant Marine in the Foreign Trade (1890) Ser 2810
- 52-2, S Ex Doc 77—Relations between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands from September, 1820, to January, 1893 Ser 3062
- 55-2, S Ex Doc 177, Parts 8 and 16—Fur Seal Arbitration, Proceedings Washington, 1895 Sers 3166-8 and 3166-16 Cf Van Tyne and Leland, Guide, p 36
- H Mis Doc 210—See above, note under 48-2, S Doc. 58
- H Mis Doc 212—History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States Has Been a Party By John Bassett Moore Six vols, Washington, 1898 Vol V used Ser 3287
- 56-1, H Doc 15—Part 5, Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States, Nov, 1898, also Part 11, May, 1900, sect on "Movements of Prices [of Commodities], 1840-1899" Ser 3942
(For a description of consulates at the beginning of the present century use may be made of 57-1, S Doc 411, Ser 4248 Most of the pertinent information in volumes of the seventh census and the eighth census is found also in the Commercial Relations)
- 61-2, S Doc 357—Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers 1776-1909 William M Malloy Two vols Washington, 1910 Sers 5646-5647
- Speeches of Hon Milton S Latham delivered in the Senate of the United States, or Steamship Line from California to China, via Sandwich Islands and Japan, April 10th, 1862, also on Report from the Military Committee, on Telegraphic Communication between San Francisco and the Amoor River, in Eastern Siberia, via Behring's Straits Washington, 1862
- Papers Relating to the Continental Telegraph, Communication of Hon William H Seward, Secretary of State, upon the Subject of an Intercontinental Telegraph Connecting the Eastern and Western Hemispheres by Way of Behring's Strait, in Reply to Hon Z Chandler, Chairman of the Committee on Commerce of the U S Senate, to which Was Referred the Memorial of Perry McDonough Collins Washington, 1864
-
- Documents Submitted to the General Court of 1855, by the Secretary of the Commonwealth [of Massachusetts] Boston, 1855 "Abstract of the Returns of Insurance Companies"
- Third Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioners, of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts January 1, 1858 Boston, 1858 Public Doc No 45
- State of New York, First Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department Assembly No 90, Mar 1, 1860
- (b) Non-American
- Consular Returns of British Trade with China For the Year 1845. Hongkong, 1846 (The China Mail) Also for 1846 (1847), 1847 (1848), and 1848 (1849)

Hongkong Government Gazette N S Vol I, No 3
 (Sat , Jly 21, 1855) and No 51 (Sat , Feb
 2, 1856)

Great Britain, Accounts and Papers 1854-55 [2006] LV
Abstract of Reports of the Trade of Various Countries and Places, for the Year 1854, Received by the Board of Trade (through the Foreign Office) from Her Majesty's Ministers and Consuls London, 1855

Great Britain, Accounts and Papers 1856 [2078], LVII,
Abstract of Reports on Trade from Ministers, Consuls, and Colonial Authorities
 London, 1856 For 1855

Great Britain, Accounts and Papers 1859 [2579], Session 2, XXX, Abstract of Reports on Trade from Ministers and Consuls

Various other papers have a general or marginal interest which has necessarily been ignored, they also offer help in the study of China's Asiatic trade Reports from British legations on manufactures and commerce deserve mention, some contain statistics See also introductory remarks in Appendix 4 C

V. Journals and Debates of Congress and State Legislatures

As used in footnotes, S Jol and H Jol indicate the brief titles Senate Journal and House Journal, respectively, repetition here is unnecessary, the letters S and H only being used. The number after each volume is the Serial number Several of the title pages give as publication date the year of the beginning of the session instead of the year of actual publication For a table of Congresses see under B IV, above

29-1, <u>S</u> , 469, <u>H</u> , 479	29-2, <u>S</u> , 482, <u>H</u> , 496
30-1, <u>S</u> , 502	30-2, <u>S</u> , 528, <u>H</u> , 536
31-1, <u>S</u> , 548, <u>H</u> , 566	32-2, <u>S</u> , 657, <u>H</u> , 672
34-1 and 2, <u>S</u> , 809, <u>H</u> , 838-839 (Parts I-II)	
34-3, <u>S</u> , 875, <u>H</u> , 892	
55-1, <u>S</u> , 917, <u>H</u> , 940	35-2, <u>S</u> , 973, <u>H</u> , 995
56-1, <u>S</u> , 1022, <u>H</u> , 1041-1042	36-2, <u>S</u> , 1077, <u>H</u> , 1091
37-1, <u>H</u> , 1113	

Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate
 Vols VI, VIII, IX, and XI Washington, 1887

Congressional Globe Vols XV (29 Cong , 1 Sess), XVI (2902), XVII (30-1), XVIII (30-2), XXI, Pt 3 (52-1), XXIII, Pts 1-5 (53-1), XXIV, Pts 1-2 (53-2), XXV, Pts 2-3 (54-1), XXVI, Pt 1 (34-3), XXVII, Pt 2 (35-1), XXVIII, Pt 2 (35-2), XXIX, Pt 3 (56-1), XXXIV, Pt 3 (58-1), XXXVII, Pt 2 (59-2) Variations in numbering are apt to cause

confusion, use of session numbers is of assistance

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California, Journals of the Legislature of the State of California (1851, second session) Sacramento, 1855

California, Journal of the Sixth Session of the Assembly of the State of California [1855] Sacramento, 1855

Pennsylvania, House Journal, 1851, I

VI. Judicial Publications

(See also above, B IV, and p 159n , and G II, below)

Bentley, A J (ed), Digest of the Official Opinions of the Attorneys-General of the United States 1789 to 1861 Washington, 1885

Crabbe See footnote comment on page 159n , above Digest of Decisions of the United States Circuit and District Courts, from 1789 to 1880, as Contained in the Thirty Volumes of the Federal Cases, also Containing a Table of Citations and an Alphabetical Table of Cases St Paul, West Pub Co The topical arrangement of the main portion of this volume permits an approach to cases under such headings as "Admiralty", "Ambassadors and Consuls", "Seamen", and "Shipping" The alphabetical table of cases requires some prior knowledge of the names likely to figure in litigation of the period in question and a further search in the reports (McAllister, Sprague, and others) or in the consolidated and alphabetically arranged reprints of these reports in the same publishers' valuable and convenient thirty volumes entitled The Federal Cases (St Paul, 1894-1897) The chief present interest in cases is found in such historical data as they may incidentally supply regarding commercial and consular occurrences, legal points usually being secondary, as far as the writer is aware, this topic, as revealed in American court records, has not in general been much investigated The original form of the reports in volumes of limited geographical range (and in chronological order of decisions therein) makes them preferable, for some students, to the alphabetical reproductions in The Federal Cases This set contains a useful list of the original volumes of Federal reports

Harmon, John B , reporter, Reports of Cases Determined [1859] in the Supreme Court of California Second ed Vol XIII San Francisco, 1886

McAllister, Cutler, reporter, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of California Vol I, New York, 1859

Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States, advising the President and Heads of Departments Volumes IV-IX cover this period Olcott See footnote comment on page 159n , above

Regulations for the Consular Courts of the United States of America in China, together with the Act of Congress, of August 11th, 1848 Table of Fees, and Forms for Blanks used in Consular Courts Canton, 1849 (Press of S W Williams) Also the Regulations, etc dated August 25, 1854

Sidmore, G H , A Digest of Leading Cases decided in the United States Consular Court at Kanagawa, Japan, of Decisions and Opinions of the United States Minister in Japan, of Decisions of the United States Circuit Court for the District of California, of Opinions of the Attorney General of the United States, and of Instructions from the Department of State of the United States, relating to Consular Court Jurisdiction in Japan Yokohama, 1862 A foundation for the study of this important (and scarce) digest is provided by the discussion of earlier cases in the text of the present work (The same writer in 1887 published in Tokyo—Igarisu Horitsu Gakko, or School of English Law—a volume entitled Outline Lectures on the History, Organization, Jurisdiction and Practice of the Ministerial and Consular Courts of the United States of America in Japan, the cases cited not beginning until 1862, a copy is in the Library of the Harvard Law School)

[Sprague,] Decisions of Hon Peleg Sprague in Admiralty and Maritime Causes, in the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts Vol I, 1841-1861 Philadelphia, 1861

Staunton, (Sir) George Thomas (trans), Ta Tsing Lou Lee, being the Fundamental Laws, and a Selection from the Supplementary Statutes, of the Penal Code of China, originally Printed and Published in Pekin, in Various Successive Editions, under the Sanction, and by the Authority, of the Several Emperors of the TA TSING, or Present Dynasty London, 1810 See above, 184n.

VII Collections of Laws, Treaties, Land Regulations, etc

MacMurray, John V A , Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China 1894-1919 Two vols New York, etc , 1921 Vol II.

Mayers, William Frederick, Treaties between the Empire of China and Foreign Powers, etc Fifth ed (First ed , 1877) Shanghai, 1906

Moore, John Bassett, A Digest of International Law Eight vols Washington, 1906 Essential for reference, but showing scanty citation of incoming consular letters For Moore's International Arbitrations see above, B IV (a)

Rules and Regulations for Masters, Officers and Seamen of Vessels of the United States of America at the Free Ports of China N p , n d

Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America Vol IX, Boston, 1854, and Vol XIII, Boston, 1865 The act of 1856 relating to the dip-

lomatic and consular service was separately published by the Department of State as An Act to Regulate the Diplomatic and Consular Systems of the United States, Approved August 18, 1856 (Washington, 1856) Portions of several pieces of consular legislation were reprinted in different works, including the Consular Regulations

Treaty between the United States and Japan, with Land Regulations and Port and Harbor Regulations for Nagasaki Printed by order of U S Consul [Jno G Walsh] Nagasaki, 1860

(Haswell's and Mallory's compilations of treaties of the United States have been noted, in IV, above There are many works which print American treaties and those of the nations of Eastern Asia, notably different volumes of the Commercial Relations As early as 1862 a collection of treaties between the United States and China and Japan, with acts of Congress, was published at Hongkong The Imperial Maritime Customs service published a large collection, as did the Japanese government)

C Log Books and Sea Journals

I Naval

Journal of L A Beardslee U S N U S S Plymouth, Japan 1851-2 (Essex Institute)

Pope, J , Private Journal of the U S Ship Vandalia, 1855-56

Private Journal of the U S Ship Macedonian, 1856

(In the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, there exists an extremely large and important collection of logs and journals deserving of special monographic or editorial treatment In typewritten form at Yale there is a Complete List of the Log Books on File in the Bureau of Navigation, Department of the Navy, Washington, D C 1800-1907, by Robert Wilden Neeser The series of articles by C O Paullin, entered below in G II, draws heavily on the logs of naval vessels as well as on the official correspondence of officers

II Commercial

This type of material is widely scattered, but the great collections are in the Bureau of Navigation in Washington and the Essex Institute in Salem Unless otherwise described the titles which follow are from the latter place Some titles are reconstructed, of necessity As the notations on the cover or the fly-leaf of a book are an inadequate guide to the ports touched at, a page-by-page examination is usually desirable Many of the books relating to Asiatic and

Pacific trips but not featuring ports of Eastern Asia have been passed by as being more suitable for special studies of the commerce of ports in other regions (For logbooks in the Andrew Snow, Jr Collection see Whaling Exhibits of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, 1930, Pub No 53)

CHASE, Percy (comp), Records of Voyages of Clipper Ships (cir 1845-1855) Manuscripts in Harvard College Library Useful for vessels, runs, routes, cargoes, and merchants (e.g., Crocker and Warren of New York) Illustrates the varied utility of assembled materials of this sort HARPER ALLEN GOSNELL'S Illustrated Before the Mast in the Clippers (New York, 1937 Derrydale Press) deserves mention as an unusually valuable compilation of diaries (C A Abbey) kept from 1856 to 1860 Excellent introductory material on ships and seamanship and illustrations supplement the text and enable any landsman to follow the narrative with understanding and enjoyment The volume contains abundant facts about famous ports, ships, and seamen Abbey later became a distinguished officer of the United States Revenue Marine

Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum, New Bedford Four useful and labor-saving looseleaf notebooks giving interesting items from whaling logs and meriting further attention for the study of commerce in the North Pacific and the Russian possessions

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ANON, Journals —1845-6-7-8-9-1850-51-55-6-7-8- & 9— (On the ships Australia, Eliza Ann, Hamlet, Magi, and Ocean Eagle) Cited as ANON, Journals In the same hand, a clear record of an interesting biography

AREATUS Log Book Ship Areatus—Batavia 1844-5 Also Hongkong, Canton, etc Capt C D Mugford

AURORA Ship Aurora San Francisco & Liverpool 1860-61

AUSTRALIA See above, under ANON, Journals CATHARINE Sea Journal Diary of a Voyage from Boston to Feejee Island in the Barque Catharine commanded by Cotton L Pratt begun December 6th 1845 and terminated—18—.

CHALLENGE Ship Challenge Hong Kong 1858-9 Capt Saml A Fabens.

Ship Challenges Log Book From New York To Sanfrancisco thence to Hong Kong China [1858-60]

F G Dunton

DELHI Log Book Ship Delhi Manilla 1844-5 Chas F Williams, Master

See Journal Journal of a Voyage from New York to Manile in the Ship Delhi commanded by Charles F Williams Begun June 5d 1844, and terminated—1845 . Kept by Chas F Williams.

ELIZA ANN Bark Eliza Ann Australia and China 1846-7 Chever, Master

Bark Eliza Ann Australia 1847-8 See journal

See also above, under ANON, Journals FALCON Journal of a Voyage from New York to The East Indies in the Bark Falcon of Boston commanded by

Capt Edward Meacom Begun Aug 22d-1858 and terminated October 6th-1859 Kept by Joseph R Dodge

Falcon (bark) Journal of a Voyage from New York to Hong Kong and return to Boston, 1858-1859

GAME COCK Ship "Game Cock" Joseph Osgood Comdr

Ship "Game Cock" Joseph Osgood 1854

56

GOLDEN EAGLE Ship Golden Eagle China 1859-1863 Relates also to the Challenge, in part (1858-1859), the record actually goes back as far as 1854

GOLDEN WEST Ship Golden West Sydney, Hongkong 1858-9

HAMILTON Seaman's Journal Journal of a Voyage from Boston to China in the Ship Hamilton commanded by W H Allen Begun November 13, 1847 and terminated November 6 1848 Kept by Daniel S Emmerton AE 16 years

HAMLET See above, under ANON, Journals

HEBER Ship Heber Batavia 1844-5
Ship Heber China 1845-6 J P Porter, Commander

Log Book Ship Heber China 1846-7 J P Porter, Commander Kept, apparently, by J Osgood HINDOSTAN Journal of a Voyage From Boston to Bombay in the Ship Hindostan commanded by Capt William Cushing Begun Saturday March 27 1852 and terminated 18 By Chas F Saunders 2nd voyage to sea HORSBURGH Journal of Ship "Horsburgh's" Voyage from New York to East Indies May 1t 1850 Joseph Osgood Commander 1850

Ships Horsburgh and Thos W Sear[s]

Singapore 1851-3

JOHN BERTRAM Sea Journal Ship John Bertram Manilla 1853-5

JOHN GOSSLIN Journal of a Voyage From San Francisco Cal to Hong Kong & Canton in the Ship John N [or AT] Gosselin [or Gossler?] Commanded by Joseph Dewing Begun October 15th 1853 and terminated 18

JOSEPHINE Log Book Ship Josephine Calcutta 1853-5

LAUSANNE Seaman's Journal Journal of a Voyage from New York to [Oahu and Manilla] in the Ship Lausanne [Lausanne?] commanded by Josiah Spalding Kept by Oliver H Saunders

MAGI. The bark Magi from Anjer towards New York

See also above, under ANON, Journals

MAY Ship May India 1857-8 Capt John Bridges

MINNA Sea Journal Journal of Voyage from Portsmouth to Manilla in the Schooner Minna commanded by Capt William B Davis Begun October the first 1851 Kept by Andrew Jackson

NEPTUNE'S FAVORITE Ship Neptune's Favorite Boston to St George [N B] To the Orient from St George

OCEAN EAGLE See above, under ANON, Journals

PERKINS See below, under Thomas Perkins

RED ROVER Log Book of the Red Rover (of New York) on a Voyage From Hong Kong to Melbourne, from Melbourne,

To Hong Kong, from Hong Kong to Bangkok, from Bangkok Back Commanded by William Oscar Putnam Commencing March 10th 1858 [1859] Ending January 1860

Kept by George Cumming, Chief Officer

ST PAUL Ship St Paul Manila 1844-5 C H Allen, Master Salem to Manila Logs of the Ship St. Paul, especially concerned with the Manila trade, are numerous enough to afford a record of some continuity.

SAMOS Log Bark Samos New Zealand Manila etc 1845-7 Henry Archer, Master

SEARS See below, under Thos W Sears

SHIRLEY Shirley (Ship) New York to Australia SIAM Ship Siam Singapore 1850-1. Contains also a record of the Siam, Boston to Penang (148 days), Dec 3, 1854 to Apr 30, 1855, and Penang to Hong-kong, May 27 to July 7 In the same volume, Journal of a Voyage in Bark Thetis from Boston to Manila 1852

STORM KING Bark Storm King Sailed March 11th '57 Arrd. Mar 21st '58 Chas Mallett, Master SYREN Sea Journal Journal of a Voyage from Boston to San Francisco then to Manila and thence to New York in the Syren of 1064 Tons 5/95 commanded by G Silsbee Begun July 1st 1851 and terminated as per last page [July 25] 1852 Kept by G Silsbee Journal of a Voyage from New York, to San Francisco—in the Ship Syren, commanded by Capt Chas H Allen, Begun November 20th 1853 and terminated 18 by Chas F Saunders Third voyage Journal of a Voyage from New York to Calcutta in the Ship Syren commanded by Capt Chas H Allen Begun 20 of Nov 1853 and terminated 18 Kept by S O Dalrymple, of Salem, fifteen years of age. Log Ship Syren China 1855-6 Capt Chas H. Allen

THETIS. See above, under Siam

THOMAS PERKINS Ship Thomas Perkins Manila 1845.

Sea Journal Journal of a Voyage from New York to Manila in the Ship Thos Perkins commanded by Capt William Graves Jr begun November 10th 1844 and terminated 1846 Kept by P. T. Waters

THOS W SEAR[S]. See above, under Horsburgh.

THREE BROTHERS Log Book Barque Three Brothers India 1844[-5] For a later account of this vessel see below, under Gale, in E.

YUMCHI Ship Yumchi 1844-46 Three other vessels included

D Company Papers and Account Books

At the time when most of the material for the present study was gathered, an attempt to make sufficient use of business papers encountered two difficulties. It was not always possible to secure access to a given collection, as in the case of some of

the papers of Russell and Company. Furthermore, the quantity and confused state of some of the manuscripts seen were such as to preclude anything but a general and incomplete use of them. Since that time, by rare good fortune and foresight the Business Historical Society, with headquarters at Harvard, has come into possession of papers of Russell and Company and other firms

The present writer sought unsuccessfully to reach the Russell and Company papers through a member of the Russell family in Middletown, Connecticut, and through extensive correspondence with persons in China Mr Ayres, of the Business Historical Society, relates interestingly the final recovery of part of them "A friend in the Stock Exchange here referred me to an associate in Canton He in turn referred me to a possibility in Shanghai Purely by accident, some four months later my friend in Shanghai found a stray case of Russell and Company [in an office] Somewhat over a year after that he found another case of papers which were really of more than ordinary importance It is questionable whether he will find anything more of interest. At any rate, we enjoy the advantage of having a friend on the ground ." Russell and Company papers in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, relate chiefly to years before 1845

The correspondence of this firm, and of other American houses engaged in similar activities (here used, in part, in copies in the consular records), provide an excellent field for investigators A narrative of the history of any one of these, from beginning to end, or a careful edition of its more important papers, would possess marked interest far beyond that supplied by the limited information appropriated for the present inquiry These businesses carried over from the period of the nation's maritime preoccupation to the time of acquisition of a Pacific coastline and growing concern with problems of internal development and consolidation, they supplied some of the sinews of the larger nation. They await a hearing At Harvard the following additions have been made

"Augustin[e] Heard & Company, with China and other Eastern ports—about 150 volumes and many unbound papers, 1840-1870

"Silsbee, Pickman & Allen, 1843-1893 Salem merchants trading with Eastern ports—75 vols and many unbound papers

"William Appleton & Company, after 1860 known as Samuel Hooper & Company—Boston merchants trading with Eastern ports, 27 volumes and 74 boxes unbound manuscripts

"Benjamin Newton, 1843-1864—Boston

merchants trading chiefly with Canton and Singapore--5 boxes of unbound papers

"Dane, Dana & Company, 1852-1855--

Boston merchants trading with Eastern ports--8 boxes unbound manuscripts" (Boxes containing manuscripts are standard containers two inches in thickness) #

(On the papers of Augustine Heard and Company see p 46 of Waters' Augustine Heard and His Friends. It is reported that Dr John King Fairbank has found in China extensive files of papers of this firm, as well as those of a leading British house)

The papers of the famous firm of Olyphant and Company appear to have passed beyond the knowledge of the present representatives of the family. A large part of the records of Thomas Whtridge, a Rhode Islander who settled in Baltimore and engaged in Oriental trade, were lost in 1904 when his old warehouse burned, even models of his vessels and the old house flag were destroyed. A great-nephew, Mr Morris Whitridge, has obligingly supplied certain facts

A careful survey of various collections of papers in the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress reduces the number of those applying to this section of the Bibliography to the Papers of Wright and Company of Baltimore, from which selections have been used

Papers of Philadelphia firms are briefly alluded to in Part I of the text. Moses Taylor Papers, relating to the business of Moses Taylor and Company and first housed in the library of Princeton University, have been examined. At the time when this very large collection was seen, it would have required many months of constant labor, and much expense, to make its arrangement convenient for investigators. Papers as early as 1836 and as late as 1871 are included, these are probably not the extreme dates. Papers are of almost every class of commercial document. From the writer's long list of types of material seen, a few may be suggested: bills of exchange, charter parties, freight lists and other papers of vessels (which serve as guides to names and addresses of shipping agents and commission merchants, and, perhaps, to additional rec-

ords in New York lofts), correspondence with Appraiser's Office (New York), insurance policies on storehouses, account books, bank checks, prices current (in great numbers), and miscellaneous business correspondence (alphabetized). When classified, this material should make it possible to determine how extensively the firm owned and operated its own vessels, how much telegraphic service was utilized, how "business policy" was formed, and how the firm's trend or shift in geographical and commodity specialization proceeded. A history of Moses Taylor and Company would serve as a valuable illustrative study of the times, generally, and of the different periods over which its life extended.

In April, 1931, these papers were transferred as a loan by Mr Percy R. Pyne, Jr to the New York Public Library, in slightly over fifty cases. A year before, the New York Public Library had received from Mr Pyne the gift of approximately eleven hundred volumes of letter books, miscellaneous account books, etc., 1832-1888, relating to the mercantile and banking business of Moses Taylor (including a few volumes of Levi Coit, Thomas Coit, William Coit, merchants of New York at the end of the eighteenth century). This second lot has not been seen in the preparation of the present work. The Manuscripts Division states that in spite of handicaps of limited storage space and small staff it hopes to have the papers "properly arranged and available to students within a reasonable time", a description by W. R. Leech appears in the Library's Bulletin for May, 1931 (Vol. 25, pp. 259-261.)

E Personal Records: Papers, Diaries, Letters, Memoirs, and Travels

The decade and a half before 1860 witnessed remarkable activity in the opening of new territory or natural resources to European and American enterprise, and in the negotiation of treaties which introduced or supported these changes. In Eastern Asia and in Pacific regions no less than in continental United States, adventure and novelty of

#The same library possesses letters written by the San Francisco representative of Minturn, Grinnell and Company (1850-1860) and the records of the firm of Crosby and Dibblee, operating in California 1850-1890, also material on Perkins and Company and certain other traders. Papers relating to James Hunnewell in the early part of the nineteenth century bear on political and social conditions in the Orient and the Sandwich Islands, some of them also refer to the Hunnewell Company's trade with China and Honolulu. Note especially the Bulletin of The Bus. Hist. Soc., VI, No. 4 (Sept., 1932).

Although relating primarily to an earlier period, an obscure collection of materials of a commercial type encountered in the Historical Society of Old Newbury, at Newburyport, deserves mention—A Collection of Memoranda & Remarks Relating to the Trade, between Java & dependencies, and China, & Intermediate Ports & places Catalogued under "Records", first entry, No. 27

experience, tinctured by a belief in the greatness of the times, attracted imaginative men to different scenes of activity Others, strictly in line of duty, or in pursuit of profit, appeared in these shifting diplomatic, military, and commercial scenes Several persons resorted to them with the motives and interests of the unattached traveller The result is a voluminous manuscript and printed literature The larger part of this, and certainly the more accessible portion, is from the pen of foreigners in the Orient, but the brush of the Chinese and the Japanese was not entirely idle It is too easy to suppose that the interests and motives just sketched concerned foreigners alone, with some modifications in degree, they applied to a number of persons of East Asiatic race The latter have left occasional impressions, caught by biographers (of F, below), and it is possible that a few additional sources of similar origin may yet become available

Many books were written by persons who had never been in the Far East China and Japan were confused in the minds of Westerners, and one detailed book on Japan was adorned with an illustration showing the natives wearing Chinese queues Some of the books which appeared were extensive in range of topics considered and in treatment of aspects of Chinese and Japanese history and civilizations, a few of these formed parts of various series of volumes on the different countries of the world In 1840 the opinion was expressed in *The Chinese Repository* that every work of value in Spanish, Italian, and German relating to China had been translated into English or French Travellers naturally devoted much space to accounts of their individual experiences, which were unique in some instances, and to their views on current affairs, racial traits, and characteristics of prominent persons Several titles, especially some of those relating to the Amur and Pacific regions, have been set aside Many of the accessible books have proved to be irrelevant to the present subject, including several relating to military and diplomatic occurrences The remainder, used in conjunction with manuscript material, supply much valuable information, in spite of a frequent lack of perspective and an inaccuracy against which the writers' closeness to the times was no insurance

(Writings on Eastern Asia produced in different periods by visitors from the Occi-

dent and from other parts of Asia provide source material for a diverting and useful narrative and interpretation)

Through visits and correspondence, most of the likely manuscripts of this type in the libraries of the chief universities, historical societies, and government offices have been approached, the larger number of these have been eliminated Each of those used is listed in its alphabetical place Of the two types of sources centering in the individual--the biographical and the autobiographical--the latter only appear in this section, biographical items being reserved for F Although, from a critical point of view, the different kinds of autobiographical materials exhibit some differences from one another, it seems best to avoid further subdivision and to make such special comments as are necessary under individual entries #

Alcock, Rutherford, The Capital of the Tycoon a Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan Two vols New York, 1877 (preface, 1868) and 1868 (sic)
Anon , "An American in Japan", in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XXVIII (Dec , 1858-May, 1859), 223-231
Anon ("a Bengal Civilian"), De Zeke Reiziger, or, Rambles in Java and the Straits in 1852 London, etc , 1853

Atkinson, Thomas Watlam, Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China London, 1860 Books by Atkinson, Fortune, and others indicate the degree of information available for the guidance of travellers

Beale, Howard K (ed), The Diary of Edward Bates 1859-1866 Washington, 1935

Blakemey, Walliam, On the Coasts of Cathay and Cipango Forty Years Ago London, 1802 Good illustrations

Bowen, (Sir) George Ferguson, Thirty Years of Colonial Government Ed by Stanley Lane-Poole Two vols London, 1869 Vol I

Bradley, Charles William Miscellaneous items supplied by members of the Bradley family, additional search is being conducted by them at the time of writing Brooks See under Templar

Chassiron, (Baron) Charles de, Notes sur le Japon, la Chine et l'Inde (1858-1860) Paris, 1861

[Chinese Miscellany, first number, with one title,] A Glance at the Interior of China Obtained during a Journey through the Silk and Green Tea Districts Taken in 1845 Shanghai [1849 (1845?)] Numerous drawings, much information regarding operations in

The Geisinger Papers in the Maryland Historical Society, at Baltimore, are chiefly commissions, logbooks, and miscellaneous papers relating to naval officers

the production of silk, many facts pertinent to the needs of the foreign traveller in China. This traveller went in Chinese garb, with a queue attached to his head (Copy in the writer's possession)

The Chinese Miscellany, a pioneer publishing venture at Shanghai, appeared from 1849 (or 1845?) to 1850, it is not to be confused with the Canton Miscellany (begun 1851). Information in Coulling's Enc Sinica (104) on the Chinese Miscellany is incomplete and inaccurate. Gorder's A Catalogue of the Library of the North China Branch, etc gives the date of No 1 as 1849, agreeing with Dennys, in The Treaty Ports. The Free Public Library of Philadelphia lists a Shanghai (China) Miscellany, vols 1-2, 1844-56, a peculiar dating (see S Wells Williams, The Middle Kingdom, II, 624n). The Library of Columbia University supplies the following heading:

"The Chinese Miscellany designed to illustrate the government, philosophy, religion, arts, manufactures, trade, manners, customs, history and statistics of China. Shanghai, Printed at the Mission Press, 1849 (-1850)." It gives the entries for two numbers as follows:

"No III Dissertation on the silk-manufacture, and the cultivation of mulberry, translated from the works of Tseu-Fwant-K'he, called also Paul Siu, a Colao, or Minister of State in China. Shanghai, Printed at the Mission Press, 1849 108 p 8 plates (printed on both sides at the end)

"No IV General description of Shanghaie and its environs, extracted from native authorities Shanghai, Printed at the Mission Press, 1850 168 p folded maps (Columbia copy supplied Walter Henry Medhurst as author)"

An 1849 issue at Shanghai, owned by the writer, is a translation of the important and illuminating travels of Ono-Tae-Hae, designated crudely as The Chinamen Abroad or a Desultory Account of the Malayan Archipelago, Particularly of Java. This slender volume should interest students of culture contacts in Southeastern Asia.

Collins, Perry McD., Overland Explorations in Siberia, Northern Asia, and the Great Amoor River Country, Incidental Notices of Manchooria, Mongolia, Kamtschatka, and Japan, with Map and Plan of an Overland Telegraph around the World, via Behring's Strait and Asiatic Russia to Europe New York, 1864 See p 15, above

Cooke, George Wingrove, China Being "The Times" Special Correspondence from China in the Years 1857-58 London, 1858

Cornwallis, Kinahan, Two Journeys to Japan Two vols in one London, 1859 Useful illustrations

Cosenza, Mario Emilio (ed.), The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris, First American Consul General and Minister to Japan New York, 1930 Based on four journals, five letter books, and letters received by Harris Convenient for comparison and for summaries in footnotes For critical comment on this work see Tyler Dennett's review in Amer Hist Rev, XXXVI, No 2 (Jan., 1931)

Cutler, (Capt.) B F, Memorandum of the Sea Life of Capt B F Cutler Privately printed, copy by courtesy of Captain Cutler's son, Mr T W Cutler, of Stonington, Conn. The author's dates were 1830-1903 He made a distinguished record and has left a valuable, but much too brief, account

Fenimore, Edward Barrington, Nippon and Pa-che-li London, 1882

Delessert, Eugene, Voyages dans les deux Océans Atlantique et Pacifique 1844 à 1847 Paris, 1848 Chiefly descriptive of Tahiti, the Philippine Islands, and Australia

D'Emes, J., China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, in the Years 1855-56 London, 1857 Unusually varied experiences, acute observations, and fair-minded judgments

Dunne, J. H., From Calcutta to Pekin, Being Notes Taken from the Journal of an Officer between Those Places London, 1861

Foote, (Capt.) Andrew Hull, Papers Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress Important for both consular and naval history

Forbes, Robert Bennett, "Personal Memoranda", in Proc of Mass Hist Soc, Vol 7 (1863-1864), pp 410-417

Personal Reminiscences Boston, 1878 The second edition appeared in 1882 Written when the author was nearly seventy-one years of age Probably the best book of its type to read for a quick understanding of the spirit of American overseas commerce It touches on a variety of places and topics at dates before, during, and after the years considered here Less manageable for the reader than Forbes' partly identical Notes on Navigation (G II, below) See above, 201

Fortune, Robert, Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China, Including a Visit to the Tea, Silk, and Cotton Countries with an Account of the Agriculture and Horticulture of the Chinese, New Plants, etc London, 1847 Valuable not only for the comments on economic life but also for the habits of the Chinese and for examples of first contacts between individual Chinese and foreigners

A Residence among the Chinese [1852-56] Inland, on the Coast, and at Sea London, 1857 Yedo and Peking A Narrative of a Journey to the Capitals of Japan and China London, 1865

(Although the present writer has not been able to secure a copy of the work, mention should be made of the existence of a translation by Etscha Kyo-oka of The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi)

Gale, Esson M., Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes a New England Ship Captain's Letters, 1850-1856

Typewritten copy by courtesy of the writer, who has used the papers of Capt John Anderson. Most of this material later appeared in the Proc of the Pacific Coast Branch, Amer Hist Assn, 1930, 119-134 A very substantial and interesting contribution,

- of a type possessing maximum usefulness
- Bosnall See above, note under C II
- Graves, R H, Fifty Years in China or China in Transition Baltimore, 1895
- Gravilère See below, under La Gravilère
- Harris, Townsend See above, under Cosenza, and (D I a) Japan Despatches, also below, under Marcy, and (in F) under Griffis
- Hawks, Francis L, Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M C Perry Three vols Washington, 1856 Issued also in Senate and House documents (Sers 769-771 and 802-804)
- Johnson, C Pemberton, A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859-1860 London, 1861 Useful in spite of frequent hyperbole
- Ijyissen de Kettendijke, W J C, Le Japon en 1857 Paris, 1924 The original Dutch edition has also been examined—Jijtsreksel uit het Dagboek Geduren de Zijn Verblijf in Japan in 1857, 1858 en 1859 ('S Gravenhage, 1860, with large map of western Kyushu) By a Dutch officer with ample opportunity to observe closely
- Johnston, James D, China and Japan—Narrative of a Cruise of the U S Steam Frigate Powhatan 1857, '58, '59 and '60 Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1860 Cruises, diplomacy, and descriptions
- King, D O, "Travels in Siam and Cambodia", in The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XXX (1860), 177-182
- Kinney, Marie Antoinette, Seaweed A Far Eastern travel diary, 1856-57, kept by a shipmaster's daughter, then in her teens Well written, useful for specific facts, attitudes, and a general picture of life at different ports One of a few typewritten copies held by the author's descendants, lent by Captain and Mrs L B Lovejoy of Seattle
- La Gravilère, Jurien de, Voyage en Chine et dans les Mers et Archipels de cet Empire pendant les Années 1847-1848-1849-1850 Two vols Paris, 1854 The writer of this frank, instructive, and excellently phrased work was commander of the French corvette La Bayonnaise The book is so detailed as almost to constitute a handbook, particularly of the island groups of southeastern Asia and the Pacific
- Lyman, Chester S, Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California 1845-1850 Being a Personal Record Kept by Chester S Lyman sometime Professor of Astronomy and Physics in Yale University Edited by Frederick J Teggart New Haven, 1924
- Marcy, William L, Papers Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress The letters relating to China from June 7, 1853, to April 9, 1856, are grouped in the volume for June, 1853 Largely instructions such

- as appear in the archives of the Department of State Some important communications relate to Townsend Harris and have been used in connection with the discussion of this officer's appointment Otherwise foreign to this subject Marcy was Secretary of State from March 7, 1853, to March 6, 1857 The Marcy papers (1853-1853) in the Manuscripts Section of the New York State Library are disappointing
- Meerdervoort see under Pompe
- Minturn, Robert B, From New York to Delhi London, 1858
- Moës, Marquis de, Recollections of Baron Gros's Embassy to China and Japan in 1857-58 London and Glasgow, 1860
- Neale, Frederick Arthur, Narrative of a Residence in Siam London, 1852
- Olyphant, D W C, Selections from Letters of Mr D W C Olyphant Typewritten Missionary Research Library, New York 1914 Olyphant was a famous Canton merchant
- Oscorn, (Capt) Sherard, Quedah, a Cruise in Japanese Waters Edinburgh and London, 1865
- Perry See above, under Hawks
- Pompe van Meerdervoort, J L C, Vijf Jaren in Japan (1857-1862) Two vols Leiden, 1867 and 1868
- Potter, (Capt) Mark L, Memoir Typewritten copy of dictation by Capt Potter (1820-1907) in the spring of 1907,—by courtesy of his daughter, Mrs Mary L Bush Vivid and illuminating, mingling a spirit of confidence in the face of dangers and obstacles with a refreshing modesty A series of realistic and varied pictures of the commercial life of the era Captain Potter's typewritten comment (1907) on his discovery of the Japan Current is based partly on the Journals of two voyages from Shanghai to San Francisco, 1852, and a paper written in 1875 He felt that Silas Bent, of the Navy, took credit for what he regarded as his own discovery On this point the Superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory writes (June 9, 1932) that "neither Captain Potter nor Silas Bent can rightly claim the honor of discovering the Japan Current If Captain Potter made a report to the Weather Bureau and to Lieutenant Maury, you may find the records either in the Weather Bureau or in the family archives of Lieutenant Maury When Lieutenant Maury severed his connections with the U S Navy and went to the South, he carried with him his personal papers" "We have not Captain Potter's journal here and if it was received by Lieutenant Maury it must have been taken with him when he left" The letter indicates that Wilkes was acquainted with the Japan Current, years before, having reported on it in 1841, and that Maury's Explanations and Sailing Directions (p 309) described it as early as 1851
- Power, W Tyrone, Recollections of a Three Years' Residence in China London, 1853

Preble, George Henry, Letters from Friends 1855-1862 These, and a great quantity of other Preble papers, are in the Massachusetts Historical Society They constitute one of the best sources of the time and present attractive opportunities for the editorial scholar and the biographer Those relating to the Orient, which have by no means been exhausted in the present investigation, would constitute an engaging editorial task This distinguished and popular officer and author participated in many important events The Letters include communications from many Navy men, among them M C Perry, and people in China and elsewhere, they supply sidelights and direct information on trade Their naval content of course brings them into direct relation to the archives of the Navy Department Two volumes of Official Letters, dealing at a few points with China, are chiefly forms, orders, certificates, sailing directions prepared by Preble, and the like, some of this material is the same as certain papers in the Department of State Although not entirely unconnected with the Orient, the Log Books and Diaries, 1836-1850 largely antedate the years of the present study, they contain drawings of vessels as well as text The manuscript Diary of a Cruise to China & Japan 1855-56, dedicated to Preble's wife, seems never to have reached printed form, which it abundantly deserves

Two other sets of Preble papers may be passed by here with briefest mention those in the Maine Historical Society at Portland and those in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester The former (1835-1865) are described by a member of the Preble family as commissions and other things of no great consequence to persons outside the family—not necessarily a final judgment, the latter (1861-1880) are concerned only with the history of the flag, on which Preble published a book

Redesdale [A B Mitford], (Lord), Memories Two vols New York, 1815
 Reed, William B, Private Diary of Mission to China 1857-59 Two vols in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress Of some assistance in appraising this diplomatic officer's attitudes and principles, although largely concerned with the weather, personal feelings, itinerary, and the colorful ceremonies of official life The Library of Congress has a number of Reed's letters See also the bibliographical note to the article on Reed in the Dictionary of American Biography

Samuels, (Capt) S, From the Forecastle to the Cabin New York, 1887 An informative and exciting autobiography of a boy who ran away to sea and achieved high distinction as an officer in the merchant marine, it should be read with a degree of caution, as the adventurous and experienced captain's romantic pen has been suspected of occasional victories over his memory of events

Satow, (Sir) Ernest, A Diplomat in Japan London, 1921 The earlier part of this volume possesses critical and corrective value

Sewall, John S, The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk Adventures in the China Seas Bangor, 1905 The late Professor Sewall has left a work on the Perry expedition which deserves wider reading, in some respects it is almost a perfect book, characterized by good literary quality, humor, variety, exactness, and moderation Copy courteously lent by Mr Elmer T. Boyd, Librarian of the Bangor Public Library See also under Spalding and Taylor, below

Smith, Albert, To China and Back Being a Diary Kept, Out and Home London, 1855 A highly entertaining narrative which incidentally makes a genuine contribution to social history An attractive frontispiece in color represents the garden of the famous merchant "Houqua," near Canton

Smith, (Rev) George, A Narrative of an Exploring Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China, and to the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society, in the Years 1844, 1845, 1846 London, 1847

Ten Weeks in Japan London, 1861 Experiences and observations of the Bishop of Victoria (Hongkong)

Spalding, J W, Japan and Around the World, an Account of Three Visits to the Japanese Empire New York, 1855 Spalding was attached to the United States frigate Mississippi, flagship of Commodore Perry Flippant and opinionated but occasionally useful

Taylor, Bayard, A Visit to India, China, and Japan, in the Year 1855 New York and London, 1855 This book, also a product of the Perry expedition, includes descriptions of different ports and sailing routes and a number of frank and uncompromising statements of Taylor's prejudices Not entirely accurate

Teagart See above, under Lyman

Templer, John C (ed), The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke, K C B, Rajah of Sarawak Three vols London, 1853 Vols I-II

Tilley, Henry Arthur, Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific London, 1861

Train, George Francis, An American Merchant in Europe, Asia, and Australia Introd by Freeman Hunt New York, 1857 Also published in London (1857) as Young America Abroad in Europe, Asia, and Australia Clear and precise

Tronson, [John] M[ortlock], Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary and China, in H M S Barracouta London, 1859 Numerous pictures, charts, and maps

Walpole, Fred, Four Years in the Pacific, in Her Majesty's Ship "Collingwood" from 1844 to 1848 Two vols London, 1850 A leisurely book, good for description, local color, historical narrative, and economic and social changes in Pacific islands Williams, (Mrs) H Dwight, A Year in China, and a

<u>Narrative of Capture and Imprisonment</u> New York, 1864 Somewhat emotional and inaccurate	Couling See below, under H
<u>Williams, Samuel Wells, "The Journal of S Wells Williams"</u> (Japan Expedition), in <u>Trans.</u> , Asiatic Soc of Japan, XXVII, Part II (1910) Largely utilized in <u>The Life and Letters of Williams</u> (see below, in F)	Dickins See below, under Lane-Poole
"The Journal of S Wells Williams, LL D , edited by his Son Frederick Wells Williams" (Reed and Ward missions), in <u>Jour.</u> , North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Soc , XLII (1911) Also available, in large part, in <u>The Life and Letters</u> (F, below) On the same subject "Narrative of the American Embassy to Peking!", a talk given before the Society, Oct 25, 1859, in <u>Jour.</u> , No III, art VI (Dec , 1859)	<u>Dictionary of American Biography</u> , edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone 14 vols to date of use New York, 1928-1934 Different volumes consulted Useful, but incomplete for Americans in Eastern Asia, consuls in particular, a shortcoming which the editors seem ready to remedy Helpful for the references cited Articles on merchants serve to correct the notion that, in certain cases, they were interested only in the Orient See below, under Hail Duffus, Robert L , "Fremont and Jessie", in <u>The American Mercury</u> , VI, No 23 (Nov , 1925), 289-297
<u>Wood, William Maxwell, Fankwei, or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China and Japan</u> , New York, 1859 Not to be confused with a volume by Hunter bearing a somewhat similar title The fleet surgeon of the American East India Squadron has left a book of primary importance, particularly in relation to Townsend Harris, besides many sidelights on Navy life and attitudes it provides valuable descriptions of East Asiatic customs and frequent arresting comments —acute, ironical, sardonic	Duren, Martha Williamson Forsyth, "Three Generations of Silsbees and Their Vessels", in <u>The Essex Institute Historical Collections</u> , especially the third instalment, LX (1925), 241-258
<u>F Biographies, Biographical Dictionaries, and Family Histories</u>	Duveneck, J J L , "The First American at a Chinese Court", in <u>The Chinese Christian Student</u> , XXIV, Nos 2-3 (Nov -Dec , 1932)
<u>A Biographical Congressional Dictionary</u> (61-2, S Doc No 654) Washington, 1913 Some biographical information relating to consuls also appears in	Dye, Eva Emery, McDonald of Oregon, a Tale of Two Shores Chicago, 1907 Interesting, somewhat fictional, inconsistent and anachronistic in spots
<u>Hesse's Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs 1828-1861</u>	Eldred, L D , "Story of Nakahama [Manjiro]", in <u>The Fairhaven Star</u> , Jly 5, 1918 New Bedford Free Public Library
<u>Bemis, See below, under G II</u>	Fuess, Claude M , <u>The Life of Caleb Cushing</u> Two vols New York, 1928
<u>Brown, Ralph Minthorne, Bibliography of Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury, Including a Biographical Sketch</u> , a bulletin of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, XIV, No 2 (Dec 1, 1930) A very useful publication about a prolific writer and a notable figure	Gosnell see above, note under C II
<u>Grimm, William Elliot, "Millard Fillmore and His Part in the Opening of Japan", in <u>Pubs of the Buffalo Hist Soc</u> , IX (Buffalo, 1906), 55-79 </u>	<u>Townsend Harris, First American Envoy in Japan</u> Boston and New York, 1895
<u>Verbeck of Japan, a Citizen of No Country</u> Edinburgh and London, new ed , 1897 or later	<u>Verbeck of Japan, a Citizen of No Country</u> Edinburgh and London, new ed , 1897 or later
<u>Hail, W J , "Divine Bethune McCartee", in Vol XI of the Dict of Amer Biog , New York, 1933 A valuable article See also under Sheppard, below </u>	<u>Johnson, Allen, Stephen A Douglas a Study in American Politics</u> New York, 1908
<u>Kearney</u> On Kearney's achievements there is recent	<u>Kearney</u> On Kearney's achievements there is recent

#Walter C Barrett's Old Merchants of New York City (Four vols , New York, 1865-1865) possesses but limited usefulness, and the index is poor. There were later editions The two volumes of Freeman Hunt's Lives of American Merchants (New York, 1856, 1858) relate chiefly to earlier years

The biographies of certain missionaries, Peter Parker for example, are disappointing

A small biographical work on American merchants and mariners interested in Eastern Asia would reveal early family relationships contributing to the success of certain enterprises It would emphasize the dramatic contrast between simple, compact ventures like that of the Empress of China in 1784-1785 and the failure of the mighty Russell and Company in 1891 It would suggest, furthermore, the influence on a firm's chances of survival of the different psychological stages produced by the change from a poor man's vigorous seizure of a new and lucky opportunity to the opulence of an old business with shifting personnel (Cf Chapter 15, note 11, above)

- discussion in Chinese Soc and Pol Sci Rev, XV, No 3 (Oct., 1931), 422-444, and VI, No 1 (Ap., 1932), 75-109, esp 106-109
- Lane-Poole, Stanley, and F V Dickins, The Life of Sir Harry Parkes Two vols London, etc., 1894 Vol I (by Lane-Poole) Presents a much criticized character in a favorable light
- Lewis, W S., and Naojiro Murakami (ed.), Ronald MacDonald 1824-1894 Spokane, 1923 E Wash Hist Soc Low See below, under Tribute
- McLaughlin, Andrew C., Lewis Cass Boston and New York, 1891 and 1899, ed. of 1899
- Mochie See below, under G II
- Morris, Roland S., Townsend Harris, a Chapter in American Diplomacy New York the Japan Society, Inc Written by an American ambassador to Japan, who had access to the records of the years 1856-1862 in the Embassy
- Murakami See above, under Lewis
- Nakamura, Katsumaro, Ii Tairō to Kaikō (The Regent Ii and the Opening of the Ports) Tokyo, 1909 (Meiji 42) Useful for citation of documents and for attitudes of Japanese
- National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, The VII (New York, 1897), p 255 (Moses Taylor)
- Oliphant, Laurence, Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan Two vols Edinburgh and London, 1860 Also a review of the same book under the heading "John Bull in Japan", in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XXI (June-Nov., 1860), 311-324
- Papinot See below, under H
- Providence Institution for Savings, Some Ships and Shipmasters of Old Providence Providence, 1919 The bibliography relates to local history, also
- Satoh, Henry, Lord Hotta, the Pioneer Diplomat of Japan Tokyo, 1908 Useful complementary account of events from the Japanese angle
- Sheppard, Eli T., "An American Missionary Statesman the Life and Work of Dr Davis Bethune McCarter", in The Missionary Review of the World, XIX, No 4 (Ap., 1906), 284-289 A sketch of an important figure who deserves an honorable place in history Also reprinted by Funk and Wagnalls, New York and London, 1906 See also under Hail, above
- Shibusawa, [Viscount] Eiichi (ed.), The Record of Townsend Harris in Japan Tokyo (?), 1927 Japanese and English Contains photographs of Harris (very different from that in Morris's Townsend Harris), of the monument set up (1927) to honor Harris, and the temple (Gyokusenji) first used as the consulate
- Shimada, Saburō, Kaikoku Shimatsu (Summary of the Opening of the Country, or The Biography of Ii Kamon-
- no-Kami Naosuké) With supplement Tokyo, 1888 Also a condensation of the original, in the English of H Satoh, rev by William Elliot Griffis Agitated Japan, the Life of Baron Ii Kamon-no-kami Naosuké (Based on the Kaikoku Shimatsu of Shimada Saburō) London, etc., 1896 On account of hostile feeling toward Ii, it was at first reported that his papers had been burned In reality, they had been saved and kept secretly by a retainer, at great personal risk—literary manifestation of the samurai spirit, it was not thought safe to reveal them until 1886 They were soon used in the preparation of the work entered here
- Spears, John R., Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer, an Old-Time Sailor of the Sea New York, 1922 State Street Trust Company (Boston), Some Merchants and Sea Captains of Old Boston Boston, 1918 This and the following work contain excellent illustrations, including pictures of some men who figure in the present work
- Other Merchants
- and sea Captains of Old Boston Boston, 1919
- Thayer, Thatcher, A Sketch of the Life of D W C Glyphant New York, 1852
- Tribute of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York to the Memory of Abel Abbot Low, President, 1865-1867 New York, 1893
- Trow, Charles E., The Old Shipmasters of Salem New York and London, 1905
- Waters, Thomas Franklin, Augustine Heard and His Friends Printed at Salem, 1916 A picture of Heard appears as the frontispiece
- Weyland, John W., The Pathfinder of the Seas, the Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury Richmond, 1930 Concerns a very important American
- Williams, Frederick Wells (ed.), The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL D Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue New York and London, 1893
- Winslow, Stephen Noyes, Biographies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants Philadelphia, 1864 This type of book is helpful in the location of names of firms interested in the Orient
- G General Writings Books, Pamphlets and Articles on Historical and Special Subjects (other than the above)
- I Regional, National, and Local Histories
- (a) United States
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Martin, R Montgomery, China, Political, Commercial, and Social Two vols London, 1847 Shows the go-ahead spirit of the times, but is not to be relied on for factual accuracy

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Morse See below, under G II

[Nye, Jr , G (?),] The New Foreign Settlement at Canton Shall It Be Federative or Exclusive?—and Shall Its Site Be Chosen With Due Regard To Its Permanent Security and Capacity of Expansion? Being Considerations Suggested to the Mind of an Old Resident by the Course of Events and Recent Discussions (For private circulation) Macao, 1858

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Otterloo, A van, China, Beschreven naar de Nieuwste Bronnen Amsterdam, 1861 Chapters on the various ports, good illustrations

Pitcher, Philip Wilson, In and About Amoy, Shanghai and Foochow, 1909 Well illustrated

Pott, F L Hawks, A Short History of Shanghai Shanghai, 1928

Richard See below, under H

Sir, Henry Charles, China and the Chinese their Religion, Character, Customs, and Manufactures the Evils Arising from the Opium Trade Two vols London, 1849 Shares Martin's belief in Chusan as a possible British base, with scant regard for Hongkong

(Mention may be made of a History of the Manchu Dynasty [Ch'ing Tai T'ung Shah], which the Commercial Press

in Shanghai is bringing out for Su I-shan, from 1925 Two volumes are in print but do not touch on the subject in question, as the promised third volume will presumably do Chapter 17, sect 4, in Vol II is limited to China's trade before the treaties)

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Williams, Samuel Wells, The Middle Kingdom Rev ed Two vols New York, 1883 Still of much value, particularly for reference, preferable to Cordier's volumes or the shorter work on China by Rosthorn

Ivan See above, under Gallery

(d) Japan

Brinkley, (Capt) Frank, A History of the Japanese People New York and London, 1915 Scattered in some of this writer's eight volumes entitled Japan Its History, Arts, and Literature is some background material on commerce

Chamberlain See below, under H

Gubbins, J H , The Progress of Japan 1853-1871 Oxford, 1911 Valuable for its use of Japanese sources and for appendices, which group treaties and conventions, provides a reference map of the period

Hildreth, Richard, Japan as It Was and Is Boston and New York, 1855 (For the port of Yokohama the New York Public Library reports a work in its possession which may be mentioned as a curiosity Kiao Pan Lan—comp —, Wan Pien hu hong Kien wan shi, or, History of the Opening of the Ports of Yokohama Three vols 1863? In two versions of Japanese, for popular use, chiefly illustrations, with brief text)

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Kinoshita, Yetaro, The Past and Present of Japanese Commerce New York, 1902

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MacFarlane, Charles, Japan an Account, Geographical and Historical New York, 1852, and Hartford, 1856 This volume is the basis of much of Japan and Her People, by Steinmetz, noted below Different books of the time, and of this type, describing Japanese customs, geography, manufactures, and the like, also attempted to supply the story of previous

Japanese relations with Europeans, their readers thus had access to a rather considerable body of information

Meiji Ishin-shi Kenkyū (Research in the History of the Meiji Restoration) Tokyo, 1929 (Shōwa 4) Compiled by the Historiographical Institute of the Department of Literature of the Imperial University of Tokyo and published by Fuzanbō (No. 9, Jimbōchō, Kanda-ku, Tokyo) It contains a pertinent contribution by Kiyoishi Tabohashi, "Bakumatsu Ishin-shi-jō no Nichibei Kankei" (Japanese-American Relations in the Late Bakufu Period), which uses some American sources, a brief history of Nagasaki (Vol. 14) by Genichirō Fukuchi, Japanese legal and official sources, and other materials

Münsterberg, Oscar, Japan. Auswärtiger Handel von 1542 bis 1854 Stuttgart, 1896 Supplies background, bibliography, and an extensive index

Murdoch, James (with Ichō Yamagata), A History of Japan during the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542-1651) Kobe, 1903

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Otterloo, A van, Japan, Beschreven naar de Nieuwste Bronnen Amsterdam, 1860 Comprehensive and well illustrated.

Papinot See below, under H

Setow, (Sir) Ernest Mason (trans.), Japan, 1853-1864, or Genji Yume Monogatari A modern dream tale (of Baba, Bunyei) in title, considered a harmless indirect approach to delicate contemporary subjects (cf also Murdoch, III, 631) Tokyo, 1905 Relates chiefly to years after 1860

Kinse Shiriaiku, a History of Japan, from 1855-1869 Written under a pseudonym meaning "the rustic annalist of the paper mountain" and printed for Yanaguchi Uji, an official of the time Rev ed., with supplementary notes by S. Watanabe Tokyo, 1906 Treat's Early Relations (G II) supplies all points in this book which would be needed by most students

Steinmetz, Andrew, Japan and Her People London, 1859 See comment under MacFarlane, above Contains a short account of the Japanese language as it was then known to foreigners Sugamima, Teifu, Dai Nihon Shogyōshi (Japanese Economic History) Tokyo, 1892 (Meiji 25) Chiefly a background work, stopping about the beginning of our period, contains a supplement on the trade history of Hirado

Tabohashi See above, under Meiji Ishin-shi Kenkyū

Takekoshi, Yosaburō, The Economic Aspects of the His-

tory of the Civilization of Japan Vol III New York, 1930 An extensive and important study based on Takekoshi's publication in Japanese

Yamagata See above, under Murdoch

(e) Miscellaneous

Alexander, James M., The Islands of the Pacific New York, 1895

Bolton See below, under Stephens

Bradley, Harold Whitman, "The American Frontier in Hawaii", in Proc. of Pacific Coast Branch, Amer. Hist. Assn., 1920, 135-150

Davidson, James W., The Island of Formosa, Past and Present—History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects New York, 1903 Also his "A Review of the History of Formosa", in Trans. of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan, XXIV, 112-156

Frear, W., "The Evolution of the Hawaiian Judiciary", No 7, Papers of the Hawaiian Hist. Soc., June 29, 1894 Separate pamphlet

Golder, Frank A., Russian Expansion on the Pacific 1641-1860 Cleveland, 1914 See also under G II Goddall, Warren, "Honolulu in 1852", No. 10, Papers of the Hawaiian Hist. Soc., July 2, 1897 Contains a "Supplementary Article", by Thomas G. Thrall Gives some idea of the physical appearance of the town and supplies a list of pictures Two pictures to be seen at the Society show the American consul's residence and his consulate (Other Papers of this Society deserve attention by students of Pacific affairs, such as Nos. 11, 13, 17, and 18)

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Maspero, Georges (ed.), Un Empire Colonial Français L'Indochine Two vols Paris and Brussels, 1929-1930 Vol I

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Especially "Japan's Early Attempts to Establish Commercial Relations with Mexico", by Murakami Swan, James Gilchrist, The Amcor River Seattle, 1885 By the consul of the Hawaiian Islands at Port Townsend, Wash Terr Useful, but chiefly for a later period See above, (a), under Swan, and comment in Chapter 21

II Topical Treatises, Monographs, Readings, and Secondary Accounts

Use has been made of the various American manuals in economic history, such as those by Bogart and Thompson, Dewey, and Taussig There exist a number of sketches in Chinese which have been covered, the chief value of these is found in their point of view They are published by the Commercial Press, at Shanghai, which affixes English as well as Chinese titles, two of these are C T T'ang's Chung Mei Wai Chiao Shih (History of Chinese-American Relations) and Y K Wu's Chung Kuo Kuo Chi Mao I Shih (The Development of Foreign Trade in China), second edition

The writer is informed that a study has been made by Miss Adele Ogden at the University of California which contains facts regarding the Coast trade with the Hawaiian Islands

Anderson See below, under Lattimore Anon, "Some account of a Consulate", in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, X (Dec., 1854-May, 1855), 628-639 A highly entertaining treatment of a literary man's tenure of office, followed by constructive criticism concerning consular reforms Arnold, Julian, "Changes in the Economic Life of the Chinese People", in Chin Soc and Pol Sci Rev, VI, No. 1

Beale, Joseph Henry, A Selection of Cases on the Conflict of Laws Three vols Cambridge, 1800-1902 Baker, Vorhis, and Company, of New York, have brought out a new edition, also in three volumes, entitled Conflict of Laws Useful for definitions, summary of points, and cases

Bemis, Samuel Flagg, A Diplomatic History of the United States New York, 1936 An important work (ed.), The American Secretaries of State

Vol V (New York, 1928), Chapter IX, and Vol VI (New York, 1928) Especially the remarks by Henry Barrett Learned

Blakeslee, George H (ed.), China and the Far East New York, 1910

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- Dulles, Foster Rhea, America in the Pacific a Century of Expansion Boston and New York, 1852 A convenient general work, ending with the close of the nineteenth century, based largely on existing conclusions in standard books and in available but scattered source studies of limited scope, marked in some spots by signs of inaccuracy The term "Pacific" as used by this writer seems to include Eastern Asia, which is given scant specific attention (of pp xii-xiii), a circumstance which reduces the value of the book for the present purpose It emphasizes diplomatic policy, there is a place for studies of other American "interests" in the Pacific area Dulles' The Old China Trade (Boston, 1850), somewhat popular in style, relates to an earlier period Duyvendak See above, under F
- Dye's Coin Encyclopaedia Philadelphia, 1883
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- Notes on Navigation Includes a brief account of Forbes' contacts with the Orient which is more manageable than the Personal Reminiscences Forbes appears to have been a high-minded man, in spite of having had a hand, incidentally, in the opium traffic, which he finally dropped
- Notes on Ships of the Past Boston, 1888, "Loose notes" of some use for itineraries of merchant vessels and miscellaneous matters of interest, but especially concerned with the speed of runs

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Newmarch See below, under Tooke

Nitobe, Inazo, "American-Japanese Intercourse Prior to the Advent of Perry", in Annual Report of the Amer Hist Assn for the Year 1911 (Washington, 1918)

The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan Baltimore, 1891 Useful bibliographical comments

Norton, Henry Kittridge, Foreign Office Organization, up to May, 1929 issue of The Annals of the Amer Acad of Pol and Soc Science (Philadelphia)

Norton-Kyshe, James William, The History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong, Tracing Consular Jurisdiction in China and Japan Two vols London and Hongkong, 1898 Vol I, ending with 1860, contains some information regarding Americans tried at Hongkong, and related matters

Nye, Gideon, "An Introduction to a Retrospect of Forty Years of Foreign Intercourse with China, and a Review of Her Relations with Japan", in The China Review or, Notes and Queries on the Far East, IV (July, 1875-June, 1876), 191-199, 235-243 (See also references to Nye in the index)

Nye, Jr., Gideon (probably the same as the above), Tea and the Tea Trade Three parts Third ed.

New York, 1850 First published in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Jan., Feb., and May, 1850 This noteworthy work treats of tea from several interesting angles—historical, commercial, medicinal, botanical, social—and gives many figures (Another title under Nye's name is described as a Review of the China Trade, Particularly with Reference to the Tea Trade with England and America, 1852-1856 [Macao, 1857] See too Hunt's Merch Mag, 1858, pp 433-444, and 1859, pp 459-45—"China Trade")
The Opium Question and the Northern Campaigns Canton, 1875

Ogg, Frederic Austin, Economic Development of Modern Europe New York, 1921

Okabe, Seiichi, "Beishi Peri no torai" (The Coming of the American Embassy Perry), in Busho Kyodo-shi Ron (Historical Discussions of the Local History of the Provinces of Musashi and Sagami) Tokyo, 1917 (Taishō 6)

Ōtsuka, Takematsu, "Harisu no torai" (The Coming of Harris), in the same volume as the foregoing article A few useful items, with partial duplication of foreign sources

Owen, David Edward, British Opium Policy in China and India New Haven, etc., 1934

Oxholm, Axel H., American Douglas Fir and Its Uses (U S Dep of Commerce, Bur of For and Dom Commerce, Trade Promotion Series—No 87) Washington, 1929

Paine, Ralph D., The Old Merchant Marine New Haven, etc., 1919 Especially Chapter 9
The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem

Rev ed., Boston, 1927

Pan, Shu-jun, The Trade of the United States with China New York, 1924 A conspicuously good book, and an honest one

Pao, Kuang Yung, "The Compradore His Position in the Foreign Trade of China", in The Economic Journal, XXI, 535-541 Described above, Chapter 15, note 29

Parsons, Theophilus, A Treatise on the Law of Shipping and the Law and Practice of Admiralty Two vols Boston, 1869

Paske-Smith, M., Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868 Kobe, 1930 (J L Thompson and Co.) An important book based on original investigation, excellent illustrations

Fragments of this abundantly useful work are especially valuable in connection with the culture conflict and primary adjustments taking place during the period of the present study, e.g., the diary of a British consul. Such materials conveniently supplement the American manuscripts utilized herein. Varied appendices relate to residents, firms, newspapers, shipping, etc. Knowing Japanese, the author has also done a useful work of translation.

Patterson, Ernest Major (ed.), American Policy in the Pacific, Vol 168 (July, 1938), Annals, Amer Acad of Pol. and Soc Science (Remarks by Tyler Dennett)

Pauillier, Charles Oscar, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States. Edited by John K Wright Washington and New York, 1932 E.g., plates 159, 148, and 149, and the last plate

Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1883 Baltimore, 1912 Uses a kind of sources which deserve increased attention

A series of articles, chiefly under the title, "Early Voyages of American Naval Vessels to the Orient", in the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, XXXVI (1910), 429-465, 707-734, 1075-1099, XXXVII (1911), 239-275, 387-417. In Volume XXXVII appears also the same writer's supplementary article, "The American Navy in the Orient in Recent Years" (1157-1176). Possessing a fine continuity and constituting for many readers an excellent type of introduction to the study of American contact with the Orient, these articles deserve publication as a book, with an added chart or map of all the voyages recorded—in order to supply a service not sufficiently performed by the partially identical *Diplomatic Negotiations* Pauthier, G., *Histoire des Relations Politiques de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales depuis les Temps les plus Anciens jusqu'à nos Jours* Paris, 1859 A stimulating book, contains a translation of a ceremonial

Paxson, Frederic L., *History of the American Frontier 1763-1863* Boston and New York, 1924 Indispensable

Peters See below, under K I

Pottat, Pitman B., *An Introduction to the Study of International Organization* Third ed. New York, 1928

Powell, Katherine A., "Anglo-American Relations in China, 1784-1856", (abstract of thesis in Clark University Thesis Abstracts, 1930, Vol. II Worcester, 1930) pp. 128-125 Interesting, and suggestive of an able done piece of work. See above, 177n

Putnam, George Granville, *Salem Vessels and Their Voyages* Two vols. Salem, 1822 and 1824 Important for the trade with Southeastern Asia, e.g., the Philippine trade of the St Paul

Putnam, George R., *Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States* Boston and New York, 1917

Rabbeno, Ugo, *The American Commercial Policy* Second ed. London and New York, 1895

Rand, Benjamin (comp.), *Selections Illustrating Economic History since the Seven Years' War* Fifth ed. New York, 1911

Remer, C. F., *The Foreign Trade of China* Typewritten doctoral thesis, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, 1923 Later published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai

Robinson, John, and George Francis Dow, *The Sailing Ships of New England 1607-1907* Salem, 1922 The "Historical Introduction" is instructive and gives much technical information on kinds of vessels. A second series of *The Sailing Ships of New England* was published by the same author at Salem in 1924; Series Three, by Dow alone, appeared in 1928. These volumes contain scores of fine pictures

Rouhaud, Hippolyte, *Les Régions Nouvelles, Histoire du*

Commerce et de la Civilisation au Nord de l'Océan Pacifique Paris, 1868 Written with reference to the interests of France, shows the importance attached to commerce, interesting comments on American policy and affairs

Ryden, George Herbert, *The Foreign Policy of the United States in Relation to Samoa* New Haven, etc., 1935 Chapter II gives a good view of consular problems and shortcomings in the Samoan Islands, the book provides some confirmation of impressions conveyed by the present study and mentions a number of (Pacific) consular appointees not noted here

Saito, Bunzō, "Eakumatsu ni okeru Joi-shiso" (Xenophobia in Late Bakufu Days), in *Chūō Shidai* (Central Historical Review), I, No. 2 (June 1, 1920-Taishō 9) Useful for comment and opinion See above, 163n

Sargent, A. J., *Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy (Mainly in the Nineteenth Century)* Oxford, 1907 Valuable

Sawyer, Edmund Ogden (comp. and ed.), *Our Sea Saga, the Wood Wind Ships of the Past* San Francisco, 1929

Scidmore See above, under B VI

Sheppard, Eli T., *American Consular Service, in The University Chronicle*, University of California, IV, No. 6 (Dec., 1901) Berkeley (A work published by Sheppard in Tokyo in 1879 under the title *Extraterritoriality* has not been utilized)

Smith, C. A. Middleton, *The British in China and Far Eastern Trade* London, 1920 Scattering studies

Spalding, Wa F., *Dictionary of the World's Currencies and Foreign Exchanges* London, New York, etc., 1928

Speer, William, *China and California, their Relations, Past and Present A Lecture* San Francisco, 1853

The Oldest and the Newest Empire

China and the United States Hartford, 1870

Spurling, J., et al., *Sail, the Romance of the Clipper Ships* Third ed., in two vols. London, 1930, 1935

A beautiful and informative work

Stewart, Charles W., "Early American Visitors to Japan", in *Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute*, XXX (1905), 945-958 Useful for factual and psychological background, the writer feels that Biddle accomplished much as a forerunner of Perry

Stewart, Irving, *Consular Privileges and Immunities* New York, 1926

Stone, William T., *The Administration of the Department of State In the Foreign Policy Association's Information Service*, IV, Special Supplement No. 3 (Feb., 1929) New York Instructive

Stowell, Ellery C., *Consular Cases and Opinions from the Decisions of the English and American Courts and the Opinions of the Attorneys General* Washington, 1909

Le Consul, Fonctions, Immunités, Organisation, Equateur Paris, 1909

Swank, James M., *The American Iron Trade in 1876*

Annual Report to January 1, 1876, the Amer. Iron and Steel Assn. Philadelphia, 1876

- Takekoshi See above, under G I (d)
- Tchen, Ki Chan, La Politique de la Porte Ouverte en Chine Paris, 1912
- Thomas, Benjamin Platt, Russo-American Relations 1851-1867 Baltimore, 1930
- Tooke, Thomas, and William Newmarch, A History of Prices and the State of the Circulation 1848-1856 Vol 6 London, 1857
- Tower, Walter S., A History of the American Whale Fishery Philadelphia, 1807
- Treat, Payson Jackson, The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan 1853-1865 Baltimore, 1917 The same writer has brought out a two-volume work, Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan 1853-1865 (Stanford University, 1932), an extension of the able, exact, and interesting book here cited. References in the text are usually to the earlier work
- Tsiang, T F., "China, England and Russia in 1860", in The Cambridge Historical Journal, III (1929), 115-121 Chinese consciousness of differences in foreign designs
- "New Light on Chinese Diplomacy, 1836-49", in The Journal of Modern History, III, No 4 (Dec., 1931), 578-591 Concerning The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs (Note also the same writer's articles on the co-hong, in The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, IV, 602-607)
- United States, Department of Commerce, Bur of Foreign Commerce, The Cane Sugar Industry (Misc Ser -No 56) Washington, 1917 The historical material in the publications of this office is usually very abbreviated
- United States Mint, Catalogue of Coins, Tokens, and Medals in the Numismatic Collection of the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Pa Third ed Washington, 1914
- A Synopsis of the Standard Weights, and Value of Foreign Specie Moneys in the Money Terms and Gold of the United States Washington, 1861
- United States, Navy Department, The Naval Historical Foundation Washington, 1927
- Van Alstyne, Richard W., "Great Britain, the United States, and Hawaiian Independence, 1850-1855", in The Pacific Historical Review, IV, No 1 (Mar., 1955), 15-24
- Van Metre, T W., An Outline of the Development of the Internal Commerce of the United States 1789-1900 Baltimore, 1913
- Wada, Teijin, American Foreign Policy Towards Japan During the Nineteenth Century Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) Pubs., Series D, Vol 1 Tokyo, 1928 (Toyo Bunko, 26 Kamifujimaya, Honjo, Tokyo) In general this book possesses considerable value, and should be seen by students of American consular relations with Japan, particularly in years after 1860
- (of the appendices)
- Wagel, Srinivas R., Finance in China Shanghai, 1914
- Wells, David, A., Our Merchant Marine New York, 1882
- Wheeler, L N., The Foreigner in China Chicago, 1881
- Williams, Benjamin H., "The Protection of American Citizens in China Extraterritoriality", in American Journal of International Law Vol 16, No 1 (Jan., 1922), 43-58
- Willoughby, Westel W., Foreign Rights and Interests in China Two vols Rev ed Baltimore, 1927 Thorough and convenient
- Wright, John K. See above, under Paullin
- Wright, Quincy, The Control of American Foreign Relations New York, 1922 An especially fine book
- Wriston, Henry Merritt, Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations Baltimore, etc., 1929 A work of high quality, realistically pioneering in an important field
- H Reference Works. Encyclopaedias, Yearbooks, Statistical Volumes, and Directories
- Arnold, Julean, Commercial Handbook of China Two vols Washington, 1919 A standard reference work There is a later one-volume edition
- Ball, J Dyer, Things Chinese Fifth ed., rev by E Chalmers Werner Shanghai, etc., 1925 Convenient and exact, complemented by Couling (below)
- Chamberlain, Basil Hall, Things Japanese Fifth ed., rev London, etc., 1905 There is a later edition Another good reference work, occasionally fliprant It may well be supplemented by Papinot (below)
- (Concerning The China Directory a report from the Library of Congress states that it is a work "commercial in character, listing banking firms, shipping companies, exports and imports, merchants in various cities" No copy has been used, there is none in the Library of Congress and that at the Essex Institute is for 1863-1864—the fourth annual issue)
- Corpus Juris See below, under Lobinger
- Couling, Samuel, The Encyclopaedia Sinica London, etc., 1917 Widely varied information, including good biographical notices of foreigners and sketches of different foreign agencies, such as missionary societies
- Crawfurd, John, A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries London, 1856 Complete with descriptive and narrative information, alphabetically arranged and relating to many commodities, localities, and other topics Issued in place of a second edition of Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago (1820).
- De Bow, J D B., Statistical View of the United States, being a Compendium of the Seventh Census Washington, 1854.
- Dennys, N B (ed.), The Treaty Ports of China and

Japan (by Wm Fred Mayers, N B Dennys, and Chas King) London and Hongkong, 1867 Of particular value, interesting list of books at end of the volume.

Homans, J [Isaac] Smith, and J [Isaac] Smith Homans, Jr (edd), A Cyclopaedia of Commerce and Commercial Navigation Second ed Two vols , with continuous paging New York, 1859-1860 In its articles this reference work makes brief use of some of the source materials of the time

Homans, Jr , J [Isaac] Smith (comp), An Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the United States New York, 1857 Interesting notes on trade in different parts of Asia

Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1846, with an Appendix The Hongkong, 1846 (The China Mail) Contains numerous informative items, among which are official ordinances and regulations

Lobingier, Charles Sumner, "Extraterritoriality", in Corpus Juris (edited by William Mack and others), XXV (New York, 1921) An article of great range, useful for its topical discussions and legal references See also, for Lobingier, under G II, above

Mayers See above, under Dennys

Papinot, E , Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan Tokyo, etc , 1909 A work of high quality

Paullin See above, under G II

Returns of the Import and Export Trade at the Port of Shanghai, for the Year 1858 J H de Carvalho Printed for the customhouse

Returns of the Import and Export Trade, at the Port of Canton For the Half-year ended 31st December, 1880 "Shanghai Printed by J H de Carvalho "

Richard, L , Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies Trans by M Kemnelly Shanghai, 1908 Differently arranged from Papinot's book

Shanghai Almanack and Directory, for the Year 1856, The Shanghai, 1856 (J H de Carvalho) Abundant and valuable information of many kinds

The Tourists' Guide and Merchants' Manual, being an English-Chinese Vocabulary Hongkong, 1864

Werner See above, under Ball

Williams, Samuel Wells, The Chinese Commercial Guide Fifth ed Hongkong, 1865 A remarkable compilation, modest in its spirit, and useful for its descriptions of different commodities, accounts of ports, business forms, freight rates, exchange tables, remarks on money and weights, cross-referencing of treaties, and long Appendix (Sailing Directions for the Coast of China, the Japanese Islands, and the Gulf of Siam) Relates to most of Eastern Asia

Wines See below, under K I

Yatsushiro, Kuniji, and Junzaburo Hayakawa, and Shigeo Inobe, Kokushi Daijiten (Encyclopaedia of National History) Five vols Tokyo, 1929 (Yoshikawa Kobunkan) Supplies little direct information for the present inquiry, but yields desirable references

(Reference works on coins and currencies are listed in G II, under Dye, Munro, Spalding, and United States Mint, comments on them appear above, 209n

I Publications of Societies and Boards[#]

I Learned Societies

Most of the material of this type used is in the form of signed articles, which have been entered elsewhere according to their contents, under the names of writers

Bulletin of The Business Historical Society, Incorporated The Business Historical Society, Inc , Baker Library, Soldier's Field, Boston Selected numbers of high value for the present kind of investigation This publication presents (V-VI) a special series of three articles entitled "A California Commission Merchant", based on the Dibblee papers, now in the Society's Library, at Harvard

II Commercial Bodies

Boston Acts of Incorporation and By-Laws of Boston Board of Trade, with a List of Members Boston, 1854 Instituted 1854 Boston Board of Trade, 1857 Third Annual Report Boston, 1857

Mercantile Trust Company of California, Mercantile Trust Review of the Pacific (also called the Monthly Review of the Mercantile Trust Company, etc , and American Trust Review of the Pacific) Various numbers, 1822-1925, particularly the long series of valuable articles tracing the growth of settlement and business on the Pacific Coast and of its commerce on the Pacific Ocean, Oregon and certain other regions receive much attention

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce issued reports before 1860 Its own file was destroyed by fire Some numbers for 1859 and 1860 are reported by the John Crerar Library in Chicago and the Library of Congress A sketch of their contents indicates them to be largely of a routine character

New York Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the Year 1858 New York, 1859. Also the Third Annual Report (1860-'61), New York, 1861 An important series

[#]Periodic reports of missionary boards, as well as missionary correspondence and church magazines, might in

Inter-Continental Telegraph Proceedings
of the Chamber of Commerce of New York May 5, 1864.

Philadelphia Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade Philadelphia, 1859 Philadelphia and the Calcutta trade Such reports are of much consequence in the study of the Asiatic trade of single ports

J Magazines and Newspapers

For lists of files of newspapers located at different points see above, under A Some volumes of newspapers have been used continuously, in numerous cases single numbers of American or East Asiatic newspapers enclosed with other material in the Department of State have been drawn upon This kind of source merits continued attention, the collection of newspapers at Yale University is outstanding For missionary publications see the note under the preceding section Signed articles have ordinarily been noted under their proper class in preceding sections of this Bibliography

I American

Bangor Daily News, Wed , Ap 22, 1925 "Story of Famous Old Time Bangor Ship" A report of the account of the ship James Littlefield, by Secretary Blanding of the Bangor Historical Society Boston Daily Advertiser, Jan 27, 1859 Clippings Boston Shipping List and Prices Current, IX, No 35 (Wed , Jan 1, 1851) and XVI, Nos 65-66 (Ap 14 and 17, 1858) Certain volumes are in the Library of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard, and Morison reports a complete file (1843-82) in the Boston Marine Museum

Commercial List, and Trade and Statistical Register (Philadelphia), various numbers following Jan 5, 1850 In the Library of Yale University are numbers for 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850

De Bow, J D B , The Commercial Review of the South and West Vol I (1846, first half) New Orleans, 1846 Title varies In this and certain later volumes are a few items of interest

Esquimeaux, The, Vol I (all published) Published at Port Clarence R A , and Plover Bay, E S by John J Harrington, 1866 and 1867, copyright, 1867 A monthly Seen in the library of Judge Wickersham, Juneau, Alaska

some carefully selected instances offer useful and corrective sidelights The exploitation of this extensive material would require a separate investigation, preliminary inquiry has not encouraged much use of it

Fairhaven Star, The See above, in F, under Eldred

Hunt, Freeman (ed), The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review This title was used 1859-1860 and 1860-1870, during the period 1850-1860 the name Hunt's Merchants' Magazine was employed Vols VI, X, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, and XVIII Note especially the articles and editorials on the consular system VI, 297-305, X, 447-455, XII, 211-224, XIII, 550-558, XVII, 43-46; and XVIII, 60-62

(Another famous publication, Niles' National Register, known as Niles' Weekly Register, was discontinued in 1847, soon after the beginning of our period)

Mott See above, under G II

Nation, The (New York), I (1865), 551-552, "Our Consuls in China and Elsewhere" (editorial) New York Herald, Th, Ap 8, 1858, Wed , Ap 20, 1859, Sun , June 19, 1859, Sun , Sept 25, 1859, Wed (morning ed), Oct 24, 1860, and miscellaneous additional items (Chapter 21, e.g)

Philadelphia See under Commercial List, above

Quarterly Journal of Economics, II, "Appendix", 379-384 (table on p 384)

Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal, The, Vol XXVII (ending Aug , 1855) New York Published by The American Seamen's Friend Society Star Marine Journal, The, Jan 25, 1851, and the Oregon Weekly Times, June 26, 1851 The Star and the Weekly Times, of Portland, Oregon, were the same paper, the name having been changed after the first few months of publication

II. East Asiatic

The excellent Chinese Repository is well known, less attention has been paid to the numerous newspapers published in Asiatic and Pacific ports Files are scattered, incomplete, and, in some instances, inaccessible to investigators, yet they supply a vast amount of information, some of which is not otherwise available For the years to 1844, Latourette's Early Relations pays careful regard to the English-language newspapers appearing in China (cf comments on pp 179-180 of that work) Until recently, East Asiatic newspapers of the succeeding decade and a half have not received as much consideration, with the exception of The North-China Herald. An important and convenient article entitled "Press, European" (in

China) appears in Couling's Enc Sinica, 459-461. There were English or other foreign newspapers edited in other parts of the Far East (e.g., Malacca Observer, Penang Gazette, Javasche Courant) or in islands of the Pacific. Native newspapers did not appear until later. For Chinese (as well as foreign) publications there is Roswell S. Britton's careful, useful, and well-conceived The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912 (Shanghai, etc., 1933), note especially pages 50-52 and the numerous excellent facsimiles. Appearing in the Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography (I, No. 4, Dec., 1934, combined ed., 184-196) is Teng's helpful article, "A Preliminary List of Periodicals and Serials in Western Languages Published in China".

Translations provided in some of the foreign-language publications in the Orient supplement conveniently those given in the consular and diplomatic correspondence.

A systematic study of the factual contents and the points of view of foreign newspapers in the Orient would be well worth a trial.

China Mail, The A weekly published at Hongkong from Feb. 20, 1845 (Andrew Shortrede, ed.) to Feb. 1, 1876, when it became a daily. Use has been made of parts of the file in the Library of Yale University (Feb. 20, 1845-Dec. 31, 1857), the Library of Congress is reported to have an indexed file of eighteen volumes (Feb. 20, 1845-Dec. 22, 1859), as well as some of the Hongkong and Canton papers, the Long Island Historical Society's Catalogue lists (p. 140) a file of volumes 1-5 (1845-1849), the Morrison Library in Tokyo has numbers for 1845-1848, the Wisconsin Historical Society has the second volume (1846-1847). Later issues also have been used, as well as part of the Overland China Mail, of which the file at Yale extends from January 15 to December 30, 1857.

Chinese Miscellany, The See above, under E. Chinese Repository, The Canton, 1852-1851, the twentieth and last volume is an index of the series Vols. XIV-XX (In this connection it may be pointed out that an extract—Dec., 1857—from another publication, the Hongkong Magazine, has been encountered, but that no file has been seen.)

Chinese and Japanese Repository, The (James Summers, ed.), Vol. I (July, 1863-June, 1864)

Daily Press, The (Hongkong), Jan. 20, 1858

(Hongkong Magazine) See above under The Chin. Repos. Hongkong Register, The New Series, Vol. I, No. 272, Victoria, Fri., Nov. 18, 1859. This paper appeared at Hongkong from 1845 to 1859, it was originally the weekly Canton Register, which was first issued Nov. 8, 1827 (John Slade, ed.). The file at Yale is

Jan. 5-Dec. 28, 1847, with a few numbers from 1852. Also The Overland Register and Price Current, N. S., Vol. I, No. 3, Tu., Feb. 15, 1859, and the Supplement for Jan. 29, 1858. Price current periodicals were numerous during the period in question in Oriental as well as Occidental ports.

Hsi Erh Kuan Chen (News from Far and Near, or The Chinese Serial) Hongkong Various numbers, 1853-1856. This curious monthly, published at the Anglo-Chinese School Press, was apparently designed for the instruction of the Chinese in moral, religious, historical, economic, and political matters. It also contains current items, and gives an idea of what sort of information was being made available to Chinese readers, directly and indirectly. The language employed has been characterized by a native reader as being, at times, "American Chinese." A large part of a set, for the years mentioned, has come into the present writer's possession. According to Britton, this Chinese publication was edited, 1853-1856, by W. H. Medhurst, the magistrate C. B. Hillier, who was so odious to Consul Keenan, and James Legge, the eminent sinologist. So the "American Chinese" referred to becomes "English Chinese." The press named was that of the London Mission.

(Japan Herald, The) A half-size reproduction of the first number of this paper, published at Yokohama from Sat., Nov. 23, 1861, is Supplement No. 1 with Paske-Smith's Western Barbarians. Although postdating our period this is helpful. The same is true of Supplement No. 2, The Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser, Vol. I, No. 4, Wed., July 10, 1861. Efforts to locate files of these newspapers have been unsuccessful.)

"Monthly Report for the Mail and Prices-Current", No. 26 (Jan. 26, 1852), Canton One sheet. For Asiatic price currents generally, as well as for those of New York and Boston, note the collection at the Essex Institute in Salem.

North-China Herald, The Shanghai, a weekly. Various numbers, 1851, 1854, 1855, 1857, 1859. The annual summaries are useful to students of trade. This important publication also supplies considerable information about Japan. At Yale the file extends from the beginning, August 3, 1850, to July 19, 1851 and from August 7, 1852 to December 21, 1861. Cf. Enc Sinica, 400.

Overland Friend of China, The Various numbers, 1856, 1857, 1858. A summary of The Friend of China published for the home-going mail from August, 1845, to 1860. The Friend of China first appeared at Hongkong, March 17, 1842, and almost immediately was incorporated with the Hongkong Gazette, both titles were used to 1858. Because of difficulties with the authorities at that time the paper was removed to Canton, where a new series was instituted, publication

was suspended in 1861, later to be resumed at Shanghai (1864-1869). Although it was a weekly at first and a daily at the last, most of the numbers were semi-weekly. The first editor was J. R. Morrison. An anti-opium paper later bore the same name.

For other Hongkong newspapers of the fifties see Enc. Sinica, 459. Couling mentions an amateur publication at Foochow, The Foochow-foo Courier, which began on Oct. 12, 1856.

Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce, Fri., Jan. 14, 1848

K Illustrative Material

I Visual Exhibits, Models, and Pictures

In the study of foreign histories and civilizations (notably by persons without prior residence in the countries in question), confused deductions and inapplicable judgments result from the reader's natural tendency to supply the inappropriate background to which he has been accustomed in his own country and in his own period, combined with a misleading jumble of miscellaneous impressions of foreign countries. Illustrations and other descriptive information provide some insurance against distortion of a carefully interpreted story by introducing the correct setting of place and of time—in this instance, a minor "pageant" of Asia and of American-Asiatic relations. No effort is made here to list all pictorial references, the purpose is simply to give this essential type of material proper recognition.

Some attention is given to pictures in connection with the list of illustrations at the beginning of this work and in comments on books listed (especially in section E, above). A few are reproduced, while the text and notes occasionally suggest references to appropriate illustrations. In view of the existence of a number of accessible volumes of pictures, particularly those devoted to clipper ships, several illustrations suitable for the present study are omitted. In general, duplication of pictures in readily available books is avoided (Cf. section G II, above.)

Fortunately, several individuals and institutions are collecting prints extensively. Some of the best of these are on the Atlantic Coast, although a few are reported on the Pacific Coast.

Handbooks and guides to museums are useful—for example, that describing the Whaling Museum at New Bedford and one relating to the Peabody Museum at Salem, an insti-

tution which owes much to a gift (1867) from George Peabody, who established other museums in New England. Note should be made of John Robinson's book on the Marine Room of the Peabody Museum, published in Salem in 1921, and of a series of "Colored Pictures of Clipper Ships", 19x25, in full color, announced by the firm of Thomas Perkins in Boston—reproduced also in a circular. The United States National Museum also should be mentioned. In the files and on the walls of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard are valuable pictures relating to trade with the Far East.

Portraits of merchants and mariners and models of vessels are to be found at several points along the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, in museums and historical societies and in private hands. Several of these in the East are mentioned by Morison (Maritime History, 385-386, see also, above, comment under "State Street Trust Company" and "Watertown", in F). In the large Jonathan Bourne Memorial Building at the Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum at New Bedford the past is effectively recalled by a half-size model of the whaler *Lagoda*, from which sailors deserted off the coast of Japan in 1848 (Reports on this confused incident appear in the Whalemen's Shipping List, Jan. 16, Apr. 3 and 10, May 14, and Aug. 14, 1849, references supplied by Mr. William H. Tripp, Curator.) Much tradition has been perpetuated by objects in the homes of numerous mariners. The interesting clipper *St. Paul*, built at Bath, Maine, in 1874, is anchored by the Government Locks at Seattle and used as a marine museum and housing for an aquarium. Although postdating the period of this study, it provides an opportunity to observe ship construction and to visualize life aboard a clipper. Simple explanations of construction and rigging of vessels are given in Hendrik Willem Van Loon's Ships (New York, 1935).

Regarding illustrations of coins, bibliographical comment in Chapter 12 should be examined.

Interesting pictures, by Japanese artists, relating to the Perry visit, may be seen at the Historiographical Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo. The Chadbourne Collection possessed by the Naval Historical Foundation in Washington, D. C. is concerned with the same subject, some of the illustrations used in this work are drawn from it. Another Chadbourne Collection, in the Library of Congress, is described by the chief of the Division of Fine Arts as consisting of Japanese wood block prints representing foreigners in Japan and foreign scenes as Japanese

imagined them to be, between the arrival of Commodore Perry and about 1880, it comprises 188 wood block prints, 120 reduced photographs, colored reproductions of old prints, and other items One album is entitled "Collection of Historical Materials Relating to Yokohama" From this collection James Trustlow Adams took a print entitled "An American Merchant and his Wife" for the first volume of his March of Democracy, which is generally available In the Library of the Division of Fine Arts there is a photographic reproduction of four scrolls representing the landing of Commodore Perry, made secretly by two Japanese in 1854, the originals belong to Count Sanada The Division of Japanese Literature has a reproduction of some of the same material, privately printed in Tokyo in 1931

Likenesses of Townsend Harris are fairly accessible, although their variations are confusing Three of these are to be seen in Townsend Harris, a Chapter in American Diplomacy, by Roland S Morris (from "what appears to be a colored crayon picture" hanging on the walls of the American Embassy in Tokyo), in Cosenza's The Complete Journal, and in Viscount Shibusawa's The Record of Townsend Harris in Japan The last-named also supplies photographs of the monument honoring Harris and the temple where his consulate was located (See also the view of the consulate at Shimoda in 1856, shown on page 316, above) A reproduction of Harris' first commission as Consul-General (Aug 4, 1855) may be seen facing page 24 of The Complete Journal, another, showing the grant to him of "full powers" to negotiate a treaty, signed by Franklin Pierce (Sept 8, 1855), supplies the frontispiece of Morris' pamphlet, and the second commission as Consul-General stands opposite page 400 of The Complete Journal

The late Professor Frederick Starr of Chicago and Seattle made an extensive and instructive collection of contact materials, though for a somewhat later period

Bishop, Joseph Bucklin, A Chronicle of One Hundred and Fifty Years, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York 1768-1918 New York, 1918 Pp 295-295, catalogue of portraits and sculpture At Yale University there is a work on the portrait gallery of this organization

Brown, Ralph Minthorn, Bibliography, etc (as cited above, under F) The frontispiece is an excellent picture of the distinguished M F Maury Burges, W, "The Japanese Court in the International Exhibition", in The Gentleman's Magazine, n s , XIII (Sept , 1862), 248-254

Clark Collection of Marine Prints, Massachusetts In-

stitute of Technology Use has been made of two mimeographed lists entitled "Folio No 2 American Merchant Steamships" and "Folio No 5 American Clipper and Merchant Ships" This important collection, under the charge of Professor James R Jack, is composed of numerous lithographs, many of them in color, or, some oil paintings, including the Nightingale and the Northern Light An item from the Clark Collection is reproduced in this work See also below, under Peters Colcord See below, under K II

D'Ewes' China, Australia and the Pacific Islands (cited under section E, above) contains a frontispiece showing Auckland, N Z about 1855, and the anonymous De Zieke Reiziger (section E, above) presents several illustrations of other peripheral points (Penang, facing p 8 and p 130, Singapore, facing p 10 and p 126) and two good pictures of a tea plant and a nutmeg branch

Goodale See above, under G I (e)
Griswold, F Gray See above, under G II

Hart, Albert Bushnell (ed), Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, IV, the Nightingale at anchor in Boston Harbor, 1856, facing p 450

Keir, Malcolm, The March of Commerce New Haven, 1927 (Vol IV of The Pageant of America, Ralph Henry Gabriel, editor) Chapter II, "The Old Merchant Marine", is interesting and is profusely illustrated

La Grange, Jacques and Helen, Clipper Ships of America and Great Britain 1835-1869 New York, 1936 This illustrated book supplies information on ships, voyages, and the life of the period, it is a useful companion volume to Laing's The Sea Witch, listed below, and Gosnell's Before the Mast in The Clippers (C II, above)

Lubbock See below, under Spurling Luce, S B , "Commodore Biddle's Visit to Japan in 1846", in the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, XXXI (1905), 555-565, containing illustrations showing the Columbus (on which the writer of the article had been a junior officer) and the Vincennes at anchor in Yedo Bay, July, 1846, surrounded by many small Japanese craft; and the departure of these vessels, July 29, 1846

March, Benjamin, China and Japan in Our Museums New York, 1929

Orange, James, The Chater Collection, Pictures Relating to China, Hongkong, Macao, 1655-1860 London, 1924 The collection of Sir Gatchick Paul Chater Pictures of ports, shipping, and other subjects These beautiful views are especially useful for the present subject The extensive text, the notes, and the list of references deserve special attention

Peters, Fred J. (comp.), Clipper Ship Prints Including Other Merchant Sailing Ships by N Currier and Currier & Ives New York, 1850 (Antique Bulletin Pub Co) This useful and interesting volume includes some of the prints listed in the Clark Collection, presents the Nightingale, Flying Cloud, Adelaide, and many other vessels, and shows the Chinese junk Keying (Capt. Kellett) in New York harbor, July, 1847, 212 days from Canton. This Chinese craft, built of teakwood, was 180 feet long and had a tonnage of 720.

[Shibusawa, (Viscount) Eiichi, ed.,] The Record of Townsend Harris in Japan See above, in this section, and in F Society of American Military Engineers, The Washington Monument Spurling, J., Basil Lubbock, and others, Sail (Blue Peter Pub Co, Ltd., London) A sumptuous volume of high quality and interest

Taylor, Moses See above, in F, under National Cyclopaedia of American Biography

Wines, E C, A Peep at China, in Mr Dunn's Chinese Collection, with Miscellaneous Notices Relating to the Institutions and Customs of the Chinese, and our Commercial Intercourse with Them Philadelphia, 1859 Of early date but worthy of notice (In referring to Nathan Dunn's collection, The Chinese Repository, XVIII, 419, mentions a book entitled Chinese Museum in Marlborough Chapel, by John R. Peters, Jr., a volume telling of a similar museum carried to New York in 1845 See also remarks in Dan-ton's Culture Contacts, etc., in C II, above Wisconsin Magazine of History, IV, No. 5 (Mar., 1921), 347-548, description (by Louise P. Kellogg) of a Japanese picture of Perry's marines and band

II Literary

Early trade with the Orient has proved an attractive theme for a few writers of the

present century, as Pacific whaling activity did for creators of fiction in the middle of the nineteenth century—Cooper, Melville, and others. No attempt has been made to pay systematic attention to such writings, which may be noted in the various lists of American historical fiction. A few comments suggest the drift of interest

A famous landmark, Java Head, supplies the title of a book by Joseph Hergesheimer, which has had a wide reading, and Meade Minigerode's Oh, Susanna! (New York and London, 1922) possesses a lively interest. Alexander Laing's The Sea Witch (New York, 1933) is extraordinarily good historical fiction, in substance, it comes close to being typical fact, see above, 28n

Much pretty poetry is written in the log of the ship Yumchi (in C II, above) Joanna C Colcord's excellent Roll and Go, Songs of American Sailormen (Indianapolis, 1924) prints shanties, refers to other collections of songs, and supplies illustrations and details concerning particular vessels, it mentions the collection of pictures of ships at Sailors' Snug Harbor, New Brighton, Staten Island, New York A striking poem, "Guns as Keys, and the Great Gate Swings", is included in Amy Lowell's volume entitled Can Grande's Castle (Boston and New York, 1924), in this account of Perry's "Rip Van Winkle" ships occur allusions and almost pictorial phrases which epitomize much of the spirit of the period in Eastern Asia

A play, The American Envoy (Townsend Harris) (Kobe, 1931), written by Kidō Okamoto and translated by Masanao Inouye, suggests some of the attitudes, problems, and incidents of the time, without exact adherence to fact, it aims to sustain Harris' reputation

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES

Sometimes longer abbreviations appear in footnotes as convenient and immediate reminders
 F O indicates (British) Foreign Office

A

- A Residence (Hodgson)--A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859-1860
- A Residence (Fortune)--A Residence among the Chinese [1852-56]. Inland, on the Coast, and at Sea
- Amer Con Jur --American Consular Jurisdiction in the Orient
- Amer Front --History of the American Frontier 1763-1893
- Amer Rels --American Relations in the Pacific and the Far East 1784-1901
- An Amer Merch --An American Merchant in Europe, Asia, and Australia
- Around the Horn--Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California 1845-1850

B

- BBHS--Bulletin of The Business Historical Society, Incorporated
- Brit Com --The History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation 1763-1878

C

- CI--Consular Instructions
- CL--Consular Letters
- Chin Repos --The Chinese Repository
- China--China Being the "The Times" Special Correspondence from China 1857-58
- Com Asia and Oceanica--Commerce of Asia and Oceanica (Bureau of Statistics, 1895)
- Com Rels --Commercial Relations of the United States (in four basic volumes, 1856-1857). The annual volumes include the year in the title.
- Com U S --History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States
- Complete Journal--See The Complete Journal
- Con Regs , 1856 (or other dates)--Regulations Prescribed by the President for Consular Officers of the United States (and various other editions and titles)
- Con Serv --The Consular Service of the United States, Its History and Activities
- Cong Globe--Congressional Globe, (followed, in parentheses, by number of the Congress and session)

D

- DD--Diplomatic Despatches
- DI--Diplomatic Instructions

- Deux Etablissements--Les Origines de deux Etablissements Francais dans l'Extreme-Orient, Chang-hai-Ning-po
- Digest (Bentley)--Digest of the Official Opinions of the Attorneys-General 1789-1861
- Digest (Moore)--A Digest of International Law Dip Negots --Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1863

E

- Early Dip Rels --The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan 1853-1865
- Early Rels --The History of Early Relations between the United States and China 1784-1844
- Econ Devel --Economic Development of Modern Europe
- Enc Sin --Encyclopaedia Sinica
- Europe in China--Europe in China, the History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882

F

- Fankwei--Fankwei, or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China and Japan
- For Affs --Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs 1828-1861 (Hasse)
- For Dom Com 1862--Statistics of the Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States 1863 (U S , Treasury Department, 1864)
- Forty Years in China--Forty Years in China or China in Transition

H

- H Ex. (or Mis) Doc --House Executive (or Miscellaneous) Document (preceded by number of the Congress and session)
- H Jel --House Journal (preceded by number of the Congress and session)
- H Rep --House Report (preceded by number of the Congress and session)

I

- Imports of Tea and Coffee--Statements of Imports of Tea and Coffee into the United States from 1789 to 1882 (Bureau of Statistics, 1883)

M

- Manual--A Manual for United States Consuls (1848)
- Manual, Hist Sketch--The United States Consular System a Manual for Consuls, and also for

Merchants, Shipowners and Masters
Mar Hist --The Maritime History of Massachusetts
sets 1783-1860
Memorandum--Memorandum of the Sea Life of Capt
B F Cutler
Mis Let --Miscellaneous Letters (Department of
State)
Monthly Rev --Monthly Review of the Mercantile
Trust Co of California (The published title
varied at different times)

N

Narr --Narrative of the Expedition of an Ameri-
can Squadron to the China Seas and Japan
under Commodore M C Perry
Narr of a Voyage--Personal Narrative of a Voy-
age to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary

O

Overland Explor --Overland Explorations in Si-
beria, Northern Asia, and the Great Amoor Riv-
er Country

P

Pac Northwest--A History of the Pacific North-
west
Private Diary--Private Diary of Mission to China
1857-1859
Pub Docs --Public Documents relating to the Ad-
mission into Circulation of Republican Dollars
at Par with Spanish as decreed by the High
Chinese Authorities of Canton (Canton, 1858)

R

Recollections--Recollections of a Three Years'
Residence in China

Roll and Go--Roll and Go, Songs of American
Sailormen

S

S Ex (or Mis) Doc --Senate Executive (or Mis
cellaneous) Document (preceded by number of
the Congress and session)
S Jol --Senate Journal (preceded by number of
the Congress and session)
S Rep --Senate Report (preceded by number of
the Congress and session)

T

The Complete Journal--The Complete Journal of
Townsend Harris, First American Consul Gener-
al and Minister to Japan
The Life and Letters--The Life and Letters of
Samuel Wells Williams
The Logbook--The Logbook of the Captain's Clerk,
Adventures in the China Seas
To China and Back--To China and Back Being a
Diary Kept, Out and Home
Trade and Admin --The Trade and Administration
of China
Treaty Ports--The Treaty Ports of China and Ja-
pan

V

Voyage en Chine--Voyage en Chine et dans les
Mers et Archipels de cet Empire pendant les
Années 1847-1848-1849-1850

W

Western Barbarians--Western Barbarians in Japan
and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868

INDEX

INDEX

Note. Whether an index contains too much or too little detail, or repetition, depends somewhat on the interests of the individual reader. In the one which follows, a number of purely routine or repetitive items are omitted (e.g., incidental geographical references, and some of the recapitulations in Part IV). Under certain headings appear references which in the aggregate constitute outlines of diffused sections or chapters on such topics as "California," "American Cities and the Orient," "Policy," "Profit," "Mechanics of Trade," "Merchants," "Biography," and "Whaling." In long groups of references like those under regional or national headings, subdivisions are often missing. These consolidated groups are intended as guides to related data rather than to single independent items, a number of them may be broken down by use of cross-references. The direction "see" or "see also" is ordinarily implied before headings appearing in parentheses. When a specific point appears in both the text and a footnote on a given page, the footnote usually is not mentioned, unless it has a separate connection. Some terms like "coasting trade" and "foreigners" are used with varying applications.

The Conclusion is not indexed in detail. The specimen pages in Appendix 12 are omitted; they may be examined quickly by persons interested in different kinds of material. Most of the authors (and editors) are listed under the heading "Authors," with references to early citations (usually the first), occasional critical comments, and descriptions in the Bibliography (underlined), in this one group the abbreviation "n" (note) is not used. Names of vessels are assembled at the end of the heading "Ships."

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